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AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Critical Study and Knowledge

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES.

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BY

THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, M.A.

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GOSPELS.	PLACES.	A. D.
Matthew (Hebrew)	Judæa	37 or 38
—— (Greek)	Judæa	61
Mark	Rome	between 60 and 63
Luke (Gospel)	Greece	63 or 64
—— (Acts of the Apostles)	Greece	63 or 64
John	Ephesus	97 or 98

II. THE EPISTLES OF PAUL.

EPISTLES.	PLACES.	A. D.
1 Thessalonians	Corinth	52
2 Thessalonians	Corinth	52
Galatians	Corinth	At the close of or early in 53
1 Corinthians	Ephesus	56
Romans	Corinth	About the end of 57 or the beginning of 58
2 Corinthians	Macedonia (perhaps from Philippi)	58
Ephesians	Rome	61
Philippians	Rome	Before the end of 62 or the beginning of 63
Colossians	Rome	62
Philemon	Rome	About the end of 62 or early in 63
Hebrews	Italy (perhaps from Rome)	About the end of 62 or early in 63
1 Timothy	Macedonia	64
Titus	Macedonia	64
2 Timothy	Rome	65

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EPISTLES.	PLACES.	A. D.
James	Judæa	61
1 Peter	Rome	64
2 Peter	Rome	About the beginning of 65
1 John	Unknown (perhaps Ephesus)	68 or early in 69
2 and 3 John	Ephesus	68 or early in 69
Jude	Unknown	64 or 65

The Revelation of St. John	Ephesus	96 or 97

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE

OF

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

ON THE ANALYSIS OF SCRIPTURE.

PART I.

ANALYSIS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE PENTATEUCH, OR FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PENTATEUCH.

I. *Title.* — II. *Argument of the Pentateuch.* — III. *Notice of other Writings ascribed to Moses.*

I. THE PENTATEUCH, by which title the five books of Moses are collectively designated, is a word of Greek original[1], which literally signifies five books, or volumes; by the Jews it is termed *Chometz*, a word of the same import with Pentateuch, and also, more generally *Torah*, the LAW, or the LAW OF MOSES, because it contains the ecclesiastical and political ordinances issued by God to the Israelites. The Pentateuch forms, to this day, but one roll or volume in the Jewish manuscripts, being divided only into paraschioth and siderim, or larger and smaller sections.[2] This collective designation of the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, is of very considerable antiquity, though we have no certain information when it was first introduced.[3] As, however, the names of these books are evidently

[1] Πεντατευχος, from πεντε, five, and τευχος, a book or volume. Bible de Vence, tom. i. p. 310.

[2] For an account of these divisions, see Vol. II. pp. 162, 163.

[3] The author of the treatise *De Mundo*, which is commonly ascribed to Philo Judæus, was of opinion that Moses himself divided his work into five books; but he assigned no

derived from the Greek, and as the five books of Moses are expressly mentioned by Josephus [1], who wrote only a few years after our Saviour's ascension, we have every reason to believe that the appellation of Pentateuch was prefixed to the Septuagint version by the Alexandrian translators.

II. This division of the sacred volume comprises an account of the creation of the world, and of the fall of man, the outlines of the early annals of the world, and a full recital of the Jewish law, and of the events which happened to the Israelites from their becoming a distinct people to their departure out of Egypt, and their arrival on the confines of the land of Canaan,—a period of two thousand five hundred and fifteen years according to the vulgar computation, or of three thousand seven hundred and sixty-five years, according to the computation established by Dr. Hales. "It is a wide description, gradually contracted; an account of one nation, preceded by a general sketch of the first state of mankind. The books are written in pure Hebrew, with an admirable diversity of style, always well adapted to the subject, yet characterised with the stamp of the same author; they are all evidently parts of the same work, and mutually strengthen and illustrate each other. They blend revolution and history in one point of view; furnish laws, and describe their execution; exhibit prophecies, and relate their accomplishment." [2]

III. Besides the Pentateuch the Jews ascribe to Moses ten psalms, from psalm xc. to xcix. inclusive. There is, however, no solid evidence to prove that these psalms were composed by him; for the title of the ninetieth psalm ("*a prayer of Moses the man of God*"), which, they pretend, must be applied also to the nine following psalms, is not sufficient. The greater part of the titles of the psalms is not original, nor, indeed, very antient: and some of them are evidently misplaced: we find also in these psalms the names of persons, and other marks, which by no means agree with Moses.

Further, some of the antient fathers have thought that Moses was the author of the book of Job: Origen, in his commentary on Job, pretends that Moses translated it out of Syriac into Hebrew: but this opinion is rejected both by Jews and Christians. Besides, if this book had really been composed by Moses, is it likely that the Jews would have separated it from the Pentateuch? [3]

There are likewise ascribed to Moses several apocryphal books; as an Apocalypse, or Little Genesis, the Ascension of Moses, the As-

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authority for such opinion. Jesus Christ and his apostles never cite the five books of Moses under any other name than that of *Moses*, or the *Law of Moses*; as the Jews ordinarily do to this day. Calmet conjectures, that Ezra divided the Pentateuch into five books. Dissertations, tom. ii. p. 23.

[1] In his Jewish Antiquities, Josephus terms the Pentateuch the "*Holy Books of Moses*" (lib. x. c. iv. § 2.); and in his Treatise against Apion, (lib. i. c. 8.) when enumerating the sacred writings of the Jews, he says that "FIVE *of them belong to Moses.*" — Some critics have imagined that this distinction of the Pentateuch into five separate books was known to and recognised by St. Paul, (1 Cor. xiv. 19.) by the term *five words*; but the context of that passage does not authorise such a conjecture.

[2] Dr. Gray's Key to the Old Testament, p. 76. 5th edit.

[3] The book of Job was composed many ages before the time of Moses. See Chap. III. Sect. I. *infra*, of this volume.

sumption of Moses, the Testament of Moses, and the Mysterious Books of Moses. The principal part of the "Little Genesis" was transferred by Cedrenus into his chronological history[1]: it was extant in Hebrew in the fourth century of the Christian æra, for we find it cited by Jerome. From the apocalypse just noticed, it has been pretended that Saint Paul copied Gal. v. 6. and vi. 15.: and it has been imagined that what is said in the Epistle of Jude (verse 9.), respecting the archangel Michael's contention with Satan for the body of Moses, was taken from the apocryphal ascension of Moses. Such was the opinion of Origen, who, though he cites it in another place, alludes to it as not being in the canon.[2] All these pretended Mosaic writings, however, are confessedly spurious, and are supposed to have been frabricated in the early ages of Christianity.

On the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuchs, or, rather, editions of the Pentateuch, see Volume II. pp. 95, 96.; and for a view of the Genuineness and Credibility of the Pentateuch, see Volume I. pp. 49—65.; and for a List of the principal Commentators on this portion of the Sacred Scriptures, see Volume II. Appendix, pp. 216—219.

SECTION II.

ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author and Date.* — III. *General Argument.* — IV. *Scope.* — V. *Types of the Messiah.* — VI. *Synopsis.* — VII. *Literal Sense of the first three Chapters of Genesis vindicated.*

I. THE first book of the Pentateuch, which is called GENESIS (ΓΕΝΕΣΙΣ), derives its appellation from the title it bears in the Greek Septuagint Version, ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ; which signifies the Book of the Generation or Production, because it commences with the history of the generation or production of all things. The Jews name the books of the Old Testament either from their authors, or the principal subject treated in them,—as the five books of Moses, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah,—or from the first Hebrew word with which they begin: thus, the book of Genesis is in Hebrew called בראשית BERESHITH, that is, *in the beginning*, from its initial word.[3]

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[1] Cedrenus, enumerating the authorities consulted by him, says, that he "collected not a few things from the Little Genesis, απο της Λεπτης Γενεσεως. Historia Compendiaria, tom. i. p. 2. edit. Venet. 1729. Cedrenus frequently cites this apocryphal book in the course of his work.

[2] See the passages of Origen at length in Dr. Lardner's works, vol. ii. pp. 483—512. 8vo. or vol. i. pp. 541—557. 4to.

[3] To avoid unnecessary references to the same authorities, it may here be stated, that besides the treatises referred to for particular facts, in this and the following sections of the present volume, the author has throughout consulted the dissertations of Calmet, Carpzov's Introductio ad Libros Biblicos Veteris Testamenti, Jahn's Introductio in Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis, and Ackermann's expurgated edition of it; the prefaces of Alber in his

II. Although nothing is more certain, than that this book *was* written by Moses [1], yet it is by no means agreed *when* he composed the history which it contains. Eusebius and some eminent critics after him have conjectured, that it was written while he kept the flocks of Jethro his father-in-law, in the wilderness of Midian. But the more probable opinion is that of Theodoret, which has been adopted by Moldenhawer and most modern critics, viz. that Moses wrote this book after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt and the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai: for, previously to his receiving the divine call related in Exodus iii., he was only a private individual, and was not endued with the spirit of prophecy. Without that spirit he could not have recorded, with so much accuracy, the history of the creation, and the subsequent transactions to his own time: neither could he have foretold events then future, as in the predictions concerning the Messiah, and those respecting the descendants of Ishmael and the sons of Jacob; the verification and confirmation of which depended on circumstances, that had neither taken place nor could have happened at the time when the history was written in which they are recorded: but which circumstances, we know, *did* take place exactly as they were foretold, and which may be said, even now, to have an actual accomplishment before our eyes. A third conjecture has been offered by some Jewish writers, after rabbi Moses Ben Nachman, who suppose that God dictated to Moses all the contents of this book, during the first forty days that he was permitted to hold a communication with the Almighty on Mount Sinai, and that on his descent he committed the whole to writing. This hypothesis they found on Exodus xxiv. 12. where Jehovah says unto Moses — *Come up to me in the mount, and be thou there, and I will give thee the tables of stone, and the law, and the precepts, which I have written to teach them:*—understanding by the *tables*, the *decalogue;* by the *precepts*, all the *ceremonial and judicial ordinances;* and by the *law*, all the other writings of Moses, whether historical or doctrinal.[2] "It is, however," as a pious writer has well remarked, "as impossible, as it is of little consequence, to determine which of these opinions is best founded; and it is sufficient for us to know, that Moses was assisted by the spirit of infallible truth in the composition of this sacred work, which he deemed a proper introduction to the laws and judgments delivered in the subsequent books."

III. The book of Genesis comprises the history of about 2369 years according to the vulgar computation of time, or of 3619 years according to the larger computation of Dr. Hales. Besides the history of the creation, it contains an account of the original innocence and fall of man; the propagation of mankind; the rise of religion;

Interpretatio Sacræ Scripturæ, Heidegger's Enchiridion Biblicum, on which treatise Van Til's Opus Analyticum is a commentary, and Moldenhawer's Introductio in omnes Libros Canonicos Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Of all these works an account will be found in the Appendix to Vol. II. For the plan of the prefaces to most of the books of the Old and New Testament, the author is indebted to the excellent works of Moldenhawer and Heidegger.

[1] See this fact fully proved, *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 49—65.

[2] Pareus, Proleg. in Genesin, pp. 9, 10. Francofurti, 1647. Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 5. folio edit.

the general defection and corruption of the world; the deluge; the restoration of the world; the division and peopling of the earth; the call of Abraham, and the divine covenant with him; together with the first patriarchs, to the death of Joseph. This book also comprises some important prophecies respecting the Messiah. See iii. 15. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14. and xlix. 10.

IV. The SCOPE of the book of Genesis may be considered as twofold: — 1. To record the history of the world from the commencement of time; and, 2. To relate the origin of the church, and the events which befell it during many ages. The design of Moses in this book will be better understood, if we consider the state of the world when the Pentateuch was written. Mankind was absorbed in the grossest *idolatry*, which for the most part had originated in the *neglect*, the perversion, or the *misapprehension* of certain truths, that had once been universally known. Moses, therefore, commences his narrative by relating in simple language the truths thus disguised or perverted. In pursuance of this plan, he relates, in the book of Genesis, the true origin and history of all created things, in opposition to the erroneous notions entertained by the heathen nations, especially by the Egyptians: the origin of sin, and of all moral and physical evil; the establishment of the knowledge and worship of the only true God among mankind; their declension into idolatry; the promise of the Messiah; together with the origin of the church, and her progress and condition for many ages. Further, it makes known to the Israelites the providential history of their ancestors, and the divine promises made to them; and shows them the reason why the Almighty chose Abraham and his posterity to be a peculiar people to the exclusion of all other nations, viz. that from them should spring the Messiah. This circumstance must be kept in view throughout the reading of this book, as it will illustrate many otherwise unaccountable circumstances there related. It was this hope that led Eve to exclaim, — *I have gotten a man, — the Lord.* (Gen. iv. 1. Heb.) The polygamy of Lamech may be accounted for by the hope that the Messiah would be born of some of his posterity, as also the incest of Lot's daughters (Gen. xix. 31—38.), Sarah's impatience of her barrenness (Gen. xvi.), the polygamy of Jacob (Gen. xxix.), the consequent jealousies between Leah and Rachel (Gen. xxx.), the jealousies between Ishmael and Isaac, and especially Rebekah's preference of Jacob to Esau. It was these jealousies, and these pretensions to the promise of the Messiah, that gave rise to the custom of calling God the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; and not the God of Lot, Ishmael, and Esau, the promise having been particularly made and repeated to those three patriarchs.[1]

V. TYPES OF THE MESSIAH are *Adam*, as being a public person and federal head (compare Rom. v. 14. Gr. and 1 Cor. xv. 45.); *Melchizedek* (Psal. cx. 4. Heb. vi. 20. and vii.); and *Isaac.* (Gen. xxii. with Heb. xi. 18, 19.)

[1] Allix's Reflections upon Genesis. (Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, vol. i. pp. 247—259.)

VI. The Jews divide the book of Genesis into twelve paraschioth or larger sections, and forty-three siderim or smaller sections; in our Bibles it consists of fifty chapters, the general contents and leading divisions of which are exhibited in the following SYNOPSIS: —

PART I. *The Origin of the World.* (Ch. i. ii.)

PART II. *The History of the former World.* (iii.—vii.)

SECT. 1. The fall of man and his expulsion from Paradise. (iii.)

SECT. 2. The history of Adam and his descendants to Noah. (iv. v.)

SECT. 3. The increase of wickedness in the world, and its destruction by the deluge. (vi. vii.)

PART III. *The General History of Mankind after the Deluge.* (viii. —xi.)

SECT. 1. The restoration of the world. (viii.)

SECT. 2. The intoxication of Noah. (ix.)

SECT. 3. The peopling of the world by his descendants. (x.)

SECT. 4. The confusion of tongues and dispersion of mankind. (xi.)

PART IV. *The Particular History of the Patriarchs.* (xii.—l.)

SECT. 1. History of Abraham and his family (xi.—xx.), the birth of Isaac (xxi.), trial of Abraham (xxii.), the death of Sarah (xxiii.), marriage of Isaac (xxiv.), and death of Abraham. (xxv.)

SECT. 2. The history of the church under the patriarch Isaac. (xxv. xxvi.)

SECT. 3. The history of the church under the patriarch Jacob. (xxvii. —xxxvi.)

SECT. 4. The history of the church under the patriarch Joseph. (xxxvii.—l.)

§ i. The afflictions of Jacob and Joseph: — Joseph sold into Egypt (xxxvii.), the incest of Judah (xxxviii.), the imprisonment of Joseph by Potiphar. (xxxix. xl.)

§ ii. The deliverance and prosperity of Joseph: — his promotion in the court of Pharaoh (xli.), the journeys of his brethren into Egypt to purchase corn (xlii.—xlv.), the descent of Jacob into that country, and settlement there with his family (xlvi.—xlviii.), his prophetic benedictions of his children (xlix.), the burial of Jacob, and the death and burial of Joseph. (l.)

For a summary of the religious doctrines and moral precepts of the patriarchal times, as exhibited in the book of Genesis, see Volume I. pp. 366, 367.

VII. From an imaginary difficulty in explaining the literal sense of the first three chapters of Genesis, (a difficulty, however, which exists not with the devout reader of the sacred volume,) some learned men [1], who admit the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, have contended that the narrative of the creation and fall is not a recital of real events, but an ingenious philosophical *mythos*, or fable, invented by Moses after the example of antient Greek writers, to give the greater weight to his legislative enactments! and designed

[1] This notion is current among the divines of Germany, and the Unitarians (as they term themselves) in this country: it is particularly enlarged upon by Bauer, (Herm. Sacr. pp. 351—365.); and is adopted by Dr. Geddes in his translation of the Bible (vol. i.), and also in his Critical Remarks, of which the reader will find a masterly refutation from the pen of the late eminently learned Bishop Horsley, in the British Critic, (O. S.) vol. xix. pp. 6—13. The younger Rosenmüller *had* adopted this mythical interpretation in the first edition of his Scholia on the Old Testament; but maturer consideration having led him to see its erroneousness, he, greatly to his honour, returned to the proper and literal interpretation in the new edition of his Scholia, lately published. (Christian Examiner, May 1827. p. 388.)

to account for the origin of human evil, and also as an introduction to a history, great part of which they consider to be a mere poetic fiction. But the inventors of this fiction (for such only can we term it) have assumed that as *proved* which *never had any existence*; for the earliest Grecian cosmogony extant, namely, that of Hesiod, was not composed until at least five hundred and forty-five years *after* the death of Moses! Further, the style of these chapters, as, indeed, of the whole book of Genesis, is strictly historical, and betrays no vestige whatever of allegorical or figurative description; this is so evident to any one that reads with attention, as to need no proof. And since this history was adapted to the comprehension of the commonest capacity, Moses speaks according to optical, not physical truth: that is, he describes the effects of creation *optically*, or as they *would have* appeared to the eye, *and without any* assignment of physical causes. In doing which he has not merely accommodated his narrative to the apprehension of mankind in an infant state of society, and employed a method of recital best suited to a vulgar capacity; but he thereby also satisfies an important requisition of experimental philosophy, viz. to describe effects accurately and faithfully, according to their sensible appearances: by which means the mind is enabled to receive a clear and distinct impression of those appearances, and thus to reduce them to their proper causes, and to draw from them such conclusions as they are qualified to yield: for the determination of causes must follow an acquaintance with their effects.[1]

"Besides, if it be granted that Moses was an inspired lawgiver, it becomes impossible to suppose that he wrote a fabulous account of the creation and fall of man, and delivered it as a divine revelation, because that would have been little, if at all, short of blasphemy; we must, therefore, believe this account to be true, or that it was declared and understood by the people, to whom it was addressed, to be allegorical. No such declaration was ever made; nor is there any mention of such an opinion being generally prevalent among the Jews *in any early writing. The Rabbis indeed, of later times,* built a heap of absurd doctrines upon this history; but this proves, if it proves any thing, that their ancestors ever understood it as a literal and true account; and, in fact, the truth of every part of the narrative contained in the book of Genesis is positively confirmed by the constant testimony of a people, who preserved a certain unmixed genealogy from father to son, through a long succession of ages: and by these people we are assured, that their ancestors ever did believe that this account, as far as it fell within human cognisance, had the authority of uninterrupted tradition from their first parent Adam, till it was written by the inspired pen of Moses."[2]

Further, in addition to the collateral testimony already adduced[3], to the credibility and reality of the facts related in the first three

[1] Penn's Comparative Estimate of the Mineral and Mosaical Geologies, vol. i. p. 163. (2d edit.) In pp. 165—268. there is an elaborate examination and vindication of the literal interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis.

[2] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 64.

[3] See Vol. I. pp. 153—157.

chapters of the book of Genesis, there are numerous incidental references, in the Old and New Testament, to the creation, temptation, and fall of our first parents, which clearly prove that they were considered as acknowledged FACTS, not requiring proof, and handed down from primitive tradition. Of these we select the following instances, out of very many which might have been cited: —

1. *Allusions to the creation.* — Psal. xxxiii. 9. *He* SPAKE, *and it was* done; *he* COMMANDED, *and it stood fast.* This is manifestly an allusion to Gen. i. 3. et seq. — Psal. xxiv. 2. *He* (Jehovah) *hath founded it* (the earth) *upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.* — 2. Pet. iii. 5. *By the word of the Lord the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water.* In these two passages, the sacred writers allude to Gen. i. 6. 9. — 2 Cor. iv. 6. GOD, *who* COMMANDED LIGHT *to shine out of darkness, hath shined into our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face* (rather *person*) *of Jesus Christ.* Here St. Paul alludes to Gen. i. 3. in so specific a manner, that it is impossible not to perceive the designed reference. From Eccl. vii. 29. and Eph. iv. 24. compared with Col. iii. 10. and James iii. 9. we learn, that the divine image in which man is said to have been created is the moral image of God, viz. *uprightness* or *righteousness, true holiness*, and *knowledge*. And the creation of our first parents, related as a fact in Gen. i. 27, 28., is explicitly mentioned as a *real* fact by our Lord, in Matt. xix. 4. and Mark x. 6., as also by the apostle Paul. Compare 1 Cor. xi. 9.

2. *Allusions to the temptation and fall of our first parents, which are related* in Gen. iii. — Job xxxi. 33. If I covered my transgressions like *Adam*, by hiding mine iniquity in my bosom. — Matt. xxv. 41. Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the *devil* and his angels. — John viii. 44. Ye are of your father the *devil*, and the works of your father ye will [*rather*, wish to] do. He was a *murderer* from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own, for he is a liar, and the father of it. — 1 Tim. ii. 13, 14. Adam was first formed, then Eve: and Adam was not deceived: but the woman, *having been deceived*, was in the transgression. — 2 Cor. xi. 3. The *serpent beguiled Eve* through his subtilty. — 1 John iii. 8. He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the *works* of the devil.

The *reality* of the facts recorded in the first three chapters of the book of Genesis, was acknowledged by the Jews who lived previously to the time of Christ. Vestiges of this belief are to be found in the apocryphal books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus. — *God created man to be immortal, and made him an image of his own eternity. Nevertheless, through envy of the devil, came death into the world, and they that hold of his side do find it.* (Wisd. ii. 23, 24.) — Wisdom (that is, the eternal Son of God) preserved the *first formed father* of the world, who was created alone; and *brought him out of his fall* (by the promised seed of the woman), and gave him power to rule all things. (x. 1, 2.) — Of the *woman* came the beginning of *sin*; and through her *we all die.* (Ecclus. xxv. 24.)

If words have any meaning, surely the separate and independent testimonies, here collected together, prove that the Mosaic narrative is a relation of real facts.[1] To consider the whole of that narrative

[1] The arguments to prove the literal sense of the first three chapters of Genesis, which we have necessarily given with brevity, are ably and fully stated in Mr. Holden's elaborate Dissertation on the Fall of Man, London, 1823. 8vo.

as an allegory "is not only to throw over it the veil of inexplicable confusion, and involve the whole Pentateuch in doubt and obscurity, but to shake to its very basis Christianity, which commences in the promise, that 'the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent.' In reality, if we take the history of the fall in any other sense than the obvious literal sense, we plunge into greater perplexities than ever. Some well-meaning pious commentators have indeed endeavoured to reconcile all difficulties, by considering some parts of the Mosaic history in an allegorical, and other parts in a literal sense; but this is to act in a manner utterly inconsistent with the tenor and spirit of that history, and with the views of a writer, the distinguishing characteristics of whose production are simplicity, purity, and truth. There is no medium nor palliation; the whole is *allegorical, or the whole is literal.*" [1]

In short, the book of Genesis, understood in its plain, obvious, and literal sense, furnishes a key to many difficulties in philosophy, which would otherwise be inexplicable. Thus it has been reckoned a great difficulty to account for the introduction of fossil shells into the bowels of the earth: but the scriptural account of the deluge explains this fact better than all the romantic theories of philosophers.[2] It is impossible to account for the origin of such a variety of languages in a more satisfactory manner than is done in the narrative of the confusion of tongues which took place at Babel. (Gen. xi. 1—9.) And although some futile objections have been made against the chronology of this book, because it makes the world less antient than is necessary to support the theories of some modern self-styled philosophers; yet even here, as we have already shown by an induction of particulars[3], the more rigorously it is examined and compared with the extravagant and improbable accounts of the Chaldæan, Egyptian, Chinese, and Hindoo chronology, the more firmly are its veracity and authenticity established. "In fine, without this *history, the world would be in comparative darkness, not knowing whence it came, nor whither it goeth.* In the first page of this sacred book, a *child* may learn more in an hour, than all the *philosophers* in the world learned without it in a thousand years." [4]

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

I. *Title.*—II. *Author, and Date.*—III. *Occasion and Subject-matter.*—IV. *Scope.*—V. *Types of the Messiah.*—VI. *Synopsis of its Contents.*—VII. *Remarks on the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians.*

I. THE title of this book is derived from the Septuagint version, and is significant of the principal transaction which it records, namely, the

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[1] Maurice's History of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 868. [2] See Vol. I. pp. 159, 160.
[3] Ibid. pp. 164—166.
[4] Fuller's Expository Discourses on Genesis, vol. i. p. 1.

ΕΞΟΔΟΣ, Exodus, or departure of the Israelites from Egypt. By the Jews, and in the Hebrew copies, it is termed ואלה שמות Ve-Aleh Shemoth, "*these are the words*," from the initial words of the book, or sometimes merely Shemoth. It comprises a history of the events that took place during the period of 145 years, from the year of the world 2369 to 2514 inclusive, from the death of Joseph to the erection of the tabernacle. Twenty-five passages, according to Rivet, are quoted from Exodus by our Saviour and his apostles, in express words; and nineteen allusions to the sense are made in the New Testament.

II. That Moses was the author of this book we have already shown, though the time when it was written cannot be precisely determined. As, however, it is a history of *matters* of fact, it was doubtless written after the *giving* of the law on Mount Sinai and the erecting of the tabernacle; for things cannot be historically related until they have actually taken place, and the author of this book was evidently an eye and ear witness of the events he has narrated.

III. The book of Exodus records the cruel persecution of the Israelites in Egypt under Pharaoh-Rameses II.; the birth, exposure, and preservation of Moses; his subsequent flight into Midian, his call and mission to Pharaoh-Amenophis II.; the miracles performed by him and by his brother Aaron: the ten plagues also miraculously inflicted on the Egyptians; the institution of the passover, and the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt; their passage across the Red Sea, and the destruction of the Egyptian army: the subsequent journeyings of the Israelites in the desert, their idolatry, and frequent murmurings against God; the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai, and the erection of the tabernacle.

IV. The Scope of Exodus is to preserve the memorial of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, and to represent the church of God, *afflicted* and *preserved*; together with the providential care of God towards her, and the judgments inflicted on her enemies. It plainly points out the accomplishment of the divine *promises and prophecies* delivered to Abraham, that his posterity would be very numerous (compare Gen. xv. 5. xvii. 4—6. and xlvi. 27. with Numb i. 1—3. 46.); and that they would be afflicted in a land not their own, whence they should depart in the fourth generation with great substance. (Gen. xv. 13—16. with Exod. xii. 35. 40, 41.) Further, "in Israel passing from Egypt, through the Red Sea, the Wilderness, and Jordan, to the promised land, this book adumbrates the state of the church in the wilderness of this world, until her arrival at the heavenly Canaan,—an eternal rest."[1] St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x. 1., &c. and in various parts of his Epistle to the Hebrews, has shown that these things prefigured, and were applicable to, the Christian church. A careful study of the mediation of Moses will greatly facilitate our understanding the mediation of Jesus Christ.

V. Types of the Messiah are *Aaron* (Heb. iv. 14—16. v. 4, 5.); —*the Paschal Lamb* (Exod. xii. 46. with John xix. 36. and 1 Cor.

[1] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 12.

v. 7, 8.); — *the Manna* (Exod. xvi. 15. with 1 Cor. x 3.); — *the Rock in Horeb* (Exod. xvii. 6. with 1 Cor. x. 4.); — *the Mercy Seat.* (Exod. xxxvii. 6. with Rom. iii. 25. Heb. iv. 16.)

VI. By the Jews the book of Exodus is divided into eleven paraschioth or chapters, and twenty-nine siderim or sections: in our Bibles it is divided into forty chapters, the contents of which are exhibited in the annexed SYNOPSIS: —

PART I. *Account of the Transactions previously to the Departure of the Israelites from Egypt.*

SECT. 1. The oppression of the children of Israel. (ch. i.)

SECT. 2. The youth and transactions of Moses. (ch. ii.—vi.)

SECT. 3. The hardening of Pharaoh's heart, and the infliction of the ten plagues. (ch. vii.—xi.)

PART II. *The Narrative of the Departure of the Israelites.* (ch. xii. —xiv.)

PART III. *Transactions subsequent to their Exodus.* (ch. xiv.—xviii.)

SECT. 1. The miraculous passage of the Red Sea, and the thanksgiving of Moses and the people of Israel, on their deliverance from Pharaoh and his host. (ch. xiv. xv. 1—22.)

SECT. 2. Relation of various miracles wrought in behalf of the Israelites. (ch. xv. 23—27. xvi. xvii.)

SECT. 3. The arrival of Moses's wife and children with Jethro. (ch. xviii.)

PART IV. *The Promulgation of the Law on Mount Sinai.*

SECT. 1. The preparation of the people of Israel by Moses, for the renewing of the covenant with God. (ch. xix.)

SECT. 2. The promulgation of the moral law. (ch. xx.)

SECT. 3. The judicial law. (ch. xxi.—xxiii.)

SECT. 4. The ceremonial law, including the construction and erection of the tabernacle. (ch. xxiv.—xxxi. xxxv.—xl.) In ch. xxxii.—xxxiv. are related the idolatry of the Israelites, the breaking of the two tables of the law, the divine chastisement of the Hebrews, and the renewal of the tables of the covenant.

VII. *The circumstances attending the plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians* are fully considered by Mr. Bryant in his learned treatise on this subject (8vo. London, 1810,) from which the following particulars are abridged. As many of the Israelites were followers of the idolatry that surrounded them, these miracles were admirably adapted to display the vanity of the idols and false gods, adored by their oppressors, the proud and learned Egyptians.

1. By the *first* plague, — *Water turned into blood* (Exod. vii. 14—25.) was demonstrated the superiority of Jehovah over their imaginary river-gods, and the baseness of the elements which they reverenced. The Nile was religiously honoured by the Egyptians, who valued themselves much upon the excellency of its waters, and esteemed all the natives of the river as in some degree sacred. The Nile was turned into blood, which was an object of peculiar abhorrence to the Egyptians.

2. In the plague of *frogs* (Exod. viii. 1—15.) the object of their idolatrous worship, the Nile, was made an instrument of their punishment. Frogs were deemed sacred by the Egyptians; but whether

from reverence or abhorrence is uncertain. By this plague, the waters of the Nile became a second time polluted, and the land was equally defiled.

3. The plague of *lice* (Exod. viii. 16—19.) reproved the absurd superstition of the Egyptians, who thought it would be a great profanation of the temple into which they were going, if they entered it with any animalculæ of this sort upon them. The people, and particularly the priests, never wore woollen garments, but only *linen*, because linen is least apt to produce lice. The judgment, inflicted by Moses in this plague, was so proper, that the priests and magicians immediately perceived from what hand it came, and confessed that this was *the finger of God.*

4. The plague of *flies* (Exod. viii. 20—32.), which was inflicted in the midst of winter, and not in the midst of summer, when Egypt swarms with flies, would show the Egyptians the folly of the god, whom they worshipped that he might drive away the gad-fly, whose sting is extremely painful.

5. The fifth plague — *the murrain among cattle* (Exod. ix. 1—7.) destroyed the living objects of their stupid worship. The sacred bull, the cow, or heifer, the ram, and the he-goat, fell dead before their worshippers. When the distemper inflicted by this judgment spread irresistibly over the country, the Egyptians not only suffered a severe loss, but also beheld their deities and their representatives sink before the God of the Hebrews.

6. As the Egyptians were celebrated for their medical skill, and their physicians were held in the highest repute, the *sixth* plague, — the infliction of *boils accompanied with blains* (Exod. ix. 8—12.), which neither their deities could avert, nor the art of man alleviate, would further show the vanity of their gods. Aaron and Moses were ordered to take ashes of the furnace, and to scatter them towards Heaven, that they might be wafted over the face of the country. This was a significant command. The ashes were to be taken from that fiery furnace, which in the Scripture was used as a type of the slavery of the Israelites, and of the cruelty which they experienced in Egypt. (Deut. iv. 20.) The process has still a further allusion to an idolatrous and cruel rite, which was common among the Egyptians, and to which it is opposed as a contrast. They had several cities styled Typhonian, such as Heliopolis, Idythyia, Abaris, and Busiris. In these, at particular seasons, they sacrificed men.[1] The objects thus destined, were persons with bright hair, and a particular complexion, such as were seldom to be found among the native Egyptians. Hence, we may infer that they were foreigners; and it is probable, that whilst the Israelites resided in Egypt, they were chosen from their body. They were burnt alive upon a high altar, and thus sacrificed for the good of the people. At the close of the sacrifice, the priests gathered together the ashes of these victims, and scattered them upwards in the air, with the view, probably, that where any atom of this dust was carried, a blessing might be entailed. The

[1] Plutarch, Is. et Osir. v. 1. p. 380. D.

like was, therefore, done by Moses, though with a different intention, and to a more certain effect.

7. The plague of *hail, rain, and fire* (Exod. ix. 13—35.), demonstrated that neither Osiris, who presided over fire, nor Isis, who presided over water, could protect the fields and the climate of Egypt from the thunder, the rain, and the hail of Jehovah. These phenomena were of extremely rare occurrence, at any period of the year: they now fell at a time when the air was most calm and serene.

8. Of the severity of the ravages, caused by the plague of *locusts*, (Exod. x. 1—20.) some idea may be conceived from the account of those insects in Vol. III. pp. 72—74. The Egyptians had gods, in whom they trusted to deliver their country from these terrible invaders. They trusted much to the fecundity of their soil, and to the deities, *Isis and Serapis, who were the conservators* of all plenty. But by this judgment they were taught that it was impossible to stand before Moses the servant of God. The very winds, which they venerated, were made the instruments of their destruction; and the sea, which they regarded as their defence against the locusts, could not afford them any protection.

9. The ninth plague consisted in *three days' darkness, over all the land of Egypt.* (Exod. x. 21—27.) The Egyptians considered light and fire, the purest of elements, to be proper types of God. They regarded the sun, the great fountain of light, as an emblem of his glory, and salutary influence on the world. The sun was esteemed the soul of the world, and was supposed with the moon to rule all things: and not only to be the conservators, but the creators of all things. Accordingly they worshipped them, as well as night and darkness. This miraculous darkness would, therefore, confirm still further (if further confirmation were wanting) the vanity of their idol-deities.

10. The infliction of the tenth and last plague, — *the destruction of the first-born* (Exod. xi. 1—8. xii. 29, 30.), was most equitable; because, after the Egyptians had been preserved by one of the Israelitish family, they had (contrary to all right, and in defiance of the stipulation originally made with the Israelites when they first went into Egypt,) enslaved the people to whom they had been so much indebted; had murdered their children, and made their bondage intolerable. We learn from Herodotus [1], that it was the custom of the Egyptians to rush from the house into the street, to bewail the dead with loud and bitter outcries: and every member of the family united in the bitter expressions of sorrow. How great, then, must their terror and their grief have been, when, at *midnight, the Lord smote all the first-born of the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive that* was *in the dungeon; and all the first-born of cattle: and* when *Pharaoh rose up in the night, he, and all his servants, and all the Egyptians; and there was a great cry in Egypt: for there was not a house where there was not one dead!*

[1] Lib. ii. cc. 85, 86.

SECTION IV.

ON THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS.

I. *Title, Author, and Date.* — II. *Scope.* — III. *Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. THE third book of the Pentateuch (by the Jews termed ויקרא va-YIKRA, *and he called*, from its initial word,) is in the Septuagint styled ΛΕΥΙΤΙΚΟΝ, and in our version Leviticus, or the Levitical book, because it principally contains the laws concerning the religion of the Israelites, which chiefly consisted of various sacrifices; the charge of which was committed to Aaron the Levite (as he is termed Exod. iv. 14.) and to his sons, who alone held the priestly office in the tribe of Levi; which St. Paul therefore calls a "Levitical priesthood." (Heb. vii. 11.) In the Babylonish Talmud it is called the *law of the priests*, which appellation is retained in the Arabic and Syriac versions.

The author of this book, it is universally admitted, was Moses; and it is cited as his production in several books of Scripture. By comparing Exod. xl. 17. with Numb. i. 1. we learn that this book contains the history of one month, viz. from the erection of the tabernacle to the numbering of the people who were fit for war, that is, from the beginning of the second year after Israel's departure from Egypt to the beginning of the second month of the same year, which was in the year of the world 2514, and before Christ 1490. The laws prescribed upon other subjects than sacrifices have no chronological marks by which we can judge of the times when they were given.

II. The general SCOPE of this book is, to make known to the Israelites the Levitical laws, sacrifices, and ordinances, and by those "shadows of good things to come," to lead the Israelites to the Messiah (Heb. x. 1. with Gal. iii. 24.): and it appears from the argument of Saint Paul, that they had some idea of the spiritual meaning of these various institutions. (1 Cor. x. 1—4.)

This book is of great use in explaining numerous passages of the New Testament, especially the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, in fact, would be unintelligible without it. In considering, however, the spiritual tendency of Leviticus, care must be taken not to apply the types *too* extensively: the observation of Jerome as to its spiritual import is undoubtedly very pious and just, but few persons will acquiesce in his remark, that "*almost every syllable* in this book breathes a spiritual sacrament."[1]

III. Leviticus is divided by the Jews into nine paraschioth, which in our Bibles form twenty-seven chapters: it consists of four leading topics; comprising

PART I. *The Laws concerning Sacrifices, in which the different kinds of sacrifices are enumerated, together with their concomitant rites:* as,

[1] Singula sacrificia, immo *singulæ* pene *syllabæ*, et vestes Aaron, et totus Ordo Leviticus spirant cælestia sacramenta. Epist. ad Paulinum, § 7. This, and the subsequent references to Jerome's Prefaces, are made to the collection of them, which is prefixed to the Frankfort edition of the Latin Vulgate. (1826. 8vo.)

Sect. 1. The *Burnt Offering* (Lev. i.), which prefigured the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice of Christ, "to put away sin;" and who by his "one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified." (Heb. ix. 26. x. 14. 1 John i. 7.)

Sect. 2. The *Meat Offerings.* (Lev. ii.)

Sect. 3. The *Peace Offering* (Lev. iii.), which represented both Christ's oblation of himself, whereby he became our peace and salvation (Eph. ii. 14—16. Acts xiii. 47. Heb. v. 9. ix. 28.), and also our oblation of praise, thanksgiving, and prayer to God.

Sect. 4. The *Offering made for sins of ignorance* (Lev. iv. v.), which, being consumed without the camp, signified Christ's suffering "without the gate, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood." (Heb. xiii. 11—13.)

Sect. 5. The *Trespass Offering for sins knowingly committed* (Lev. vi. vii.), in which sacrifice the guilt was considered as being transferred to the animal offered up to Jehovah, and the person offering it, as redeemed from the penalty of sin. Thus Jesus Christ is said to have made his soul an offering for sin. (Isa. liii. 10. with 2 Cor. v. 21.)

Part II. *The Institution of the Priesthood, in which the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the sacred office is related, together with the punishment of Nadab and Abihu.* (Lev. viii.—x.)

Part III. *The Laws concerning Purifications both of the people and the priests.* (Lev. xi.—xxii.)

Among these, the regulations concerning leprosy (xiii.) as representing the universal taint of sin, and those concerning the scape-goat and the great day of atonement (xvi.), demand particular attention; as typifying the death and resurrection of Christ, and the atonement, made thereby (Heb. ix. 7—12. 24—27.); while they at the same time inculcate the hatefulness of sin, and the necessity of internal purity. Chapters xviii. and xix. contain various cautions to the Israelites to avoid the sinful practices of the Egyptians and Canaanites, with laws adapted to the peculiar circumstances and situations of the children of Israel, interspersed with several moral precepts inculcating the duties of humanity and mercy, and the necessity of strict integrity.

Part IV. *The Laws concerning the Sacred Festivals, Vows, Things devoted, and Tithes.*

Chapter xxiii. treats of the seven great festivals, viz. the sabbath, the passover, the feast of first-fruits, the feast of Pentecost, the feast of trumpets, the great day of atonement, and the feast of tabernacles. The celebration of these solemn festivals was of singular use for maintaining the system of divine worship among the Israelites, for distinguishing them from all other people, for the solemn commemoration of the many and great benefits conferred on them by Jehovah, for the preservation and continuance of the public ministry, for preserving purity and unity in divine worship, and, lastly, for prefiguring the manifold and great blessings bestowed on mankind by the Messiah. In chap. xxiv. various ceremonial and judicial rites are enjoined; and in chap. xxv. is recapitulated the law respecting the sabbatical year which had before been given (see Exod. xxiii. 10, 11.); the observance of the jubilee is enjoined, with various precepts respecting mercy, benevolence, &c. The jubilee was typical of the great time of release, the Gospel-dispensation. (See Isa. lxi. 1—3. with Luke iv. 19.) Chap. xxvi. presents various prophetic pro-

mises and threatenings which have signally been fulfilled among the Jews. (Compare v. 22. with Numb. xxi. 6. 2 Kings ii. 24. and xvii. 25. with Ezek. v. 17.)[1] The preservation of the Jews to this day, as a *distinct* people, is a living comment on v. 44. The twenty-seventh and last chapter comprises regulations concerning vows, and things devoted, as well as the tithes which were to be dedicated to the service of the tabernacle.

SECTION V.

ON THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

I. *Title, Author, Date, and Argument.* — II. *Scope.* — III. *Types of the Messiah.* — IV. *Prediction of the Messiah.* — V. *Chronology.* — VI. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — VII. *Observations on the Books of the Wars of the Lord, mentioned in Numbers* xxi. 14.

I. IN conformity with the Hebrew custom, this fourth book of Moses is usually termed וידבר, VA-JEDABAR, *and he spake*, because it commences with that word in the original text: it is also called במדבר BEMIDBAR, "*In the Desert*," which is the fifth word in the first verse, because it relates the transactions of the Israelites in the wilderness. By the Alexandrian translators it was entitled ΑΡΙΘΜΟΙ, which appellation was adopted by the Greek fathers; and by the Latin translators, it was termed *Numeri*, *Numbers*, whence our English title is derived; because it contains an account of the numbering of the children of Israel, related in chapters i—iii. and xxvi. It appears from xxxvi. 13. to have been written by Moses in the plains of Moab. Besides the numeration and marshalling of the Israelites for their journey, several laws, in addition to those delivered in Exodus and Leviticus, and likewise several remarkable events, are recorded in this book.

II. The SCOPE of the Book of Numbers is, to transmit to posterity, for a perpetual example, the providential care of the Almighty over the Israelites, during their wanderings in the wilderness, and the temptations and murmurings there by which they provoked and offended their Heavenly Protector; so that, at length, *he sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest.* (Psal. xcv. 11.) St. Paul, warning the converted Hebrews, expressly states that they could *not enter* into the land of Canaan *because of their unbelief* (Heb. iii. 19.); and in 1 Cor. x. 1—11. he states that *all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.* The method pursued in this book is precisely that which would be adopted by the writer of an itinerary: the respective stations are noted; and the principal occurrences that took place at each station are related, omitting such as are of comparatively less importance. This circumstance is an additional *internal* proof that

[1] In prophetic language, lions and bears denote tyrannical governors. The accomplishment of the prediction in v. 34. which was also denounced by Jeremiah (xix. 9.), has been noticed in the first volume of this work.

Moses was the author of the book of Numbers, which is cited as his work in many parts of Scripture.

III. TYPES OF THE MESSIAH, in this book, are, *The Water that issued from the Rock* (Numb. xx. 11. with 1 Cor. x. 4.); and *the elevation of the Brazen Serpent.* (Numb. xxi. with John iii. 14.)

IV. This book contains only one PREDICTION concerning the Messiah, viz. Numb. xxiv. 17. 19. which, Rosenmüller and some other eminent biblical critics have contended, cannot apply to Jesus Christ. This passage, it is true, in its primary and literal meaning, intimates that from the people of Israel should arise a mighty prince, who would obtain an entire conquest and bear rule over the kingdoms of Moab and Edom: and it was fulfilled in David, for it is expressly recorded of him, that he finally subdued those nations. (2 Sam. viii. 2. 14.) But, in its full import, it has invariably been considered as referring to that illustrious personage, of whom David was a type and a progenitor: and is, in fact, a splendid prediction of the final and universal sway of the Messiah, when the middle wall of partition shall be broken down, and both Jews and Gentiles shall become one fold under one shepherd. This explanation is perfectly consonant to many other prophecies concerning the Saviour; which, in similar language, describe him as acquiring dominion over heathen countries, and destroying the enemies of his church: and it is observable, that, in several of these antient predictions, some particular opposers, as the Moabites and Edomites, are put for the "adversaries of the Lord," in general. (See Psal. ii. 8. lxxii. 8. cx. 6. Isa. xi. 14. and xxv. 10.)[1]

In this passage, an eminent critic observes, that Balaam, in prophetic vision, descries the remote coming of Shiloh, under the imagery of a *star* and a *sceptre*, or an illustrious prince. Though it was foretold that "the sceptre should depart from Judah" at his coming, this prophecy confirms to him a proper sceptre of his own: and our Lord claimed it when he avowed himself a "*King*" to Pilate, but declared that his "kingdom was not of this world." (John xviii. 36, 37.) This branch of the prophecy was fulfilled about 1600 years after; when, at the birth of Christ, "the Magi from the East" (who are supposed by Theophylact to have been the posterity of Balaam) came to Jerusalem, saying, "Where is the [true] born king of the Jews? for we have seen his *star* at its rising, and are come to worship him."[2] (Matt. ii. 1, 2.)

[1] Robinson's Scripture Characters, vol. i. p. 480. — The same author adds — "Jesus, then, is the 'Star' which Balaam foretold; 'the bright and morning star,' which, 'through the tender mercy of our God, hath visited us' (Luke i. 78. Rev. xxii. 16.); and to him also 'the sceptre' of universal government is committed. 'He shall have dominion;' for 'he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet.' (1 Cor. xv. 25.) Balaam looked forward to the time of his coming, which is usually called, as in Numb. xxiv. 14. 'the latter days:' and concerning him, he said, 'I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh;' which might intimate, that his appearance was far removed, and that he should see him only by the spirit of prophecy. But it may also refer to the second advent of the Saviour, when indeed both Balaam and every despiser of his grace 'shall see him' in his glory, — 'shall behold him, but not nigh:' for they shall be driven out from him with shame and confusion, and 'be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.'" Ibid. p. 481.

[2] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 229.

V. The book of Numbers contains a history of the Israelites, from the beginning of the second month of the second year after their departure from Egypt, to the beginning of the eleventh month of the fortieth year of their journeyings, — that is, a period of thirty-eight years and nine or ten months. (Compare Numb. i. and xxxvi. 13. with Deut. i. 3.) Most of the transactions here recorded took place in the second and thirty-eighth years: the dates of the facts related in the middle of the book cannot be precisely ascertained.

VI. According to the Jewish division, this portion of Holy Writ contains ten paraschioth or chapters; in our Bibles it consists of thirty-six chapters, which comprise four principal parts or sections.

PART I. *The Census of the Israelites*, — comprising,

SECT. 1. The enumeration of the twelve tribes, and the marshalling of them into a regular camp; "each tribe by itself under its own captain or chief, distinguished by its own peculiar standard." (Numb. i. ii.)

The standards or banners of the tribes are not mentioned by Moses (ii. 2.); but they seem to be pointed out by Rev. iv. 7. with which the tradition of the Jews agrees. The standard of Judah is a lion; of Reuben, a man; of Ephraim, an ox; of Dan, an eagle. This agrees with the vision of the cherubic figures in Ezekiel i. 10.[1]

SECT. 2. The sacred or ecclesiastical census of the Levites; the designation of them to the sacred office, and the appointment of them to various services in the tabernacle.

Besides the convenciency which would naturally result from the numeration and marshalling of the tribes, this census would demonstrate to the Israelites (as it does to us), how faithful God had been to the promise made to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of multiplying and preserving their posterity. By this, also, they were preserved from all intermixture with their vicious and idolatrous neighbours; each true-born Israelite being obliged and enabled to deliver a clear account of the tribe, and even the family, from which he was descended; which was of still higher and more special importance for preserving the certain and unexceptionable genealogy of Christ the Messiah, who was to be born of this nation, according to original and repeated promise.[2]

PART II. *The Institution of various Legal Ceremonies*, — as,

SECT. 1. The purification of the camp, by the removal of all unclean persons from it, and the trial of the suspected adulteress by the waters of jealousy. (Numb. v.)

SECT. 2. The institution of the Nazareate. (vi.)

SECT. 3. An account of the oblations made to the tabernacle by the princes or heads of tribes. (vii.)

SECT. 4. The consecration of the Levites. (viii.)

SECT. 5. The celebration of the passover. (ix.)

SECT. 6. Regulations concerning the moving or resting of the camp of Israel during their progress. (x.)

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[1] Reeves's edition of the Bible, Vol. I. on Numb. ii. 2.
[2] Pyle's Paraphrase, &c. on the Old Test. vol. ii. p. 150.

PART III. *The History of their Journey from Mount Sinai to the Land of Moab, comprising an Account of their Eight Murmurings in the Way.*

SECT. 1. *The first murmuring of the people on account of the length of the way;* which was punished by fire at Taberah. (xi. 1—3.)

SECT. 2. *Their Loathing of Manna, and Murmuring for Flesh,* punished by the sending of quails and a pestilence. (xi. 4—35.)

SECT. 3. *The Murmuring of Aaron and Miriam at Moses,* for which Miriam was smitten with a leprosy, but was healed at the intercession of Moses. (xii.)

SECT. 4. The instructions given to the spies who were sent to explore the promised land, and their "evil report" of it. (xiii.) *The Murmuring of the People at Kadesh-Barnea;* for which all of them, who were twenty years old and upward, were deprived of entering into Canaan: and the men that brought up "the evil report of the land died by the plague," excepting Joshua and Caleb. In ch. xv. some ordinances are given for conducting the worship of Jehovah in the land of Canaan.

SECT. 5. *The Murmuring and Rebellion* of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their followers, with their punishment. (xvi. 1—40.)

SECT. 6. *The Murmuring of the People against Moses and Aaron,* on account of the preceding judgment, and their punishment, with Aaron's intercession for them.[1] (xvi. 41—50.) The miraculous budding of Aaron's rod among the rods of the tribes, as a confirmation of his priesthood, and as a monument against the rebels (xvii.); which was succeeded by some directions concerning the dignity and superiority of the priestly office over that of the Levites, and respecting the maintenance of both (xviii.), together with regulations concerning the water of separation made with the ashes of a red heifer, and its use for the purification of those who were unclean. (xix.)

SECT. 7. *Their Murmuring in the Desert of Zin for Water,* the unbelief of Moses, the perfidy of the Edomites, and Aaron's death. (xx.)

SECT. 8. *Their Murmuring, as "they journeyed to compass the land of Edom,"* when "the soul of the people was discouraged because of the length of the way," and also their loathing of manna, by them contemptuously termed "light bread;" for which they were punished with fiery serpents, but on repentance were healed by a brasen serpent. (xxi.)

PART IV. *A History of the Transactions which took place in the Plains of Moab* (xxii—xxxvi.); including,

SECT. 1. The machinations of their enemies against them, their frustration, and the prophecies of Balaam respecting the Jews and their

[1] In Aaron making intercession for the rebel Israelites, we behold a lively type of Jesus Christ, who is *a merciful and faithful high priest, in things pertaining to God, to make intercession for the sins of the people.* (Heb. ii. 17.) "Does not He, while the pestilence of sin is raging in the world at large, or in the bodies of individuals, stand between us and sin with the incense of his intercession, and the offering of his blood, and make an atonement and stay the plague, and death eternal, to all who have a lively faith in Him? *He is able to save them unto the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them.* (Heb. vii. 25.)" Plumptre's Popular Commentary on the Bible, vol. i. p. 253.

enemies[1], the ensnaring of the Israelites to commit idolatry by the Moabites, with their consequent punishment. (xxii.—xxv.)

SECT. 2. A second enumeration of the people (xxvi.); in which are displayed "the singular providence of God, and the further accomplishment of his promise to the patriarchs, in multiplying the people of Israel so exceedingly, that in all the tribes there were only 61,020 men" less than at the first census[2], "notwithstanding the whole of that murmuring generation" (with the exception of Joshua, Caleb, and a few others,) "perished in the wilderness."[3]

SECT. 3. The remaining chapters relate the appointment of Joshua to be the successor of Moses, and various regulations concerning sacrifices, and the partition of the promised land. (xxvii.—xxxvi.) The thirty-third chapter contains a recapitulation of the several stages of the journeyings of the Israelites. As the best elucidation of this subject, the reader is referred to the accompanying Map, together with the subjoined—

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[1] On the accomplishment of all these prophecies delivered by Balaam, consult Bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. i. diss. v. and the Dissertation sur les Prophéties de Balaam, in the Bible de Vence, tom. iii. pp. 274—313. — "Though God had probably rejected Balaam as an apostate prophet, he deigned to employ him on this signal occasion as the herald of the divine oracles; to illustrate the impotency of the heathen arts, and to demonstrate the power and foreknowledge of the Divine Spirit." (Dr. Gray.) Bishop Butler has a fine discourse on the character of Balaam, Works, vol. i. serm. vii.

[2] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 26. The following comparative statement will show how much some of the tribes had *increased*, and others had *diminished*, since the first enumeration:

	Ch. i.	Ch. xxvi.	
Reuben	46,500	43,730	2,770 *decrease*
Simeon	59,300	22,200	37,100 *decrease*
Gad	45,650	40,500	5,150 *decrease*
Judah	74,600	76,500	1,900 increase
Issachar	54,400	64,300	9,900 increase
Zebulon	57,400	60,500	3,100 increase
Manasseh	32,200	52,700	20,500 increase
Ephraim	40,500	32,500	8,000 *decrease*
Benjamin	35,400	45,600	10,200 increase
Dan	62,700	64,400	1,700 increase
Asher	41,500	53,400	11,900 increase
Naphtali	53,400	45,400	8,000 *decrease*
Total	603,550	601,730	1,820 *decrease* on the *whole* in 3 years.

Decrease in all 61,020. Increase in all 59,200.

Mr. Reeves's edition of the Bible with Notes, on Numb. xxvi. 62. Dr. A. Clarke on Numb. xxvi. 51.

	Ch. iii.	Ch. xxvi.	
Levites	22,300	23,300	increase 1000.

[3] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 26. § 4.

TABLE OF THE STATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE WILDERNESS.[1]

(*From Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, Vol. I. pp.* 395—400.)

Y.	M.	D.					
1.	1.	15.	1. Rameses, near Cairo	Exod. xii.	37.	Numb. xxxiii.	3
			2. Succoth	—— xii.	37.	—— xxxiii.	3
			3. Etham, or Adsjerud	—— xiii.	20.	—— xxxiii.	5
			4. Pihahiroth, or Valley of Bedea	—— xiv.	1.	—— xxxiii.	7.
			5. Shur; — Ain Musa	—— xv.	22.	—— xxxiii.	8.
			6. Desert of Shur, or Etham				
			7. Marah, — "bitter" waters healed	—— xv.	23.	—— xxxiii.	8.
			8. Elim, Valley of Corondel	—— xv.	27.	—— xxxiii.	9.
			9. Encampment by the Red Sea			—— xxxiii.	10.
1.	2.	15.	10. Desert of Sin, Valley of Baharan	—— xvi.	1.	—— xxxiii.	11.
			Mannah, for 40 years	—— xvi.	13.		
			Quails, for a day	—— xvi.	35.		
			Sabbath renewed, or revived	—— xvi.	23.		
			11. Dopkah			—— xxxiii.	12.
			12. Aluth			—— xxxiii.	13.
			13. Rephidim	—— xvii.	1.	—— xxxiii.	14.
			Water, from the rock Massah	—— xvii.	6.		
			Amalekites defeated	—— xvii.	13.		
			Jethro's visit	—— xviii.	5.		
			Judges appointed	—— xviii.	25.		
1.	3.	15.	14. Mount Sinai, or Horeb	—— xix.	1.	—— xxxiii.	15.
			The Decalogue given	—— xx.	1.		
			The Covenant made	—— xxiv.	7.		
			The Golden Calf	—— xxxii.	6.		
				Nehe. ix.	18.		
1.	6.		The Covenant renewed	—— xxxiv.	27.		
			The first Muster, or Numbering	—— xxxviii.	26.		
2.	1.	1.	The Tabernacle erected	—— xl.	17.		
			Aaron consecrated and his Sons	Levit. viii.	6.		
2.	1.	8.	Sacrifices of Atonement	—— ix.	1.		
2.	1.	14.	The second Passover	Num. ix.	5.		
2.	2.	1.	The second Muster	—— i.	3.		
			Nadab and Abihu destroyed	—— iii.	4.		
				Levit. x.	1.		
2.	2.	20.	15. Desert of Paran	Num. x.	12.		
			16. Taberah	—— x.	33.		
			Murmuring of the people	—— xi.	3.		
			17. Kibroth Hataavah, or Tophel	—— xi.	34.	—— xxxiii.	16.
				Deut. i.	1.		
			Quails, for a month				
			Plague of the People				
			Council of LXX appointed				
			18. Hazeroth	Num. xi.	35.	—— xxxiii.	17.
				Deut. i.	1.		
			Miriam's Leprosy	Num. xii.	10.		

[1] In the Bible de Vence, tom. iii. pp. 365—405. there is an elaborate Geographical Dissertation sur les xlii. Stations des Israelites.

Y.	M.	D.						
2.	5.		19. Kadesh Barnea, in Rithmah, or "the Desert" of Sin, or Paran	Num.	xii.	16.	Numb.	xxxiii. 18.
				——	xxxii.	8.		
			Twelve Spies sent	——	xiii.	2.		
2.	7.	6.	Their Return	——	xiii.	26.		
			The People rebel	——	xiv.	2.		
			Sentenced to wander 40 years	——	xiv.	33.		
				——	xxxii.	13.		
			Ten of the Spies destroyed	——	xiv.	37.		
			The People defeated by the Amalekites	——	xiv.	45.		
			Rebellion of Korah, &c.	——	xvi.	1.		
			Budding of Aaron's Rod	——	xvii.	10.		
			20. Rimmon Parez				——	xxxiii. 19.
			21. Libnah, or Leban	Deut.	i.	1.	——	xxxiii. 20.
			22. Rissah				——	xxxiii. 21.
			23. Kehelathah				——	xxxiii. 22.
			24. Mount Shaphar				——	xxxiii. 23.
			25. Haradath, or Hazar Addar, or Adar	Num.	xxxiv.	4.	——	xxxiii. 24.
				Josh.	xv.	3.		
			26. Makeloth				——	xxxiii. 25.
			27. Tahath				——	xxxiii. 26.
			28. Tarah				——	xxxiii. 27.
			29. Mitcah				——	xxxiii. 28.
			30. Hashmonah, or Azmon, or Selmonah	Num.	xx.	4.	——	xxxiii. 29.
				Josh.	xv.	4.		
			31. Beeroth	Deut.	x.	6.		
			32. Moseroth, or Mosera				——	xxxiii. 30.
			33. Benejaakan, or Banea				——	xxxiii. 31.
			34. Horhagidgad, or Gudgodah	——	x.	7.	——	xxxiii. 32.
			35. Jotbatha, or Etebatha or Elath	——	ii.	8.	——	xxxiii. 33.
				1 Kin.	ix.	26.		
			36. Ebrona				——	xxxiii. 34.
			37. Ezion Geber, or Dizahab	Deut.	i.	1.	——	xxxiii. 35.
40.	1.		38. Kadesh Barnea again, after 38 years	——	ii.	14.	——	xxxiii. 36.
			Miriam's Death	Num.	xx.	1.		
			Water from the rock Meribah	——	xx.	13.		
			Moses and Aaron offend	——	xx.	12.		
				——	xxvii.	14.		
			39. Mount Hor, or Seir, on the edge of Edom	——	xx.	22.	——	xxxiii. 37.
			Aaron's death	——	xx.	23.	——	xxxiii. 38.
40.	5.		King Arad attacks the Israelites	——	xxi.	1.		
			40. Kibroth Hataavah, or Taphet, again	Deut.	i.	1.		
			41. Zalmonah, or Hashmonah, again				——	xxxiii. 41.
			The People bitten by fiery Serpents					
			The Brasen Serpent erected	Num.	xxi.	8.		
			42. Punon				——	xxxiii. 42.
			43. Oboth	——	xxi.	10.	——	xxxiii. 43.
			44. Jim, or Jie Abarim in the border of Moab				——	xxxiii. 44.

Y.	M.	D.						
			45.	The valley and brook Zered	Num. xxi. 12. Deut. ii. 13.			
			46.	Arnon	Num. xxi. 12.			
			47.	Beer, or Beer Elim	—— xxi. 16. Isaiah xv. 8.			
			48.	Jahaz	Num. xxi. 23.			
			49.	Heshbon	—— xxi. 24.			
				Sihon defeated				
			50.	Jaazar	—— xxi. 32.			
			51.	Edrei	—— xxi. 33.			
				Og defeated				
			52.	Dibon Gad		Numb.	xxxiii.	45.
			53.	Almon Diblathaim	Ezek. vi. 14	——	xxxiii.	46.
			54.	Mattanah	Num. xxi. 18.			
			55.	Nahiliel	—— xxi. 19.			
			56.	Bamoth	—— xxi. 19.			
			57.	Pisgah	—— xxi. 20.			
			58.	Abarim		——	xxxiii.	47.
			59.	Shittim, or Abel Shittim	Num. xxv. 1.	——	xxxiii.	48.
				In the plains of Moab	Josh. iii. 1.			
				Idolatry of Baal Peor	Num. xxv. 3.			
				Midianites punished	—— xxv. 17.			
				The third Muster	—— xxvi. 2.			
40.	11.	1.		Last exhortation of Moses	Deut. i. 2.			
40.	12.	1.		Joshua appointed his Successor	Num. xxvii. 18. Deut. xxxiv. 9.			
				Death of Moses	—— xxxiv. 5.			
				A Month's Mourning	—— xxxiv. 8.			
41.	1.	1.	60.	Joshua sends two Spies	Josh. ii. 1.			
41.	1.	10.		Passage of the river Jordan	—— iv. 29.			

VII. Few passages in the Pentateuch have more exercised the ingenuity of biblical critics, than *the Book of the Wars of the Lord* mentioned in Numb. xxi. 14. Aben-Ezra, Hottinger, and others, are of opinion that it refers to this book of the Pentateuch, because in it are related various battles of the Israelites with the Amorites: Hezelius, and after him Michaelis, think it was an Amoritish writing, containing triumphal songs in honour of the victories obtained by Sihon king of the Amorites, from which Moses cited the words that immediately follow. Fonseca and some others refer it to the book of Judges. Le Clerc understands it of the wars of the Israelites who fought under the direction of Jehovah, and, instead of book, he translates it, with most of the Jewish doctors, *narration*; and proposes to render the verse thus: — "Wherefore, in the narration of the wars of the Lord, there is (or shall be) mention of what he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon." — Lastly, Dr. Lightfoot considers this book to have been some book of remembrances and directions written by Moses for Joshua's private instruction, for the prosecution of the wars after his decease. (See Exod. xvii. 14—16.) This opinion appears to us the most simple, and is, in all probability, the true one.

SECTION VI.

ON THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

I. *Title, Date, and Chronology.* — II. *Scope.* — III. *Predictions of the Messiah.* — IV. *Synopsis of Contents.* — V. *Observations.* — *Table or Harmony of the Mosaic Law.*

I. THE Jews call this fifth book of Moses אלה הדברים (ALEH HADEBARIM), that is, *and he spake*, because the original commences with these words: by some rabbins it is called משנה תורה (MISNEH TORAH), or *the repetition of the law*, while others term it ספר תוכחות (SEPHER TUKHHUTH), or the *Book of Reproofs*, on account of the numerous reproofs of the Israelites by Moses. The Greeks and Latins respectively call it ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΟΝ, *Deuteronomium*, (whence our English title Deuteronomy is derived,) that is to say, the *second law* (Δευτερος Νομος) because it contains a second statement of the laws which Moses had formerly promulgated to the Israelites. From a comparison of Deut. i. 5. with xxxiv. 1. it appears to have been written by Moses in the plains of Moab, a short time before his death; and this circumstance will account for that affectionate earnestness with which he addresses the Israelites. The period of time comprised in this book is five *lunar* weeks, or, according to some chronologers, about two months, viz. from the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year after the exodus of Israel from Egypt, to the eleventh day of the twelfth month of the same year, A.M. 2553, B.C. 1451. From the account of Moses's death recorded in the thirty-fourth chapter of this book, and the insertion of some explanatory words in other parts of Deuteronomy, it has been insinuated that Moses could not have been its author: but the following remark will clearly prove this notion to be unfounded. The words of Moses (as we have already had occasion to remark) evidently conclude with the thirty-third chapter: the thirty-fourth was added to complete the history, the first eight verses probably immediately after his death by his successor Joshua, the last four by some later writer, probably Samuel or Ezra, or some prophet that succeeded Samuel. Another and equally satisfactory solution of this difficulty is the following: viz. that what *now* forms the *last* chapter of Deuteronomy, was formerly the first of Joshua, but was removed thence, and joined to Deuteronomy by way of supplement. This opinion will not appear improbable, when it is considered that sections and other divisions, as well as points and pauses, were invented long since these books were written: for, in those early ages, several books were connected together, and followed each other on the same roll. The beginning of one book might, therefore, be easily transferred to the end of another, and in process of time be considered as its real conclusion, as in the case of Deuteronomy; especially as this supplemental chapter contains an account of the last transactions and death of the great author of the Pentateuch.[1]

[1] Alexander's Hebrew and English Pentateuch, cited by Dr. Clarke on Deut. xxxiv. who is of opinion that this chapter should constitute the first chapter of the book of Joshua.

THE GREAT OR
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Sidon
Hobah
Damascus
Mt Hermon
Tyre
Dan
Edrei
Mt Tabor
Jabbar Abel
Jezer
Jeppa
Jericho
Heshbon
JERUSALEM
Hebron
Engedi
Gaza
Beersheba
DEAD SEA
Wilderness of Kedemosh
Sirbonic Lake
Shur
Horites
THE VILE
River of Egypt
Desert of Etham Sedur or
ARABIA PETRÆA
Cairo
Mt Hor
Actabah
Elath
Desert of Paran Zin or Kadesh
Hepopolitic or Western Gulph
Elanic or Eastern Gulph
THE RED SEA
EGYPT
MAP OF THE JOURNEYINGS
OF THE
Children of Israel,
FROM
Egypt through the Desert
TO THE
LAND OF CANAAN.

II. The SCOPE of the book of Deuteronomy is, to repeat to the Israelites, before Moses left them, the chief laws of God which had been given to them; that those who were not born at the time when they were originally delivered, or were incapable of understanding them, might be instructed in these laws, and excited to attend to them, and, consequently, be better prepared for the promised land upon which they were entering. With this view the sacred historian recapitulates the various mercies which God had bestowed upon them and their forefathers, from their departure out of Egypt; the victories which by divine assistance they had obtained over their enemies; their rebellion, ingratitude, and chastisements. The moral, ceremonial, and judicial laws are repeated with additions and explanations: and the people are urged to obedience in the most affectionate manner, from the consideration of the endearing promises made to them by God, which he would assuredly perform, if they did not frustrate his designs of mercy by their own wilful obstinacy. That no person might thereafter plead ignorance of the divine law, he commanded that it should be read to all the people at the end of every seventh year; and concluded his ministerial labours among the Israelites by a most admirable ode, which he commanded every one to learn, and by giving his prophetic benediction to the twelve tribes.

III. This book contains only one PROPHECY RELATIVE TO THE MESSIAH, viz. Deut. xviii. 15. 18, 19. which was fulfilled fifteen hundred years after it had been delivered, and is expressly applied to Jesus Christ in Acts iii. 22, 23. and vii. 37.[1]; it also comprises several very remarkable predictions relative to the Israelites, some of which are fulfilled before our eyes. "These prophecies," it has been justly remarked[2], "become more numerous and distinct towards the close of his life. His denunciations with respect to the future state of the Israelites; the sufferings, the dispersions, and the devastations to which they were to be subject; the prophetic blessings which he pronounced on the different tribes by name; the clear foresight which he had of the rapid victories of their invaders, and of the extreme miseries which they were to experience when besieged; his express predictions relating to the future condition of the Jews, which we see accomplished in the present day: — all these circumstances, when united, bear ample testimony to the truth and authenticity of this sacred book, and present to our minds a memorable instance of the divine justice."

IV. The Jews divide this book into ten paraschioth or chapters: in our Bibles it consists of thirty-four chapters, the contents of which may be arranged under the four following heads: —

PART I. *A Repetition of the History related in the preceding Books;* comprising,

SECT. 1. A relation of the events that took place in the wilderness, from their leaving Mount Horeb, until their arrival at Kadesh. (Deut. i.)

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[1] On the accomplishment of this prediction, see Vol. I. pp. 538, 539. Bishop Newton's *Sixth* Dissertation, and Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. pp. 130—149. edit. 1768.

[2] By Mr. Hewlett, Introd. to Deut. in vol. i. of his Commentary on the Bible, 4to. edit.

Sect. 2. Their journey from Kadesh till they came to the land of the Amorites, and the defeat of Sihon their king, and of Og king of Bashan, together with the division of their territories among the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh. (ii. iii.)

Sect. 3. An exhortation to obey the divine law, and to avoid idolatry, founded on their past experience of the goodness of God. (iv.)

Part II. *A Repetition of the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial law;* containing,

Sect. 1. *A Repetition of the Moral Law or Ten Commandments* (v. 1—22.) and its effect upon the people of Israel (v. 22—33.); — an exposition of the *first* commandment, with an exhortation to love God with all their hearts (vi.); — an exposition of the *second* commandment against idolatry, prohibiting any intercourse with the idolatrous nations, and enjoining the extirpation of the Canaanites and every vestige of their idolatry (vii.); — strong motives to obedience, arising from a review of their past mercies, and from the consideration that Jehovah was about to conduct them into the promised land, not on account of their own righteousness, but of his great mercy. (viii. ix. x. xi.)

Sect. 2. *A Repetition of the Ceremonial Law* (xii.—xvi.); — a command to abolish all idolatry, and regulations for the worship of God (xii.); — laws against false prophets, and idolatrous cities (xiii.); — prohibition against disfiguring themselves in mourning (xiv. 1, 2.); — a recapitulation of the law concerning clean and unclean animals (xiv. 3—21.), — and the payment of tithes to the Levites (xiv. 22—29.); — regulations concerning the year of release (xv.); — concerning the stated annual feasts, the Passover, Pentecost, and Feast of Tabernacles (xvi. 1—17.), the election of judges, and administration of justice (xvi. 18—20.); — a prohibition against planting groves or setting up idols near the altar of God. (xvi. 21, 22.)

Sect. 3. *A Repetition and Exposition of the Judicial Law* (xvii.—xxvi.); — a command to put idolaters to death, regulations for determining difficult controversies, and concerning the election and qualifications of a king (xvii.); — the maintenance of the priests and Levites (xviii. 1—8.); — cautions against following the abominations of the Gentile nations, especially divination (xviii. 9—14.); — a prediction relative to the great prophet that should arise (xviii. 15—19.); — criteria for distinguishing false prophets from true ones (xviii. 20—22.); — laws relative to the cities of refuge (xix. 1—10.), the treatment of murderers (xix. 11—13.), and the evidence of witnesses (xix. 15—21.); — laws concerning war and the treatment of the Canaanites (xx.); — the expiation of uncertain murder, marriage with captives, rights of the first-born, punishment of a disobedient son, &c. (xxi.); — regulations concerning things lost or strayed, the distinguishing of the sexes by their apparel, punishment of adultery, &c. (xxii.); — who may or may not enter into the congregation — prohibition against all uncleanness — regulations concerning usury, vows, and trespasses (xxiii.); — of divorces, the privileges of newly married men, pledges, manstealing, wages, the execution of justice, and gleanings (xxiv.); — concerning lawsuits and punishments, weights and measures, &c. (xxv.); — ceremonies to be observed in offering first-fruits (xxvi. 1—15.); — the covenant between God and the Israelites. (xxvi. 16—19.)

Part III. *The Confirmation of the Law; for which purpose the law*

was to be written on stones, and set up on Mount Ebal (xxvii.); — *prophetic promises to the obedient, and curses against the disobedient* (xxviii.[1]); — *an exhortation to obedience from a review of their past mercies, and to dedicate themselves and their posterity to God* (xxix.); — *promises of pardon to the repentant* (xxx. 1—14.); — *good and evil set before them.* (xxx. 15—20.)

PART IV. *The Personal History of Moses, until his Death;* containing,

SECT. 1. His appointment of Joshua to be his successor (xxxi. 1—8.); — and his delivery of a copy of the law to the priests, to be deposited in the ark, and publicly read every seventh year (xxxi. 9—14.); — a solemn charge given to Joshua, &c. (xxxi. 15—27.)

SECT. 2. The people convened to hear the prophetical and historical ode of Moses (xxxi. 28—30.), which occupies nearly the whole of chapter xxxii.

SECT. 3. His prophetic blessing of the twelve tribes, and their peculiar felicity and privilege in having Jehovah for their God and protector. (xxxiii.)

SECT. 4. The death and burial of Moses. (xxxiv.)

V. "The book of Deuteronomy and the Epistle to the Hebrews contain the best comment on the nature, design, and use of the law: the former may be considered as an evangelical commentary on the four preceding books, in which the spiritual reference and signification of the different parts of the law are given, and given in such a manner as none could give, who had not a clear discovery of the glory which was to be revealed. It may be safely asserted that very few parts of the Old Testament Scriptures can be read with greater profit by the genuine Christian than the book of Deuteronomy."[2]

The prophetic ode of Moses is one of the noblest compositions in the sacred volume; it contains a justification on the part of God against the Israelites, and an explanation of the nature and design of the divine judgments. The exordium, Bishop Lowth remarks, is singularly magnificent: the plan and conduct of the poem is just and natural, and well accommodated to the subject, for it is almost in the order of an historical narration. It embraces a variety of subjects and sentiments; it displays the truth and justice of God; his paternal love, and his unfailing tenderness to his chosen people; and, on the other hand, their ungrateful and contumacious spirit. — The ardour of the divine indignation, and the heavy denunciations of vengeance, are afterwards expressed in a remarkable personification, which is not to be paralleled from all the choicest treasures of the muses. The fervour of wrath is however tempered with the mildest beams of lenity and mercy, and ends at last in promises and consolation. The subject and style of this poem bear so exact a resemblance to the prophetic as well as to the lyric compositions of the Hebrews, that it unites all the force, energy, and boldness of the latter, with the exquisite variety and grandeur of the former.[3]

The following useful TABLE or HARMONY of the entire Jewish law,

[1] On the prophecies contained in this chapter, see Bishop Newton, vol. i. diss. vii.

[2] Dr. A. Clarke, Pref. to Deut. p. ii. in vol. i. of his Commentary.

[3] Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Lect. 28. at the beginning, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257. of Dr. Gregory's translation.

digested into proper heads, with references to the several parts of the Pentateuch where the respective laws occur, will assist the Bible student in investigating the tenor and design of the Mosaic Institutes, and also facilitate his references to every part of them. It is copied from Mr. Wilson's "Archæological Dictionary," article LAW; where it is stated to be "taken from a manuscript in the Library of St. John Baptist's College" (Oxford), "given by archbishop Laud," and probably either compiled by him or by his direction. It is divided into three classes, exhibiting the Moral, Ceremonial, and Political Law.

THE FIRST CLASS.

The Moral Law written on the Two Tables, containing the Ten Commandments.

The first Table, which includes	Exod. chap.	Levitic. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
The First Commandment,	20. 13.	—	—	5, 6.
The Second Commandment,	20.23.34.	19.26.18.	—	4,5,6,7,8. 10,11,12, 13.
The Third Commandment,	20. 23.	—	—	5.
The Fourth Commandment,	20.23.31. 34, 35.	19.23.26.	—	—
The second Table, including				
The Fifth Commandment,	20. 22.	19.	—	5.
The Sixth Commandment,	20.	19.	—	5.
The Seventh Commandment,	20.	18, 19.	—	5. 23.
The Eighth Commandment,	20. 22.	19.	—	5.
The Ninth Commandment,	20. 23.	19.	—	5.
The Tenth Commandment,	20.	—	—	5.
The Sum of both Tables,	—	19.	—	6.

THE SECOND CLASS.

The Ceremonial Law may be fitly reduced to the following Heads; viz.

	Exod. chap.	Levitic. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
Of the holy place,	20.	17.	—	12.
Of the matter and structure of the tabernacle,	25, 26, 27. 35.	—	—	—
Of the instruments of the same; viz.				
The laver of brass,	30.	—	—	—
The altar of burnt offering,	27.	—	—	—
The altar of incense,	30.	—	—	—
The candlestick of pure gold,	25.	—	—	—
The table of shew-bread,	25, 26.	—	—	—
Of the priests and their vestments for glory and beauty,	28.	—	—	—
Of the choosing of the Levites,	—	—	18. 3. 8.	—
Of the priest's office in general,	—	—	3. 18.	—

	Exod. chap.	Levitic. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
Of their office in teaching,	—	19. 10.	—	18.12.17. 31.
Of their office in blessing,	—	—	6.	—
Of their office in offering, which function largely spreading itself is divided into these heads; viz.				
What the sacrifice ought to be,	—	22.	—	15. 17.
Of the continual fire,	—	6.	—	—
Of the manner of the burnt offerings,	—	6, 7.	—	—
——— of the peace offerings,	—	3. 7.	—	—
——— of the sacrifices according to their several kinds; viz.				
For sin committed through ignorance of the law,	—	4.	5.	—
For sin committed through ignorance of the fact,	—	5. 7.	—	—
For sin committed wittingly, yet not through impiety,	—	6.	5.	—
The special law of sacrifices for sin,	—	6, 7.	—	—
Of things belonging to the sacrifices,	—	2. 6, 7.	15.	—
Of the shew bread,	—	24.	—	—
Of the lamps,	27.	24.	8.	—
Of the sweet incense,	30.	—	—	—
Of the use of ordinary oblations, whereof there were several kinds observed by the priests;				
Of the consecration of the high priests and other priests,	29, 30.	6. 8.	—	—
Of the consecrations and office of the Levites,	—	—	8.	—
Of the dwellings of the Levites,	—	—	35.	—
Of the anointing the altar, and all the instruments of the tabernacle,	29, 30.	—	—	—
Of the continual daily sacrifices,	29.	—	28.	—
Of the continual sabbath-days' sacrifice,	—	—	28.	—
Of the solemn sacrifice for feast-days, which were diverse, and had peculiar rites, distinguished into these; viz.				
Of trumpets,	—	—	10.	—
Of kalends or beginning of months,	—	—	28.	—
Of the three most solemn feasts in general,	23, 34.	23.	—	16.
Of the feast of passover,	12, 13. 25. 34.	23.	9. 28.	16.
Of the feast of pentecost,	23, 24.	23.	28.	16.
Of the feast of tabernacles,	23. 34.	23.	29.	16.
Of the feast of blowing the trumpets,	—	23.	29.	—
Of the feast of expiation,	30.	16. 13.	29.	—
Of the first fruits,	22, 23. 34.	2.	15.	26.
Of tithes,	—	21.	18.	12. 14. 26.
Of fruits growing and not eaten of,	—	19.	—	—
Of the first-born,	13. 22. 34.	—	—	15.
Of the sabbatical year,	23.	25.	—	—
Of the year of jubilee,	—	25.	—	—
Of vows in general,	—	27.	30.	13.
What persons ought not to make vows,	—	—	30.	—
What things cannot be vowed,	—	27.	—	23.
Of redemption of vows,	—	27.	—	—
Of the vows of the Nazarites,	—	—	6.	—
Of the laws proper for the priests; viz.				
Of pollutions,	—	22.	—	—
Of the high priest's mourning,	—	21.	—	—
Of his marriage,	—	21.	—	—
Of the mourning of the ordinary priests,	—	21.	—	—
Of their marriage,	—	21.	—	—
Of their being forbid the use of wine, &c.	—	10.	—	—

	Exod. chap.	Levitic. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
Of sanctified meats,	—	6. 17. 19. 22.	5. 18.	12.15.18.
Of the office of the Levites; viz.				
Teaching,	—	—	—	17.27.31.
Offering,	—	—	3. 4. 18.	10.
Other promiscuous ceremonial laws; viz.				
Of uncleanness in general,	—	15. 19.	5.	—
Of uncleanness in meats; viz.				
Of blood, Gen. ix.	23.	7. 17. 19.	—	12.
Of fat,	—	3. 7.	—	—
Of dead carcasses,	22.	17.	—	14.
Other meats and diverse living creatures,	—	11. 20.	—	14.
Of uncleanness in the issue of seed and blood,	—	15. 12.	—	23.
In the dead bodies of men,	—	—	19.	—
In the leprosy,	—	13, 14.	5.	24.
Of circumcision, Gen. xvii.	—	12.	—	—
Of the water of expiation,	—	—	19.	—
Of the mourning of the Israelites,	—	19.	—	14.
Of mixtures,	—	19.	—	22.
Of their garments and writing the law privately,	—	—	15.	6. 11. 22.
Of young birds not to be taken with the dam,	—	—	—	22.
Of their paddle staves,	—	—	—	23.

The Third Class.

The Political Law.

	Exod. chap.	Levitic. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
N. B. The magistrate is the keeper of the precepts of both Tables, and to have respect to human society;—therefore the political laws of the *Israelites* are referred to both the Tables, and are to be reduced to the several precepts of The Moral Law.				
Laws referred to the first Table, namely, 1st, to the 1st and 2d Commandments; viz.				
Of idolators and apostates,	22.	20.	—	13. 17.
Of abolishing idolatry,	23, 24.	—	—	7. 12.
Of diviners and false prophets,	22.	19, 20.	—	18.
Of covenants with other gods,	23. 34.	—	—	7.
2d. To the third commandment; viz.				
Of blasphemies,	—	24.	15.	—
3d. To the fourth commandment; viz.				
Of breaking the sabbath,	31. 35.	—	15.	—
Political laws referred to the second table: 1st, To the fifth commandment; viz.				
Of magistrates and their authority,	18. 30.	—	11.	16, 17. 23.
Of the power of fathers,	21.	20.	—	21.
2d. To the sixth commandment; viz.				
Of capital punishments,	—	—	—	21. 24.
Of wilful murder,	21.	24.	35.	19.
Of manslaughter unwittingly committed, and of the cities of refuge,	21.	—	35.	19.21, 22.
Of heinous injury,	21.	24.	—	25.
Of punishments not capital,	—	—	—	25.

	Exod. chap.	Levitic. chap.	Numb. chap.	Deut. chap.
Of the law of war,	—	—	—	20. 23.
3d. To the seventh commandment; viz.				
Of unlawful marriages,	—	18. 20.	—	7. 22.
Of fornication,	—	19.	—	23.
Of whoredom,	22.	21.	5.	22.
Of adultery and jealousy,	—	19. 20.	—	—
Of copulation against nature,	22.	18. 20.	—	—
Of divorcements,	—	—	—	24.
Other matrimonial laws,	21.	18. 20.	—	21, 22. 24. 25.
4th. To the eighth commandment; viz.				
Of the punishment of thefts,	22.	—	5.	—
Of sacrilege, Joshua vii.	—	—	—	—
Of not injuring strangers,	22, 23.	19.	—	10.
Of not defrauding hirelings,	—	19.	—	26. 25.
Of just weights,	—	19.	—	25.
Of removing the land-mark,	—	—	—	19.
Of lost goods,	22.	—	—	—
Of stray cattle,	22, 23.	—	—	22.
Of corrupted judgments,	23.	19.	—	16. 24.
Of fire breaking out by chance,	22.	—	—	—
Of man-stealing,	—	—	—	24.
Of the fugitive servant,	—	—	—	23.
Of gathering fruits,	—	19. 23.	—	23, 24.
Of contracts; viz.				
Borrowing,	—	—	—	15.
Of the pledge,	22.	—	—	24.
Of usury,	22.	25.	—	23.
Of selling,	21.	25.	—	15.
Of the thing lent,	22.	—	—	—
Of a thing committed to be kept,	22.	—	—	—
Of heirs,	—	—	26, 27. 33. 36.	21.
5th. To the ninth commandment; viz.				
Of witnesses,	—	5.	—	17. 19.
The establishing the political law,	—	—	—	4.
The establishing the divine law in general,	—	—	—	6. 11. 29. 30, 31.
From the dignity of the lawgiver,	—	19, 20. 22.	15.	5, 6, 7, 8.
From the excellency of the laws,	—	—	—	10. 26, 27.
From the promises,	15. 19. 23. 24.	18. 26.	—	4. 26. 4, 5, 6, 7. 10, 11, 12.
From the threatenings,	23.	26.	—	4. 7. 11. 27, 28, 29, 30.

In studying the Pentateuch, particularly the four last books, the "Lectures" of the Rev. Dr. Graves, and the "Horæ Mosaicæ" of the Rev. G. S. Faber will be found of great use.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

THIS division of the Sacred Writings comprises twelve books; viz. from Joshua to Esther inclusive: the first seven of these books are, by the Jews, called the *former prophets*, probably because they treat of the more antient periods of Jewish history [1], and because they are most justly supposed to be written by prophetical men. The events recorded in these books occupy a period of almost one thousand years, which commences at the death of Moses, and terminates with the great national reform effected by Nehemiah, after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.

It is evident, from an examination of the historical books, that they are collections from the authentic records of the Jewish nation: and it should seem, that though the substance of the several histories was written under divine direction, when the events were fresh in memory, and by persons who were evidently contemporary with the transactions which they have narrated, yet that under the same direction they were disposed in the form, in which they have been transmitted to us, by some other person, long afterwards, and probably all by the same hand, and about the same time. Nothing, indeed, is more certain than that very ample memoirs or records of the Hebrew republic were written from the first commencement of the theocracy, to which the authors of these books very frequently refer. Such a practice is necessary in a well constituted state; we have evidence from the Sacred Writings that it antiently obtained among the heathen nations (compare Esther ii. 23. and vi. 1.): and there is evident proof that it likewise prevailed among the Israelites from the very beginning of their polity. (See Exod. xvii. 14.) Hence it is that we find the book of Jasher referred to in Josh. x. 13. and 2 Sam. i. 18., and that we also find such frequent references to the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah in the books of Samuel and Kings, and also to the books of Gad, Nathan, and Iddo. This conjecture is further strengthened by the two following circumstances, namely, *first*, that the days when the transactions took place are sometimes spoken of as being long since past [2], and, *secondly*, that things are so frequently mentioned as remaining *to this day* (as stones [3], names of places [4], rights and possessions [5], customs and usages [6]); which clauses were subsequently added to the history by the inspired

[1] On the Jewish Divisions of the Canon of Scripture, see Vol. II. pp. 161—163.
[2] Thus, in 1 Sam. ix. 9., "he that is now called a prophet was *beforetime* called a seer."
[3] See Josh. iv. 9. vii. 26. viii. 29. x. 27. 1 Sam. vi. 18.
[4] See Josh. v. 9. vii. 26. Judg. i. 26. xv. 19. xviii. 12. 2 Kings xiv. 7.
[5] See Judg. i. 21. and 1 Sam. xxvii. 6.
[6] See 1 Sam. v. 5. and 2 Kings xvii. 41.

collectors, in order to confirm and illustrate it to those of their own age. The learned commentator Henry, to whom we are indebted for these hints, thinks it not unlikely that the historical books, to the end of Kings, were compiled by the prophet Jeremiah, a short time before the captivity: he founds this opinion upon 1 Sam. xxvii. 6., where it is said of Ziklag, that it "*pertaineth to the kings of Judah to this day;*" which form of expression, he very justly remarks, commenced after the time of Solomon, and consequently terminated at the time of the captivity. The remaining five books, from 1 Chronicles to Esther, he thinks it still more probable, were compiled by Ezra the scribe, some time after the captivity; to whom uninterrupted testimony ascribes the completion of the sacred canon.

But, although we cannot determine with certainty the authors of the historical books, "yet we may rest assured that the Jews, who had already received inspired books from the hands of Moses, would not have admitted any others as of equal authority, if they had not been fully convinced that the writers were supernaturally assisted. Next to the testimony of Christ and his apostles, which corroborates all our reasoning respecting the inspiration of the Old Testament, (and, when distinct arguments for any particular book cannot be found, supplies their place,) we must depend, in the case before us, upon the testimony of the Jews. And although the testimony of a nation is far from being, in every instance, a sufficient reason for believing its sacred books to be possessed of that divine authority which is ascribed to them; yet the testimony of the Jews has a peculiar title to be credited, from the circumstances in which it was delivered. It is the testimony of a people, who, having already in their possession genuine inspired books, were the better able to judge of others which advanced a claim to inspiration: and who, we have reason to think, far from being credulous with respect to such a claim, or disposed precipitately to recognise it, proceeded with deliberation and care in examining all pretensions of this nature, and rejected them when not supported by satisfactory evidence. They had been forewarned that false prophets should arise, and deliver their own fancies in the name of the Lord: and, while they were thus put upon their guard, they were furnished with rules to assist them in distinguishing a true from a pretended revelation. (Deut. xviii. 20—22.) We have a proof that the antient Jews exercised a spirit of discrimination in this matter, at a period indeed later than that to which we refer, in their conduct with respect to the apocryphal books: for, although they were written by men of their own nation, and assumed the names of the most eminent personages, — Solomon, Daniel, Ezra, and Baruch, — yet they rejected them as human compositions, and left the *infallible* church to mistake them for divine. The testimony, then, of the Jews, who without a dissenting voice have asserted the inspiration of the historical books, authorises us to receive them as a part of the oracles of God, which were committed to their care." [1]

[1] Dick's Essay on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, pp. 184. 186.

The historical books are of very great importance for the right understanding of some other parts of the Old Testament: those portions, in particular, which treat on the life and reign of David, furnish a very instructive key to many of his psalms: and the prophetical books derive much light from these histories. But the attention of the sacred writers was not wholly confined to the Jewish people: they have given us many valuable, though incidental, notices concerning the state of the surrounding nations; and the value of these notices is very materially enhanced by the consideration, that, until the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the two latest Jewish historians, little or no dependance can be placed upon the relations of heathen writers.[1] But these books are to be considered not merely as a history of the Jewish church: they also clearly illustrate the proceedings of God towards the children of men, and form a perpetual comment on the declaration of the royal sage, that "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." (Prov. xiv. 34.) While they exhibit a mournful but impartial view of the depravity of the human heart, and thus prove that "man is very far gone from original righteousness;" they at the same time show "the faithfulness of God to his promises, the certain destruction of his enemies, and his willingness to extend mercy to the returning penitent. They manifest, also, the excellency of true religion, and its tendency to promote happiness in this life, as well as in that which is to come: and they furnish us with many prophetical declarations, the striking fulfilment of which is every way calculated to strengthen our faith in the word of God."

SECTION II.

ON THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

I. *Author, Genuineness, and Credibility of this Book.* — II. *Argument.* — III. *Scope and Design.* — IV. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — V. *Observations on the Book of Jasher mentioned in Joshua,* x. 13.

I. THE book of Joshua, which in all the copies of the Old Testament immediately follows the Pentateuch, is thus denominated, because it contains a narration of the achievements of Joshua the son of Nun, who had been the minister of Moses, and succeeded him in the command of the children of Israel; but by whom this book was written is a question concerning which learned men are by no means agreed.

1. From the absence of Chaldee words, and others of a later date, some are of opinion, not only that the book is of very great antiquity, but also that it was composed by Joshua himself. Of this

[1] Herodotus and Thucydides, the two most antient profane historians extant, were contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah, and could not write with any certainty of events much before their own time. Bishop Stillingfleet has admirably proved the obscurity, defects, and uncertainty of all antient profane history, in the first book of his Origines Sacræ, pp. 1—65. 8th edit. folio.

opinion were several of the fathers, and the talmudical writers, and among the moderns, Gerhard, Diodati, Huet, Alber, Bishops Patrick, Tomline, and Gray, and Dr. A. Clarke, who ground their hypothesis principally upon the following arguments:

(1.) Joshua is said (ch. xxiv. 26.) to have written the transactions there recorded "*in the book of the law of God*," so that the book which bears his name forms a continuation of the book of Deuteronomy, the two last chapters of which they think were written by Joshua. But, if we examine the context of the passage just cited, we shall find that it refers, not to the entire book, but solely to the renewal of the covenant with Jehovah by the Israelites.

(2.) In the passage (ch. xxiv. 29. *et seq.*) where the death and burial of Joshua are related, the style differs from the rest of the book, in the same manner as the style of Deut. xxiii. and xxxiv. varies, in which the decease and burial of Moses are recorded: and Joshua is here called, as Moses is in Deuteronomy, *the servant of God*, which plainly proves that this passage was added by a later hand.

(3.) The author intimates (ch. v. 1.) that he was one of those who passed into Canaan.

(4.) The whole book breathes the spirit of the law of Moses, which is a strong argument in favour of its having been written by Joshua, the particular servant of Moses.

The last three of these arguments are by no means destitute of weight, but they are opposed by others which show that the book, as we now have it, is not coëval with the transactions it records. Thus, we read in Josh. xv. 63. that the children of Judah could not drive out the Jebusites, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, "*but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem to this day.*" Now this joint occupation of Jerusalem by these two classes of inhabitants did not take place till after Joshua's death, when the children of Judah took that city (Judg. i. 8.), though the Jebusites continued to keep possession of the strong hold of Zion, whence they were not finally expelled until the reign of David. (2 Sam. v. 6—8.) The statement in Josh. iv. 9. (that the stones set up as a memorial of the passage of the Israelites over Jourdan are standing *to this day*), was evidently added by some later writer. The same remark will apply to Josh. xv. 13—19. compared with Judg. 1. 10—15. Josh. xvi. 10. with Judg. i. 29. and to Josh. xix. 47. collated with Judg. xviii. 29. Since, then, it appears from internal evidence that the book was not written by Joshua himself, the question recurs again, by whom was the book composed or compiled? Dr. Lightfoot ascribes it to Phinehas; Calvin thinks their conjecture most probable, who refer the writing of this book, or at least the compilation of the history, to the high priest Eleazar (whose death is recorded in the very last verse of the book); because it was the high priest's duty not only to teach the people orally, but also by writing to instruct posterity in the ways of God.[1] Henry, as we have already seen[2], ascribes it to Jeremiah;

[1] Calvin, Proleg. in Jos. op. tom. i. *in fine*. This great reformer, however, leaves the question undetermined, as being at most conjectural and uncertain.

[2] See p. 33. *supra*.

and Moldenhawer[1] and Van Til, to Samuel.[2] But, by whatever prophet or inspired writer this book was composed, it is evident from comparing Josh. xv. 63. with 2 Sam. v. 6—8. that it was written before the seventh year of David's reign, and, consequently, could not have been written by Ezra.

Further, if the book of Judges were not written later than the beginning of Saul's reign, as some eminent critics are disposed to think, or later than the seventh year of David's reign, which is the opinion of others, — the book of Joshua must necessarily have been written *before* one or other of those dates, because the author of the book of Judges not only repeats some things verbatim from Joshua[3], and slightly touches upon others which derive illustration from it[4]; but also, in two several instances (Judg. i. 1. and ii. 6—8.), commences his narrative from the death of Joshua, which was related in the close of the preceding book. If the book of Joshua had not been previously extant, the author of Judges would have begun his history from the occupation and division of the land of Canaan, which was suitable to his design in writing that book.

2. Whoever was the author of the book of Joshua, it is manifest, from the following considerations, that it was compiled from antient, authentic, and contemporary documents.

(1.) The example of Moses, who committed to writing the transactions of his own time, leads us to expect that some continuation would necessarily be made, not only to narrate the signal fulfilment of those promises, which had been given to the patriarchs, but also to preserve an account of the division of the land of Canaan among the particular tribes, as a record for future ages; and thus prevent disputes and civil wars, which in process of time might arise between powerful and rival tribes.

(2.) This remark is corroborated by express testimony: for in Josh. xviii. we not only read that the great captain of the Israelites caused a survey of the land to be made and *described* in a book, but in xxiv. 25. the author relates that Joshua committed to writing an account of the renewal of the covenant with God; whence it is justly inferred that the other transactions of this period were preserved in some authentic and contemporaneous document or commentary.

(3.) Without some such document, the author of this book could not have specified the limits of each tribe with so much minuteness, nor have related with accuracy the discourses of Caleb (Josh. xiv. 6—12.); neither could he have correctly related the discourses of Phinehas and the delegates who accompanied him, to the tribes beyond Jordan (Josh. xxii. 16—20.), nor the discourses of the tribes themselves (xxii. 21—30.), nor of Joshua (xxiii. and xxiv.); nor could he have so arranged the whole, as to be in perfect harmony with the law of Moses.

(4.) Without a contemporaneous and authentic document, the

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[1] Introd. ad Libros Biblicos, p. 36. [2] Opus Analyticum, vol. i. p. 410.

[3] Judg. ii. 6—9. is repeated from Josh. xxiv. 28—31. and Judg. i. 29. from Josh. xvi. 10.

[4] Thus Judg. i. 10—15. 20. derives light from Josh. xv.

author would not have expressed himself as in ch. v. 1. as if he had been present in the transactions which he has related, nor would he have written, as he has done in vi. 25. that "she dwelleth in Israel *unto this* day;" and this document he has expressly cited in x. 13. by the title of the "*Book of Jasher*," or of the Upright.[1] To these proofs may be added the two following; viz.

(5.) "The absence of any traces of disputes or civil wars among the tribes, concerning their respective boundaries.

"Some document of acknowledged authority, accurately settling the bounds of the several tribes, must have existed from the very partition, by reference to which disputes of this kind might be settled, or the peaceful state of the growing tribes would have been entirely without any example in the history of mankind.

(6.) "Without the existence of contemporaneous and authoritative records, the allotment of thirteen cities to the priests (ch. xxi. 13—19.) would have been nugatory. Aaron's family could not have been, at the time of the allotment, sufficiently numerous to occupy those cities. But it is altogether unlikely that these, with the adjoining lands, were left entirely unoccupied in expectation of their future owners. To afford security, therefore, to the sacerdotal family for their legitimate rights, when they should be in a condition to claim them, some document contemporaneous with the appropriation must have existed. Without such a document, innumerable disputes must have arisen, whenever they attempted to claim their possessions."[2]

3. Equally clear is it that the author of this book has made his extracts from authentic documents with religious fidelity, and, consequently, is worthy of credit: for,

(1.) In the first place, he has *literally* copied the speeches of Caleb, Phinehas, of the tribes beyond Jordan, and of Joshua, and in other passages has so closely followed his authority, as to write in v. 1. "*until we were passed over*," and in vi. 25. that Rahab "dwelleth in Israel *unto this day*." Hence, also, the tribes are not mentioned in the geographical order in which their respective territories were situate, but according to the order pursued in the original document, — namely, according to the order in which they received their tracts of land by lot. (Josh. xv.—xix.) Lastly, in conformity to his original document, the author has made no honourable mention of Joshua until after his death; whence it is highly probable that the commentary, from which this book was compiled, was originally written by Joshua himself.

(2.) This book was received as authentic by the Jews in that age when the original commentary was extant, and the author's fidelity could be subjected to the test of examination: and,

(3.) Several of the transactions related in the book of Joshua are recorded by other sacred writers with little or no material variations; thus, we find the conquest and division of Canaan, mentioned by Asaph

[1] Jahn and Akermann, Introd. in Libros Sacros Vet. Fœd. part ii. §§ 25—28.

[2] For the two preceding remarks, the author is indebted to the Rev. Dr. Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn's Introduction (p. 227. New York, 1827), a copy of which truly valuable work was received just as this sheet was going to press.

(Psal. lxxviii. 53—65. compared with Psal. xliv. 2—4.); the slaughter of the Canaanites by David (Psal. lxviii. 13—15.); the division of the waters of Jordan (Psal. cxiv. 1—5. Habak. iii. 8.); the terrible tempest of hailstones after the slaughter of the southern Canaanites (Hab. iii. 11—13. compared with Josh. x. 9—11.); and the setting up of the tabernacle at Shiloh, (Josh. xviii. 1.) in the books of Judges (xviii. 31.) and Samuel. (1 Sam. i. 3. 9. 24. and iii. 21.)

(4.) Lastly, every thing related in the book of Joshua not only accurately corresponds with the age in which that hero lived, but is further confirmed by the traditions current among heathen nations, some of which have been preserved by antient and profane historians of undoubted character.[1] Thus, there are antient monuments extant, which prove that the Carthaginians were a colony of Tyrians who escaped from Joshua; as also that the inhabitants of Leptis in Africa came originally from the Sidonians, who abandoned their country on account of the calamities with which it was overwhelmed.[2] The fable of the Phœnician Hercules originated in the history of Joshua[3]: and the overthrow of Og the king of Bashan, and of the Anakims who were called giants, is considered as having given rise to the fable of the overthrow of the giants.[4] The tempest of hailstones mentioned in Josh. x. 11. was transformed by the poets into a tempest of stones, with which (they pretend) Jupiter overwhelmed the enemies of Hercules in Arim, which is exactly the country where Joshua fought with the children of Anak.[5]

The Samaritans are by some writers supposed to have received the book of Joshua, but this opinion appears to have originated in mistake. They have indeed two books extant, bearing the name of Joshua, which differ very materially from our Hebrew copies. One of these is a chronicle of events from Adam to the year of the Hijra 898, corresponding with A. D. 1492[6]; and the other is a similar chronicle badly compiled, from the death of Moses to the death of Alexander Severus. It consists of forty-seven chapters, filled with fabulous accounts, written in the Arabic language, but in Samaritan characters.[7]

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[1] See particularly Justin, lib. xxxvi. c. 2. and Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. cc. 2, 3. On the falsely alleged contradictions between the sacred and profane historians, see Vol. II. pp. 547—553.

[2] Allix's Reflections upon the Books of the Old Testament, chap. ii. (Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. i. p. 354.)

[3] Procopius (Vandal. lib. ii. c. 10.) cites a Phœnician inscription; containing a passage which he has translated into Greek, to the following purport: — "*We are they who flee from the face of Jesus* (the Greek name of Joshua) *the robber, the son of Nave.*" Suidas cites the inscription thus: — "*We are the Canaanites whom Jesus the robber expelled.*" The difference between these two writers is not material, and may be accounted for by the same passage being differently rendered by different translators, or being quoted from memory, — no unusual occurrence among profane writers.

[4] Polybius, Frag. cxiv. Sallust. Bell. Jugurthin. c. xxii.

[5] Allix's Reflections, *ut supra*. Huet, Demonstratio Evangelica, vol. i. pp. 273—282. Amstel. 1680. 8vo. Some learned men have supposed that the poetical fable of Phäeton was founded on the miracle of the sun standing still (Josh. x. 12—14.); but on a calm investigation of the supposed resemblance, there does not appear to be any foundation for such an opinion.

[6] Jahn and Ackermann, Introd. in Libros. Vet. Fœd. part ii. § 27. note.

[7] Fabricii Codex Apocryphus Veteris Testamenti, p. 876. *et seq.*

II. The book of Joshua comprises the history of about seventeen years, or, according to some chronologers, of twenty-seven or thirty years: "it is one of the most important documents in the old covenant; and it should never be separated from the Pentateuch, of which it is at once both the continuation and the completion." The Pentateuch contains a history of the acts of the great Jewish legislator, and the laws upon which the Jewish church was to be established: and the book of Joshua relates the history of Israel under the command and government of Joshua, the conquest of Canaan, and its subsequent division among the Israelites; together with the provision made for the settlement and establishment of the Jewish church in that country.

III. From this view of the argument of Joshua, we may easily perceive that the SCOPE and DESIGN of the inspired writer of this book were to demonstrate the faithfulness of God, in the perfect accomplishment of all his promises to the patriarchs, Abraham (Gen. xiii. 15.), Isaac (xxvi. 4.), Jacob (xxxv. 12.), and Joseph (l. 24.), and also to Moses (Exod. iii. 8.), that the children of Israel should obtain possession of the land of Canaan. At the same time we behold the divine power and mercy signally displayed in cherishing, protecting, and defending his people, amid all the trials and difficulties to which they were exposed; and as the land of Canaan is in the New Testament considered as a type of heaven, the conflicts and trials of the Israelites have been considered as figuratively representing the spiritual conflicts of believers in every age of the church. Although Joshua, whose piety, courage, and disinterested integrity, are conspicuous throughout his whole history, is not expressly mentioned in the New Testament as a type of the Messiah, yet he is universally allowed to have been a very eminent one. He bore our Saviour's name; the Alexandrian version, giving his name a Greek termination, uniformly calls him Ιησους — Jesus; which appellation is also given to him in Acts vii. 45. and Heb. iv. 8. Joshua saved the people of God (as the Israelites are emphatically styled in the Scriptures) from the Canaanites: Jesus Christ saves his people from their sins. (Matt. i. 21.)

A further design of this book is to show the portion which was allotted to each tribe. With this view, the author more than once reminds the Israelites that not one thing had failed of all the good things which the LORD spake concerning them; and that "all had come to pass unto them, and not one thing had failed thereof." (ch. xxiii. 14. with xxi. 45.) Further, the historian does not notice any subsequent alteration of the division: for the conquest of the cities of Hebron and Debir, mentioned by Caleb in ch. xv. 13—19., took place under Joshua, and is introduced in Judg. i. 10—15. 20., only as a retrospective notice of an event of a preceding age. What is said of the tribes of Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh (Josh. xv. 63. xvi. 10. xvii. 12.), does not prove that the book is of recent origin; although, as the passages are not connected with the series of the narration, they may possibly be interpolations. Lastly, the places (xv. 9. xviii. 25.) in which Kirjath-jearim is ascribed to the tribe of Judah and Gibeon, Beeroth and Kephira to that of Benjamin, although

they were cities of the Gibeonites, have no relation to the transaction mentioned in 2 Sam. iv. 2. and xxi. 6., for Gibeon was afterwards given (Josh. xxi. 17.) to the priests: whence it is evident that these cities were left in possession of the Gibeonites, who were servants of the sanctuary, and merely subjected to the jurisdiction of the tribes to which they are ascribed.[1]

IV. The book of Joshua may be conveniently divided into three parts: viz.

PART I. *The History of the Occupation of Canaan*[2] *by the Israelites* (cc. i.—xii.); comprising,

SECT. 1. The call and confirmation of Joshua to be captain-general of that people. (i.)

SECT. 2. The sending out of the spies to bring an account of the city of Jericho. (ii.)

SECT 3. The miraculous passage of the Israelites over Jordan (iii.), and the setting up of twelve memorial stones. (iv.)

SECT. 4. The circumcision of the Israelites at Gilgal, and their celebration of the first passover in the land of Canaan; the appearance of the "captain of the Lord's host" to Joshua near Jericho. (v.)

SECT. 5. The capture of Jericho (vi.) and of Ai. (vii. viii.)

SECT. 6. The politic confederacy of the Gibeonites with the children of Israel. (ix.)

SECT. 7. The war with the Canaanitish kings, and the miracle of the sun's standing still. (x.)

SECT. 8. The defeat of Jabin and his confederates. (xi.)

SECT. 9. A summary recapitulation of the conquests of the Israelites both under Moses in the eastern part of Canaan (xii. 1—6.), and also under Joshua himself in the western part. (xii. 7—24.)

PART II. *The Division of the Conquered Land;* containing,

SECT. 1. A general division of Canaan. (xiii.)

SECT. 2. A particular apportionment of it among the Israelites, including the portion of Caleb (xiv.); the lot of Judah (xv.); of Ephraim (xvi.); of Manasseh (xvii.); of Benjamin (xviii.); and of the six tribes of Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, Dan, and of Joshua himself. (xix.)

SECT. 3. The appointment of the cities of refuge (xx.) and of the Levitical cities. (xxi.)

The circumstances observed in the division of the promised land, bespeak a most wise and careful provision for a constant and uninterrupted distinction of tribes, families, and genealogies among the Hebrews; thence to preserve and clearly to ascertain the genealogy of Christ, theirs and our great Messiah; "the end of the law for righteousness;" in whom were to be completed all the purposes of this dispensation: it pleasing God, by the apparent completion of remarkable prophecies relating thereto, to make this one of the satisfactory and convincing evidences of his divine mission.[3]

SECT. 4. The dismission from the camp of Israel of the militia of the two tribes and a half who settled on the other side of Jordan, their consequent return; and the transactions resulting from the altar which they erected on the borders of Jordan in token of their communion with the children of Israel. (xxii.)

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[1] Jahn's Introduction by Prof. Turner, p. 221.

[2] On the objections which have been brought against the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, see Vol. II. pp. 523—525.

[3] Pyle's Paraphrase on the Old Testament, vol. ii. p. 3.

PART III. *The Dying Addresses and Counsels of Joshua, his Death and Burial, &c.*

SECT. 1. Joshua's address to the Israelites, in which he reminds them of the signal benefits conferred on them by God, and urges them to "cleave unto the LORD their God." (xxiii.)

SECT. 2. Joshua's dying address to the Israelites, and renewal of the covenant between them and God. (xxiv. 1—28.)

These valedictory speeches of Joshua to the Israelites, like those of Moses, give us an idea of a truly great man, and of a wise and religious governor, the only aim of whose power is the glory of God, and the lasting happiness of the community over which he presides. — An admirable example to be imitated in due proportion by all the princes of the earth. [1]

SECT. 3. The death and burial of Joshua, the burial of Joseph's bones, and the death of Eleazar the high priest. (xxiv. 29—33.)

It is, however, necessary to remark, that there is some accidental derangement of the order of the chapters in this book, occasioned, probably, by the antient mode of rolling up manuscripts. If chronologically placed, they should be read thus: first chapter to the ninth verse; then the second chapter; then from the tenth verse to the end of the first chapter; after which should follow the third and consecutive chapters to the eleventh; then the twenty-second chapter, and the twelfth to the twenty-first chapter, inclusive; and, lastly, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters.

V. A considerable difference of opinion subsists among learned men concerning the book of *Jasher*, mentioned in Josh. x. 13. In addition to the observations already offered [2], we may remark, that Bishop Lowth (whose conjecture is far from being improbable) is of opinion, that it was a poetical book, no longer extant when the author of Joshua and Samuel lived and wrote. [3]

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[1] Pyle's Paraphrase on the Old Testament, vol. ii. p. 4.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 120. *supra*.

[3] The book of Jasher is twice quoted, *first* in Josh. x. 13. where the quotation is evidently poetical, and forms exactly three distiches.

> "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
> And thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon:
> And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed her course,
> Until the people were avenged of their enemies.
> And the sun tarried in the midst of the heavens,
> And hasted not to go down in a whole day."

The second passage where the book of Jasher is cited is in 2 Sam. i. 18., where David's lamentation over Saul is said to be extracted from it. The custom of the Hebrews, in giving titles to their books from the initial word, is well known: thus Genesis is called Bereshith, &c. They also sometimes named the book from some remarkable word in the first sentence; thus the book of Numbers is sometimes called *Bemidbar*. We also find in their writings canticles which had been produced on important occasions, introduced by some form of this kind: *az jashar* (then sang), or *ve-jashar peloni*, &c. Thus *az jashir Mosheh*, "then sang Moses" (Exod. xv. 1. the Samaritan Pentateuch reads *jasher*); *ve-thashar Deborah*, "and Deborah sang." (Judg. v. 1. See also the inscription of Psal. xviii.) Thus the book of Jasher is supposed to have been some collection of sacred songs, composed at different times and on different occasions, and to have had this title, because the book itself and most of the songs began in general with this word, *ve-jashar*. Lowth's Prælect. pp. 306, 307. *notes*; or Dr. Gregory's translation, vol. ii. pp. 152, 153. *notes*.

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

I. *Title.* — II. *Date and Author.* — III. *Scope, Chronology, and Synopsis of its Contents.* — IV. *Observations on some difficult Passages in this Book.*

I. THE book of Judges derives its name from its containing the history of the Israelites from the death of Joshua to the time of Eli, under the administration of thirteen JUDGES, whom God raised up on special occasions to deliver his people from the oppression of their enemies, and to manage and restore their affairs. Concerning their powers and functions see Vol. III. pp. 82, 83. The Judges frequently acted by a divine suggestion, and were endowed with preternatural strength and fortitude (compare ii. 18. vi. 14. 34. xi. 29. and xiv. 6. 19.): it is necessary to bear this in mind when perusing the relation of some of their achievements, which were justifiable only on the supposition of their being performed under the sanction of a divine warrant, which supersedes all general rules of conduct. Besides, "in some cases (such as that of Samson's suicide) they may have abused their endowments, since the preternatural gifts of God are equally liable to abuse with those which he bestows in the ordinary course of nature."[1]

II. From the expression recorded in Judg. xviii. 30. some have imagined that this book was not written till after the Babylonish captivity, but this conjecture is evidently erroneous: for, on comparing Psal. lxxvii. 60, 61. and 1 Sam. iv. 11. with that passage, we find that the captivity intended by the historian was a particular captivity of the inhabitants of Dan, which took place about the time the ark was taken by the Philistines. Besides, the total absence of Chaldee words sufficiently proves the date of the book of Judges to have been many centuries anterior to the great Babylonish captivity. This book, however, was certainly written before the second book of Samuel (compare 2 Sam. xi. 21. with Judg. ix. 53.), and before the capture of Jerusalem by David. (Compare 2 Sam. v. 6. with Judg. i. 21.)

There is a considerable diversity of opinion as to the person by whom this book of Judges was written; it being, by some writers, ascribed to Phinehas, Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or Ezra, who compiled it from the memoirs of his own time which were left by each Judge; while others think that it was compiled by some prophet out of the public registers or records that were kept by the priests and Levites. But the best founded opinion seems to be, that it was written by the prophet Samuel, the last of the Judges; and in this opinion the Jews themselves coincide.

III. The book of Judges comprises the history of about three hundred years: it consists of three parts; the first embraces the

[1] Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn's Introduction, p. 243. *note*.

history of the Elders, who ruled the Israelites after the death of Joshua, and the subsequent transactions, to the commencement of their troubles. (ch. i.—iii. 4.) The second part contains the history of the Judges from Othniel to Eli (ch. iii. 5.—xvi.); and the third, which narrates several memorable actions performed not long after the death of Joshua (ch. xvii.—21.), is thrown to the end of the book, that it might not interrupt the thread of the narrative. "This history," observes Dr. Priestley, "abundantly verifies the frequent warnings and predictions of Moses; according to which, the people, being under the immediate government of God, were in the most exemplary manner to be rewarded for their obedience, and punished for their disobedience, and especially for their conformity to the religions of their neighbours, whom God had devoted to destruction on account of their polytheism and idolatry." There is considerable difficulty in settling the chronology of this book, several of the facts related in it being reckoned from different æras, which cannot now be exactly ascertained: many of the Judges also are generally supposed to have been successive who in all probability were contemporaries, and ruled over different districts at the same time. In the following synopsis it is attempted to reduce the chronology to something like order, and also to present a correct analysis of the book.

PART I. *The State of the Israelites after the Death of Joshua, until they began to turn aside from serving the Lord.* (i.—iii. 4.) B. C. 1443—1413.

PART II. *The History of the Oppressions of the Israelites, and their Deliverances by the Judges.* (iii. 5—xvi.)

SECT. 1. The subjection of the Eastern Israelites to the king of Mesopotamia, and their deliverance by Othniel. (iii. 5—11.) B. C. 1413—1405.

SECT. 2. The subjection of the Eastern Israelites to the king of Moab, and their deliverance by Ehud. The Western Israelites delivered by Shamgar. (iii. 12—31.) B. C. 1343—1305.

SECT. 3. The Northern Israelites, after being oppressed by Jabin, king of Canaan, are delivered by Deborah and Barak. (iv.) The thanksgiving song of Deborah and Barak.[1] (v.) B. C. 1285.

SECT. 4. The Eastern and Northern Israelites, being for their sins delivered into the power of Midian, are delivered by Gideon.—History

[1] The triumphal Ode of Deborah is analysed at considerable length by Bp. Lowth (Lect. no. 28.), who considers it as a specimen of the perfectly sublime ode. In the fourth and fifth verses, the extraordinary displays of the Divine Majesty, which the Israelites had witnessed at Mount Sinai, are described in very poetical language, and compared with the Divine interposition in behalf of Israel. The presence of God had thrown all nature, as it were, into convulsions: the thunders and lightnings were attended by impetuous showers of rain; and Mount Sinai was in such agitation that it seemed to be melted from before the Lord. (Scott. in loc.) The transaction at Mount Sinai, which furnished this magnificent and sublime passage, took place B. C. 1491; the deliverance of the Israelites, under Deborah and Barak, B. C. 1285, or according to some chronologers, B. C. 1296, that is, nearly two hundred years before. Yet, misled by the neologian interpretation of the late Professor Eichhorn, Professor Jahn has gravely ascribed the victory of Barak over Sisera, to his taking advantage of a raging tempest. (Introd. in Libros Vet. Fœd. part ii. § 37.) This section is almost a servile transcript of Eichhorn. Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham have exposed the fallacy of these mischievous interpretations in the notes to their translation of Jahn. (pp. 243—245.) Dr. Ackermann in his expurgated edition of Jahn has altogether omitted this section, without apprising the reader of such omission.

of Gideon and his family, including the judicature of Abimelech. (vi.—ix.) B. C. 1252—1233.

SECT. 5. History of the administrations of Tola and Jair. The Israelites, being oppressed by the Ammonites, are delivered by Jephthah. The administrations of the Judges, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon. (x.—xii.) B. C. 1233—1157.

SECT. 6. The birth of Samson. — Servitude of the Israelites to the Philistines, and their deliverance by Samson, with an account of his death. (xiii.—xvi.) B. C. 1155—1117.

PART III. *An Account of the Introduction of Idolatry among the Israelites, and the consequent Corruption of Religion and Manners among them; for which God gave them up into the Hands of their Enemies.* (xvii—xxi.)

SECT. 1. Account of the idol of Micah and its worship, at first privately in his family (xvii.) and afterwards publicly in the tribe of Dan. (xviii.) B. C. 1413.

SECT. 2. Account of a very singular violence and detestable murder, committed by the Benjamites of Gibeah (xix.); the war of the other tribes with them, and the almost total extinction of the tribe of Benjamin. (xx. xxi.) B. C. 1413.

IV. The book of Judges forms an important link in the history of the Israelites, and is very properly inserted between the books of Joshua and Samuel, as the Judges were the intermediate governors between Joshua and the kings of Israel. It furnishes us with a lively description of a fluctuating and unsettled nation; a striking picture of the disorders and dangers which prevailed in a republic without magistracy; when *the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through by-ways* (v. 6.); when few prophets were appointed to control the people, and *every one did that which was right in his own eyes.* (xvii. 6.) It exhibits the contest of true religion with superstition; displays the beneficial effects that flow from the former, and represents the miseries and evil consequences of impiety; it is a most remarkable history of the long-suffering of God towards the Israelites, in which we see the most signal instances of his justice and mercy alternately displayed. The people sinned and were punished; they repented and found mercy. Something of this kind we find in every page: and these things are written for our warning. None should *presume*, for God is JUST; none need *despair*, for God is MERCIFUL.[1] From the scenes of civil discord and violence which darken this history, St. Paul has presented us with some illustrious examples of faith, in the characters of *Gideon, Barak, Samson, and Jephthah.* Independently of the internal evidences of its authenticity which are to be found in the style of this book, the transactions it records are not only cited or alluded to by other sacred writers besides St. Paul[2], but are further confirmed by the traditions current among the heathen writers. Thus, we find the memorial of Gideon's actions preserved by Sanchoniatho, a Tyrian writer who lived soon after him, and whose antiquity is attested by Porphyry,

[1] Dr. Gray's Key, p. 157. Dr. A. Clarke's Pref. to Judges, p. vi.

[2] Compare Psal. lxxviii. 56—66. lxxxiii. 11, 12. cvi. 34—46. 1 Sam. xii. 9—11. 2 Sam. xi. 21. Isa. ix. 4. and x. 26.

who was perhaps the most inveterate enemy to Christianity that ever lived.[1] The Vulpinaria, or feast of the foxes, celebrated by the Romans in the month of April, (the time of the Jewish harvest, in which they let loose foxes with torches fastened to their tails[2],) was derived from the story of Samson, which was conveyed into Italy by the Phœnicians: and to mention no more, in the history of Samson and Delilah, we find the original of Nisus and his daughters, who cut off those fatal hairs, upon which the victory depended.[3]

SECTION IV.

ON THE BOOK OF RUTH.

I. *Title and Argument.* — II. *Date and Chronology.* — III. *Author.* — IV. *Scope.* — V. *Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. THE book of Ruth is generally considered as an appendix to that of Judges, and an introduction to that of Samuel; it is therefore placed, and with great propriety, between the books of Judges and Samuel. In the antient Jewish canon of the Old Testament[4], Judges and Ruth formed but one book, because the transactions which it contains happened in the time of the Judges; although the modern Jews separate it from both, and make it the second of the five Megilloth or volumes which they place together towards the end of the Old Testament. It is publicly read by them in the synagogues on the feast of weeks or of Pentecost, on account of the harvest being mentioned in it, the first fruits of which were offered to God on that festival. This book derives its name from Ruth the Moabitess, whose history it relates, and whom the Chaldee paraphrast supposes to have been the daughter of Eglon king of Moab: but this conjecture is utterly unsupported by Scripture, nor is it at all likely that a king's daughter would abandon her native country, to seek bread in another land, and marry a stranger.

II. Augustine[5] refers the time of this history to the regal government of the Israelites; Josephus the Jewish historian, and some others of later date, to the time of Eli; Moldenhawer, after some

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[1] He expressly affirms Sanchoniatho to have derived many of the facts related in his history, εκ των υπομνηματων Ιερυμβαλου, from the memoirs of Jerumbalus, or Jerubaal, another name for Gideon. Bocharti Phaleg. lib. ii. c. 7.

[2] Ovid, Fasti, lib. iv. 684. *et seq.*

[3] Ovid, Metam. lib. viii. fab. 1. M. De Lavaur in his *Conférence de la Fable avec l'Histoire Sainte*, tom. ii. pp. 1—13., has shown that Samson, the judge of the Israelites, is the original and essential Hercules of pagan mythology; thus furnishing an additional proof how much the heathens have been indebted to the Bible. As his treatise is by no means of common occurrence, the reader will find an abridged translation of the pages cited in Dr. A. Clarke's commentary on Judg. xvi.

[4] Jerome expressly states that this was the case in his time. — Deinde subtexunt Sophetim, id est Judicum librum, et in eundem compingunt; quia in diebus Judicum facta ejus narratur historia. (Prologus Galeatus.) Eusebius, when giving Origen's catalogue of the sacred books, confirms Jerome's account. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 25.

[5] De Doct. Christ. lib. ii. c. 8.

Jewish writers, assigns it to the time of Ehud; Rabbi Kimchi and other Jewish authors conceive Boaz, who married Ruth, to have been the same person as Ibzan, who judged Israel immediately after Jephthah; Junius, comparing the book of Ruth with Matt. i., is of opinion, that the events recorded in this history took place in the days of Deborah; and the learned Archbishop Usher, that they happened in the time of Shamgar. As the famine which caused Elimelech to leave his country, "came to pass in the days when the Judges ruled" (Ruth i. 1.), Bishop Patrick has referred the beginning of this history to the judicature of Gideon, about the year of the world 2759, at which time a famine is related to have happened. (Judg. vi. 3—6.)[1] Considerable difficulty has arisen in settling the chronology of this book, in consequence of its being mentioned by Saint Matthew, (i. 5, 6.) that Salmon the father of Boaz (who married Ruth) was married to Rahab (by whom is generally understood Rahab the harlot, who protected the spies when Joshua invaded the land of Canaan); and yet that Boaz was the grandfather of David, who was born about three hundred and sixty years after the siege of Jericho, — a length of time, during which it is difficult to conceive that only three persons, Boaz, Obed, and Jesse, should have intervened between Rahab and David. But this difficulty may readily be solved, either by supposing that some intermediate names of little consequence were omitted in the public genealogies copied by the evangelist (as we know to have been the case in some other instances); or by concluding, with Archbishop Usher, that the ancestors of David, being men of extraordinary piety, or designed to be conspicuous because the Messiah was to descend from them, were blessed with longer life and greater strength than ordinarily fell to the lot of men in that age.[2] It is certain that Jesse was accounted an old man, when his son David was but a youth (see 1 Sam. xvii. 12.): and, since Boaz is represented as the great grandfather of the royal Psalmist, it is evident that the date of the history of Ruth cannot be so low as the time of Eli assigned by Josephus, nor so high as the time of Shamgar: the most probable period, therefore, is that stated by Bishop Patrick, viz. during the judicature of Gideon, or about the year of the world 2759, B. C. 1241.

III. Like the book of Judges, Ruth has been ascribed to Hezekiah, and also to Ezra; but the most probable, and, indeed, generally received opinion, is that of the Jews, who state it to have been written by the prophet Samuel. From the genealogy recorded in iv. 17—22. it is evident that this history could not have been reduced into its present form before the time of Samuel.

IV. The SCOPE of this book is partly to deliver the genealogy of king David through the line of Ruth, a heathen proselyte to the Jewish religion, and the wife of Boaz, whose adoption into the line of Christ has generally been considered as a pre-intimation of the ad-

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[1] Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. v. c. 9. § 1. Seder Olam, c. 12. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. p. 43. Kimchi on Ruth, c. i. Junius, Annotat. in Ruth i. Bishop Patrick on Ruth i. 1. Leusden, Philol. Heb. pp. 18. 86.

[2] Chronologia Sacra, pars i. c. 12. pp. 69, 70. ed. Genevæ, 1722, folio.

mission of the Gentiles into the Christian church. It had been foretold to the Jews that the Messiah should be of the tribe of Judah, and it was *afterwards* further revealed that he should be of the family of David: and, therefore, it was necessary, for the full understanding of these prophecies, that the history of the family, in that tribe, should be written *before* these prophecies were revealed, to prevent the least suspicion of fraud or design. And thus this book, these prophecies, and their accomplishment, serve to illustrate each other.[1] A further design of this book is to evidence the care of Divine Providence over those who sincerely fear God, in raising the pious Ruth from a state of the deepest adversity to that of the highest prosperity.

V. The book of Ruth, which consists of four chapters, may be conveniently divided into three sections; containing,

SECT. 1. An account of Naomi, from her departure from Canaan into Moab, with her husband Elimelech, to her return thence into the land of Israel with her daughter-in-law Ruth. (ch. i.) B. C. 1241—1231.

SECT. 2. The interview of Boaz with Ruth, and their marriage. (ii. iii. iv. 1—12.)

SECT. 3. The birth of Obed, the son of Boaz by Ruth, from whom David was descended. (iv. 13—18.)

The whole narrative is written with peculiar simplicity; and the interviews between Boaz and Ruth display the most unaffected piety, liberality, and modesty; and their reverent observance of the Mosaic law, as well as of antient customs, is pourtrayed in very lively and animated colours.

SECTION V.

ON THE TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

I. *Title.* — II. *Authors.* — III. *Argument, Scope, and Analysis of the First Book of Samuel.* — IV. *Argument, Scope, and Analysis of the Second Book of Samuel.* — V. *General Observations on these two Books.*

I. IN the Jewish canon of Scripture these two books form but one, termed in Hebrew the Book of Samuel, probably because the greater part of the first book was written by that prophet, whose history and transactions it relates. The books of Samuel appear to have derived their appellation from 1 Chron. xxix. 29.: where the transactions of David's reign are said to be *written in the book* (Heb. *words*) *of Samuel the seer.* In the Septuagint version they are called the first and second Books of Kings, or of the Kingdoms; in the Vulgate they are designated as the first and second Books of Kings, and, by Jerome, they are termed the Books of the Kingdoms; as being two of the four books in which the history of the kings of Israel and Judah is related.

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[1] Bedford's Scripture Chronology, book v. c. 5.

II. Jahn is of opinion, that the books of Samuel and the two books of Kings were written by one and the same person, and published about the forty-fourth year of the Babylonish captivity: and he has endeavoured to support his conjecture with much ingenuity, though unsuccessfully, by the uniformity of plan and style which he thinks are discernible in these books. The more prevalent, as well as more probable opinion, is that of the Talmudists, which was adopted by the most learned fathers of the Christian church (who unquestionably had better means of ascertaining this point than we have): viz. that the first twenty-four chapters of the first book of Samuel were written by the prophet whose name they bear; and that the remainder of that book, together with the whole of the second book, was committed to writing by the prophets Gad and Nathan, agreeably to the practice of the prophets who wrote memoirs of the transactions of their respective times. That all these three persons were writers is evident from 1 Chron. xxix. 29.; where it is said: *Now the acts of David, first and last, behold they are written in the book of Samuel the seer, and in the book of Nathan the prophet, and of Gad the seer:* the memoirs of these prophets are here referred to as distinct books: but it would be natural for Ezra, by whom the canon of Jewish Scripture was completed, to throw all their contents into the two books of Samuel. It is certain that the first book of Samuel was written before the first book of Kings; a circumstance related in the former book being referred to in the latter. (1 Sam. ii. 31. with 1 Kings ii. 27.)

The *first* acts of David declared in 1 Chron. xxix. 29. to have been recorded by Samuel, were such as happened before the death of Samuel: and these end with the twenty-fourth chapter of the first book of Samuel. What parts of the remaining history of David were written by Nathan, and what by Gad, it is at present very difficult to distinguish with exactness. Mr. Reeves has conjectured, with great probability, that as it appears from 1 Sam. xxii. 5. that Gad was then with David in the hold or place where he kept himself secret from Saul; and since it is thought that Gad, being bred under Samuel, was privy to his having anointed David king, and had, therefore, resolved to accompany him during his troubles; it has, from these circumstances, been supposed that the history of what happened to David, from the death of Samuel to his being made king at Hebron over all Israel, was penned by the prophet Gad. He seems the most proper person for that undertaking, having been an eye-witness to most of the transactions. This part of David's history takes up the seven last chapters of the first book of Samuel, and the four first chapters and the former part of the fifth chapter of the second book.

The first mention of the prophet Nathan occurs in 2 Sam. vii. 2. a short time after David was settled at Jerusalem. Nathan is frequently mentioned in the subsequent part of David's reign; and he was one of those who were appointed by David to assist at the anointing of Solomon. (1 Kings i. 32.) As this event took place not long before David's death, it is probable Nathan might survive the

royal Psalmist: and, as he knew all the transactions of his reign from his settlement at Jerusalem to his death, it is most likely that he wrote the history of the latter part of David's reign; especially as there is no mention of Gad, after the pestilence sent for David's numbering the people, which was about two years before his death, during which interval Gad might have died. Gad must have been advanced in years, and might leave the continuation of the national memoirs to Nathan. For these reasons, it is probably thought that Nathan wrote all the remaining chapters of the second book of Samuel, after the five first.[1]

III. The FIRST BOOK of Samuel contains the history of the Jewish church and polity, from the birth of Samuel, during the judicature of Eli, to the death of Saul the first king of Israel; a period of nearly eighty years, viz. from the year of the world 2869 to 2949. Its SCOPE is, first, to continue the history of the Israelites under the two last Judges, Eli and Samuel, and their first monarch Saul, and the reason why their form of government was changed from an aristocracy to a monarchy; thus affording a strong confirmation of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, in which we find that this change had been foretold by Moses, in his prophetic declaration to the assembled nation, a short time before his death, and upwards of four hundred years before the actual institution of the regal government. This book also exhibits the preservation of the church of God amidst all the vicissitudes of the Israelitish polity; together with signal instances of the divine mercy towards those who feared Jehovah, and of judgments inflicted upon his enemies. It consists of three parts: viz.

PART I. *The Transactions under the Judicature of Eli.* (ch. i.—iv.)

SECT. 1. The birth of Samuel (ch. i.) with the thanksgiving and prophetical hymn of his mother Hannah. (ii.) The tenth verse of this chapter is a prediction of the Messiah. "This admirable hymn excels in simplicity of composition, closeness of connection, and uniformity of sentiment; breathing the pious effusions of a devout mind, deeply impressed with a conviction of God's mercies to herself in particular, and of his providential government of the world in general; exalting the poor in spirit or the humble minded, and abasing the rich and arrogant; rewarding the righteous, and punishing the wicked."[2]

SECT. 2. The call of Samuel, his denunciations against Eli by the command of God, and his establishment in the prophetic office. (iii.)

SECT. 3. The death of Eli, and the capture of the ark of God by the Philistines. (iv.)

PART II. *The History of the Israelites during the Judicature of Samuel.*

SECT. 1. The destruction of the Philistines' idol Dagon (v.); the chastisement of the Philistines, their restoration of the ark, and the slaughter of the Bethshemites for profanely looking into the ark. (vi.)

SECT. 2. The reformation of divine worship, and repentance of the Israelites at Mizpeh, the discomfiture of the Philistines, who were kept under during the remainder of Samuel's judicature. (vii.)

SECT. 3. The Israelites' request for a regal government; the destination

[1] Mr. Reeves, Preface to 1 Sam.

[2] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 332.

of Saul to the kingly office (viii. ix.); his inauguration (x); and victory over the Ammonites. (xi.)

Sect. 4. Samuel's resignation of the supreme judicial power (xii.); though, in a civil and religious capacity, he "judged Israel all the days of his life." (1 Sam. vii. 15.)

Part III. *The History of Saul, and the Transactions during his Reign.*

Sect. 1. The prosperous part of Saul's reign comprising his war with the Philistines, and offering of sacrifice (xiii.), with his victory over them. (xiv.)

Sect. 2. The rejection of Saul from the kingdom, in consequence of his rebellion against the divine command in sparing the king of Amalek, and the best part of the spoil. (xv.)

Sect. 3. The inauguration of David, and the events that took place before the death of Saul (xvi.—xxviii.); including,

§ i. The anointing of David to be king over Israel (xvi.); his combat and victory over Goliath. (xvii.)

§ ii. The persecutions of David by Saul; — his exile and covenant with Jonathan (xviii.); his flight (xix.); friendship with Jonathan (xx.); his going to Nob, where he and his men ate of the shew-bread, and Goliath's sword was delivered to him; his flight, first to the court of Achish king of Gath, and subsequently into the land of Moab (xxi. xxii. 1—4.); the slaughter of the priests at Nob, with the exception of Abiathar. (xxii. 5—23.)

§ iii. The liberation of Keilah from the Philistines by David (xxiii. 1—6.); his flight into the wilderness of Ziph and Maon (xxiii. 7—29.); Saul's life in David's power at Engedi, who spares it (xxiv.); the inhuman conduct of Nabal (xxv.); Saul's life spared a second time (xxvi.); David's second flight to Achish king of Gath. (xxvii.)

Sect. 4. The last acts of Saul to his death; including,

§ i. Saul's consultation of the witch [1] of Endor. (xxviii.)

§ ii. The encampment of the Philistines at Aphek, who send back David from their army. (xxix.)

§ iii. David's pursuit and defeat of the Amalekites who had plundered Ziglag, and from whom he recovers the spoil. (xxx.)

§ iv. The suicide of Saul, and total discomfiture of the Israelites. (xxxi.)

IV. The second book of Samuel contains the history of David, the second king of Israel, during a period of nearly forty years, viz. from the year of the world 2948 to 2988; and, by recording the translation of the kingdom from the tribe of Benjamin to that of Ju-

[1] Few passages of Scripture have been discussed with more warmth than the relation contained in this 28th chapter of the first book of Samuel: some commentators have conjectured that the whole was a juggle of the Pythoness whom Saul consulted; others, that it was a mere visionary scene; Augustine and others, that it was Satan himself who assumed the appearance of Samuel; and others, that it was the ghost of Samuel, raised by infernal power, or by force of magical incantation. All these hypotheses, however, contradict the *historical fact* as related by the author of this book: for it is evident from the Hebrew original of 1 Sam. xxviii. 14. more closely translated, and compared throughout with itself, that it was "Samuel himself" whom Saul beheld, and who (or his spirit) was actually raised immediately, and before the witch had any time to utter any incantations, by the power of God, in a glorified form, and wearing the appearance of the ominous mantle in which was the rent that signified the rending of the kingdom from Saul's family. The *reality* of Samuel's appearance on this occasion was a doctrine of the primitive Jewish church (compare Ecclus. xlvi. 20.), and was also thus understood by Josephus, who has not only translated the original passage correctly, but likewise expressly states that the soul of Samuel inquired why it was raised. Antiq. Jud. lib. vi. 14. § 2. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 355—360. where the subject is fully discussed and proved. See also Calmet's Dissertation sur l'Apparition de Samuel, Commentaire Littéral, tom. ii. pp. 331—336. That it was Samuel himself is further evident from the clearness and truth of the prediction (which could only come from God); for "*on the morrow*," that is, very shortly after, Saul and his sons were slain.

dah, it relates the partial accomplishment of the prediction delivered in Gen. xlix. 10. The victories of David, his wise administration of civil government, his efforts to promote true religion, his grievous sins, and deep repentance, together with the various troubles and judgments inflicted upon him and his people by God, are all fully described. This book consists of three principal divisions, relating the triumphs and the troubles of David, and his transactions subsequent to his recovery of the throne, whence he was driven for a short time by the rebellion of his son Absalom.

PART I. *The Triumphs of David.* (ch. i.—x.)

SECT. 1. His elegant, tender, and pathetic elegy over Saul and Jonathan. (i.)

SECT. 2. His triumph over the house of Saul, and confirmation in the kingdom. (ii.—iv.)

SECT. 3. His victories over the Jebusites and Philistines (v.), the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem. (vi.) David's prayer to God on that occasion, and the divine promises made to him (vii.); which, though they primarily related to the establishment of the throne in his posterity, yet ultimately prefigured the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah. (Compare vii. 12—16. with Heb. i. 5.)

SECT. 4. His victories over the Philistines, Ammonites, and other neighbouring nations. (viii.—x.)

PART II. *The Troubles of David, and their Cause, together with his Repentance, and subsequent Recovery of the Divine Favour.* (ch. xi. —xix.)

SECT. 1. The cause of David's troubles,—his *first great* offence against God,—his sin in the matter of Uriah, and the divine judgments denounced against him on that account. (xi. xii.)

SECT. 2. The punishments in consequence of that sin, first, from domestic troubles in the sin of Amnon (xiii.); and, secondly, public troubles, in the rebellion of Absalom, which, for a short time, exiled David from the throne (xiv.—xvii.); the death of Absalom (xviii.) and David's mourning on his account. (xix.)

PART III. *David's Restoration to his Throne, and subsequent Transactions.* (ch. xx.—xxiv.)

SECT. 1. David's return to Jerusalem, and the insurrection of Sheba quelled. (xx.)

SECT. 2. His punishment of the sons of Saul, and successful battles with the Philistines. (xxi.)

SECT. 3. His psalm of praise, on a general review of the mercies of his life, and the many and wonderful deliverances which he had experienced. (xxii.) This divine ode, which contains the noblest images, perhaps, that were ever expressed in words, also occurs in the book of Psalms (Psal. xviii.), with a few variations. We have it *here*, as originally composed for his own closet and his own harp; but *there* we have it as delivered to the chief musician for the service of the church, with some amendments. For, though primarily calculated for the royal prophet's immediate use, yet it might indifferently assist the devotion of others, when giving thanks for their deliverances: or, it was intended that his people should thus join with him in his thanksgivings; because, being a public person, his deliverances were to be accounted public blessings, and called for public acknowledgments.

SECT. 4. The last words of David, forming a supplement or conclusion to the preceding sublime hymn (xxiii. 1—7.), which are followed by an enumeration of his mighty men. (xxiii. 8—39.)

SECT. 5. David's *second* great offence against God, in numbering the people; its punishment; David's penitential intercession and sacrifice. (xxiv.) [1]

V. This second book of Samuel bears an exact relation to the preceding, and is likewise connected with that which succeeds. We see throughout the effects of that enmity against other nations, which had been implanted in the minds of the Israelites by the Mosaic law, and which gradually tended to the extirpation of idolatry. "This book, likewise, as well as the former, contains other intrinsic proofs of its verity. By describing without disguise the misconduct of those characters, who were highly reverenced among the people, the sacred writer demonstrates his impartial sincerity: and, by appealing to monuments that attested the varacity of his relations when he wrote, he furnished every possible evidence of his faithful adherence to truth. The books of Samuel connect the chain of sacred history by detailing the circumstances of an interesting period. They describe the reformation and improvements of the Jewish church established by David: and as they delineate minutely the life of that monarch, they point out his typical relation to Christ. Many heathen authors have borrowed from the books of Samuel, or have collected from other sources, many particulars of those accounts which he gives." [2] In the falls of David we behold the strength and prevalence of human corruption: and in his repentance and recovery, the extent and efficacy of divine grace.

The two books of Samuel are of very considerable importance for illustrating the book of Psalms, to which they may be considered as a key. Thus, Psalm iii. will derive much light from 2 Sam. xv. 14. et seq.; — Psal. iv. from 1 Sam. xxii. xxiii. xxvi.; — Psal. vii. from 2 Sam. xvi. 2. 11.; — Psal. xxiv. from 2 Sam. vi. 12. et seq.; — Psal. xxx. from 1 Sam. v. 11.; — Psal. xxxii. and li. from 2 Sam. xii.; — Psal. xxxiv. from 2 Sam. xxi. 10—15.; — Psal. xxxv. from 2 Sam. xv.—xvii.; — Psal. xlii. and xliii. from 2 Sam. xvii. 22—24.; — Psal. lii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 9.; — Psal. liv. from 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. and xxvi. 1.; — Psal. lv. from 2 Sam. xvii. 21, 22.; — Psal. lvi. from 1 Sam. xxi. 11—15.; — Psal. lvii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 1. and xxiv. 3.; — Psal. lix. from 1 Sam. xix. 11.; — Psal. lx. from 2 Sam. viii. 3—13. and x. 15—19.; — Psal. lxiii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 5. and xxiii. 14—16.; — Psal. lxviii. from 2 Sam. vi. 3—12.; — Psal. lxxxix. from 2 Sam. vii. 12. et seq.; and Psal. cxlii. from 1 Sam. xxii. 1. and xxiv. 1. et seq.

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[1] The offence of David seems to have chiefly consisted in his persisting to require a muster of all his subjects able to bear arms, without the divine command, without necessity, in a time of profound peace, to indulge an idle *vanity* and *presumption*, as if he put his trust more in the number of his subjects than in the divine protection; and the offence of his people might also have been similar, always elated as they were, and provoking the anger of the Lord in prosperity by their forgetfulness of him. Deut. vi. 10—12. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. p. 386.

[2] Dr. Gray's Key, p. 181.

SECTION VI.

ON THE TWO BOOKS OF KINGS.

I. *Order and Title of these Books.* — II. *Author.* — III. *Argument and Synopsis of the First Book of Kings.* — IV. *Argument and Synopsis of the Second Book of Kings.* — V. *General Observations on these Books.*

I. THE two books of Kings are closely connected with those of Samuel. The origin and gradual increase of the united kingdom of Israel under Saul and his successor David, having been described in the latter, the books now under consideration relate its height of glory under Solomon, its division into two kingdoms under his son and successor Rehoboam, the causes of that division, and the consequent decline of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, until their final subversion; the ten tribes being carried captive into Assyria by Shalmaneser, and Judah and Benjamin to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. In the most correct and antient editions of the Hebrew Bible, the two books of Kings constitute but *one*, with a short space or break sometimes between them; the first book commencing with 1 Sam. xxii. 40. Some of the early fathers of the Christian church seem to have begun the first book of Kings at the death of David. (ii. 12.) The more modern copies of the Hebrew Bible have the same division with our authorised version: though in the time of the Masoretes, they certainly formed only one book; as both (like the books of Samuel) are included under one enumeration of sections, versions, &c. in the Masora. They have evidently been divided at some unknown period, into two parts, for the convenience of reading.

The titles to these books have been various, though it appears from Origen that they derivived their name from the initial words ומלך דוד va-meLecH DaviD, *Now king David;* in the same manner as (we have seen) the book of Genesis does. In the Septuagint Greek version, it is simply termed ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩΝ of *reigns* or kingdoms, of which it calls Samuel the first and second, and these two the third and fourth. The Vulgate Latin version intitles it, *Liber Regum tertius; secundum Hebræos, Liber Malachim*, that is, *the third book of Kings; but, according to the Hebrews, the first book of Malachim.* The old Syriac version has: *Here follows the book of the Kings who flourished among the antient people; and in this are also exhibited the history of the prophets, who flourished in their times.* In the Arabic it is thus intitled: — *In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God; the book of Solomon, the son of David the prophet, whose benedictions be upon us. — Amen.*[1]

II. Concerning the author or authors of these books, the sentiments of learned men are extremely divided. Some have been of opinion that David, Solomon, and Hezekiah wrote the history of their own reigns; others, that Nathan, Gad, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophets who flourished in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah,

[1] Dr. A. Clarke's Pref. to 1 Kings, p. 1.

undertook the office of historiographers. We know that several of the prophets wrote the lives of those kings who reigned in their times; for the names and writings of these prophets are mentioned in several places in the books of Kings and Chronicles; which also cite or refer to the original annals of the kings of Israel and Judah, of which those books have transmitted to us abridgments or summaries. Thus, in 1 Kings xi. 41. we read of the *acts of Solomon*, which acts were recorded in *the book of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer* (2 Chron. ix. 29.); which Iddo was employed, in conjunction with Shemaiah the prophet, in writing the acts of Rehoboam. (2 Chron. xii. 15.) We also read of the book of Jehu the prophet, relating the transactions of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 34. 1 Kings xvi. 1.); and Isaiah the prophet wrote the acts of king Uzziah (2 Chron. xxvi. 22.), and also of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii. 32.); and it is highly probable that he wrote the history of the two intermediate kings Jotham and Ahaz, in whose reigns he lived. (Isa. i. 1.)

It is evident, therefore, that two descriptions of writers were concerned in the composition of the books of Kings: —*first*, those original, primitive, and contemporary authors, who wrote the annals, journals, and memoirs of their own times, from which the authors of our sacred history subsequently derived their materials. These antient memoirs have not descended to us; but they unquestionably were in the hands of those sacred penmen, whose writings are in our possession, since they cite them and refer to them. The *second* class of writers consists of those, by whom the books of Kings were actually composed in the form in which we now have them. The Jews ascribe them to Jeremiah; and their opinion has been adopted by Grotius and other eminent commentators: others again assign them to the prophet Isaiah. But the most probable opinion is, that these books were digested into their present order by Ezra. The following are the grounds on which this opinion is founded and supported: —

1. The general uniformity of style and manner indicates that these books were written by one person.

2. The author evidently lived after the captivity of Babylon: for, at the end of the second book of Kings, he speaks of the return from the captivity. (2 Kings xxv. 22, &c.)

3. He says that in his time the ten tribes were still captive in Assyria, whither they had been carried as a punishment for their sins. (2 Kings xvii. 23.)

4. In the seventeenth chapter of the second book of Kings, he introduces some reflections on the calamities of Judah and Israel, which demonstrate that he wrote after those calamities had taken place. Compare 2 Kings xvii. 6—24.

5. He almost every where refers to the antient memoirs which he had before him, and abridged.

6. There is also every reason to believe, that the author was a PRIEST or a *prophet*. He studies less to describe acts of heroism, successful battles, conquests, political address, &c. than what regards the temple, religious ceremonies, festivals, the worship of God, the

piety of princes, the fidelity of the prophets, the punishment of crimes, the manifestation of God's anger against the wicked, and his regard for the righteous. He every where appears greatly attached to the house of David. He treats on the kings of Israel only incidentally; his principal object being the kingdom of Judah, and its particular affairs.

Now, all these marks correspond with Ezra, a learned priest, who lived both during and subsequently to the captivity, and might have collected numerous documents, which, from the lapse of time and the persecutions of the Jews, are now lost to us. Such are the reasons on which Calmet has ascribed the books of Kings to Ezra, and his opinion is generally received. There are, however, a few circumstances that seem to militate against this hypothesis, which should be noticed, as not agreeing with the time of Ezra. Thus, in 1 Kings viii. 8. the ark of the covenant is represented as being in the temple "to this day:" and in 1 Kings xii. 19. the kingdoms of Israel are mentioned as still subsisting. In 1 Kings vi. 1. 37, 38. the author mentions the months of Zif and Bul, names which were not in use after the captivity. Lastly, the writer expresses himself throughout as a contemporary, and as an author who had been an eye-witness of what he wrote. But these apparent contradictions admit of an easy solution. Ezra generally transcribes verbatim the memoirs which he had in his possession without attempting to reconcile them.[1] This clearly demonstrates his fidelity, exactness, and integrity. In other places some reflections or illustrations are inserted, which naturally arise from his subject; this shows him to have been fully master of the matter he was discussing, and that, being divinely inspired, he was not afraid of intermixing his own words with those of the prophets, whose writings lay before him.

The divine authority of these books is attested by the many predictions they contain: they are cited as authentic and canonical by Jesus Christ (Luke iv. 25—27.), and by his apostles (Acts vii. 47. Rom. xi. 2—4. James v. 17, 18.), and they have constantly been received into the sacred canon by the Jewish and Christian churches in every age. Their truth and authenticity also derive additional confirmation from the corresponding testimonies of antient profane writers.[2]

III. The FIRST BOOK OF KINGS embraces a period of one hundred and twenty-six years, from the anointing of Solomon and his admission as a partner in the throne with David, A. M. 2989, to the death of Jehoshaphat, A. M. 3115. It relates the latter part of David's life;

[1] The consideration that these books were digested from memoirs, written by different persons who lived in the respective times of which they wrote, will help to reconcile what is said of Hezekiah in 2 Kings xviii. 5. that, *after him none was like him of all the kings of Judah*, with what is said of Josiah in chap. xxiii. 25. that, *like unto him was there no king before him*; for, what is said of Hezekiah was true, till the eighteenth year of Josiah, when that pious sovereign began the reformation of which so much is said in the sacred history. Mr. Reeves, Pref. to Books of Kings.

[2] Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. viii. c. 2. Eusebius, Prep. Evang. lib. x. Grotius de Veritate, lib. iii. c. 16., and Allix, Reflections upon the Books of the Old Testament, chap. ii., have collected several instances of the confirmation of the sacred historians from profane authors. On this subject also consult the testimonies given in Vol. I. pp. 152—178. supra.

his death, and the accession of Solomon, whose reign comprehended the most prosperous and glorious period of the Israelitish history; and prefigured the peaceful reign of the Messiah; Solomon's erection and consecration of the temple at Jerusalem (the beauty and perfection of which was a type of the beauty and perfection of the church of God); his awful defection from the true religion; the sudden decay of the Jewish nation after his death, when it was divided into two kingdoms,—under Rehoboam, who reigned over the kingdom of Judah, comprising the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and under Jeroboam, who was sovereign of the other ten tribes that revolted from the house of David, and which in the Sacred Writings are designated as the kingdom of Israel; the reigns of Rehoboam's successors, Abijam, Asa, and Jehoshaphat; and those of Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, Tibni, the wicked Ahab, and Ahaziah (in part), who succeeded Jeroboam in the throne of Israel. For the particular order of succession of these monarchs, and of the prophets who flourished during their respective reigns, the reader is referred to the chronological table inserted in the Appendix to the third volume of this work. The first book of Kings may be divided into two principal parts; containing, 1. The history of the undivided kingdom under Solomon; and, 2. The history of the divided kingdom under Rehoboam and his successors, and Jeroboam and his successors.

Part I. *The History of Solomon's Reign* (ch. i.—xi.), contains a narrative of,

Sect. 1. The latter days of David; the inauguration of Solomon as his associate in the kingdom, and his designation to be his successor. (i. ii. 1—11.)

Sect. 2. The reign of Solomon from the death of David to his undertaking the erection of the temple. (ii. 12—46. iii. iv.)

Sect. 3. The preparations for building the temple. (v.)

Sect. 4. The building of the temple (vi.) and of Solomon's own house, together with the preparation of the vessels and utensils for the temple service. (vii.)

Sect. 5. The dedication of the temple, and the sublime prayer of Solomon on that occasion. (viii.)

Sect. 6. Transactions during the remainder of Solomon's reign:—his commerce; visit from the queen of Sheba; the splendour of his monarchy; his falling into idolatry, and the adversaries by whom he was opposed until his death. (ix. x. xi.)

Part II. *The History of the two Kingdoms of Judah and Israel.* (ch. xii.—xxii.)

Sect. 1. The accession of Rehoboam, and division of the two kingdoms. (xii.)

Sect. 2. The reigns of Rehoboam king of Judah, and of Jeroboam I. king of Israel. (xiii. xiv.)

Sect. 3. The reigns of Abijam and Asa kings of Judah, and the contemporary reigns of Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, and the commencement of Ahab's reign. (xv. xvi.)

Sect. 4. The reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and of his contemporaries Ahab and Ahaziah (in part), during which the prophet Elijah flourished. (xvii.—xxii.)

IV. The SECOND BOOK OF KINGS continues the contemporary history of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, from the death of Jehoshaphat, A. M. 3115, to the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, A. M. 3416, a period of three hundred years. The last three verses of the preceding book have been improperly disjoined from this. The history of the two kingdoms is interwoven in this book, and presents a long succession of wicked sovereigns in the kingdom of Israel, from Ahaziah to Hoshea, in whose reign Samaria was captured by Shalmaneser king of Assyria, and the ten tribes were taken captive into that country. In the kingdom of Judah, we find some few pious princes among many who were corrupt. Sixteen sovereigns filled the Jewish throne, from Jehoram to Zedekiah, in whose reign the kingdom of Judah was totally subverted, and the people carried into captivity, to Babylon. During this period numerous prophets flourished, as Elijah, Elisha, Jonah, Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Daniel, Ezekiel, &c. The second book of Kings comprises twenty-five chapters, which may be divided into two parts; containing, 1. The history of the two monarchies, until the end of the kingdom of Israel; and, 2. The history of Judah alone to its subversion.

PART I. *The Contemporary History of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, to the End of the former.* (ch. i.—xvii.)

SECT. 1. The contemporary reigns of Jehoshaphat, and of his associate Jehoram, kings of Judah, and of Ahaziah and Joram, kings of Israel; the translation of Elijah, and designation of Elisha to be his successor in the prophetic office; miracles wrought by him. (i—viii. 2.)

SECT. 2. The contemporary reigns of Jehoram king of Judah alone, and his successor Ahaziah, and of Jehoram king of Israel. (viii. 3—29.)

SECT. 3. Jehu appointed king over Israel; Jehoram put to death by him; the reign of Jehu; death of Ahaziah king of Judah, and the usurpation of Athaliah. (ix. x. xi. 1—3.)

SECT. 4. The reign of Jehoash king of Judah, and the contemporary reigns of Jehoahaz and his son Jehoash kings of Israel; the death of the prophet Elisha; and the miracle performed at his grave. (xi. 4—21. xii. xiii.)

SECT. 5. The reigns of Amaziah, Azariah, or Uzziah, and Jotham, kings of Judah, and the contemporary reigns of Jehoash, or Joash, Jeroboam II., Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah, (xiv. xv.)

SECT. 6. The reign of Ahaz king of Judah; interregnum in the kingdom of Israel after the death of Pekah terminated by Hoshea the last sovereign, in the ninth year of whose reign Samaria his capital was taken by the king of Assyria, whither the ten tribes were taken into captivity; the subversion of the kingdom of Israel; and the mixture of religion introduced by the Cuthites who were transplanted to Samaria. (xvi. xvii.)

PART II. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah.* (ch. xviii.—xxv.)

SECT. 1. The reign of Hezekiah; his war with the Assyrians; their army destroyed by a plague; the recovery of Hezekiah from a mortal disease; the Babylonish captivity foretold; his death. (xviii. xix. xx.)

SECT. 2. The reigns of Manasseh and Amon. (xxi.)

SECT. 3. The reign of Josiah. (xxii. xxiii. 1—30.)
SECT. 4. The reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah the last king of Judah; Jerusalem taken; the temple burnt; and the Jews carried into captivity to Babylon. (xxiii. 31—37. xxiv. xxv.)

V. The two books of Kings, particularly the second, abound with impressive and lively narrations; and the strict impartiality with which the author of each book has related events and circumstances dishonourable to his nation, affords a convincing evidence of his fidelity and integrity. They delineate the long-suffering of God towards his people, and his severe chastisements for their iniquitous abuse of his mercy; at the same time they mark most clearly the veracity of God, both in his promises and in his threatenings, and show the utter vanity of trusting in an arm of flesh, and the instability of human kingdoms, from which piety and justice are banished. [1]

SECTION VII.

ON THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author and Date.* — III. *Scope.* — IV. *Analysis of the two Books of Chronicles.* — V. *Observations on them.*

I. THE antient Jews comprised the two books of Chronicles in one book: but in the Hebrew Bibles, now printed for their use, they have adopted the same division which is found in our Bibles, apparently (Calmet thinks) for the purpose of conforming to our mode of reference in concordances, the use of which they borrowed from the Romish church. The Jews intitle these books דברי הימים, DIBREY HAJAMIM, that is, *The Words of Days*, or *Annals;* probably from the circumstance of their being compiled out of diaries or annals, in which were recorded the various events related in these books. In the Septuagint version they are termed ΠΑΡΑΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ (Paraleipomena), *the things that were left or omitted;* because many things which were omitted in the former part of the sacred history are here not only supplied, but some narrations also are enlarged, while others are added. The Greek translators of that version seem to have considered these books as a supplement, either to Samuel and to the books of Kings, or to the whole Bible; by observing that, in their time, these books closed the sacred canon, as they still do in the most correct editions of the Hebrew Bible. The appellation of Chronicles was given to these books by Jerome, because they contain an abstract, in order of time, of the whole of the sacred history, to the time when they were written. [2]

II. These books were evidently compiled from others, which were written at different times, some before and others after the Babylonish captivity: it is most certain that the books of Chronicles are not the

[1] In the first volume of Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts (pp. 134—138.) there are some admirable reflections on the moral causes of the Babylonish captivity, and the propriety of that dispensation, which will amply repay the trouble of perusal.

[2] Calmet's and Dr. Clarke's Prefaces to the two Books of Chronicles.

original records or memorials of the transactions of the sovereigns of Israel and Judah, which are so often referred to in the books of Kings. Those antient registers were much more copious than the books of Chronicles, which contain ample extracts from original documents, to which they very frequently refer.

Concerning the author of these books we have no distinct information. Some have conjectured that he was the same who wrote the books of Kings: but the great difference, Calmet remarks, in the dates, narratives, genealogies, and proper names, — together with the repetitions of the same things, and frequently in the same words, — strongly militates against this hypothesis. The Hebrews commonly assign the Chronicles to Ezra; who, they say, composed them after the return from the captivity, and was assisted in this work by the prophets Zechariah and Haggai, who were then living. This opinion they endeavour to support, *first*, from the similarity of style (the last three verses of the second book of Chronicles corresponding very nearly with the first three verses of Ezra), from the recapitulations and general reflections which are sometimes made on a long series of events: — *secondly*, the author lived after the captivity, since in the last chapter of the second book he recites the decree of Cyrus, which granted liberty to the Jews, and he also continues the genealogy of David to Zerubbabel, the chief of those who returned from the captivity: — *thirdly*, these books contain certain terms and expressions, which they think are peculiar to the person and times of Ezra.

However plausible these observations may be, there are other marks discernible in the books of Chronicles, which tend to prove that Ezra did not compose them. In the *first place*, the author continues the genealogy of Zerubbabel to the twelfth generation: but Ezra did not live to that time, and, consequently, could not have written the genealogy in question: — *secondly*, the writer of these books was neither a contemporary nor an original writer; but compiled and abridged them from antient memoirs, genealogies, annals, registers, and other works which he frequently quotes, and from which he sometimes gives copious extracts, without changing the words, or attempting to reconcile inconsistencies. It is evident, therefore, that the author of these books lived after the captivity, and derived his materials from the memoirs of writers contemporary with the events recorded, and who flourished long before his time. The authenticity of these books is abundantly supported by the general mass of external evidence; by which also their divine authority is fully established, as well as by the indirect attestations of our Lord and his apostles.[1]

III. The principal Scope of these books is to exhibit with accuracy the genealogies, the rank, the functions, and the order of the priests and Levites; that, after the captivity, they might more easily assume their proper ranks, and re-enter on their ministry. The

[1] Compare 1 Chron. xxiii. 13. with Heb. v. 4. and xxiv. 10. with Luke i. 5.; 2 Chron. ix. 1. with Matt. xii. 42. and Luke xi. 31.; and 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21. with Matt. xxiii. 35. and Luke xi. 51.

author had further in view, to show how the lands had been distributed among the families before the captivity; so that the respective tribes might on their return obtain, as far as was practicable, the antient inheritance of their fathers. He quotes old records by the name of *antient things* (1 Chron. iv. 22.), and recites four several rolls or numberings of the people; — one taken in the time of David, a second in the time of Jeroboam, a third in the time of Jotham, and a fourth in the time of the captivity of the ten tribes. In other places he speaks of the numbers which had been taken by order of king David, but which Joab did not finish. Hence we may perceive the extreme accuracy affected by the Jews in their historical documents and genealogies: the latter, indeed, could not be corrupted *formerly* (for most of the people could repeat them memoriter); although, from frequent transcription, much confusion has been introduced into many of the names, which it is now, perhaps, impossible to clear up. It is, however, most evident that the basis of the books of Chronicles was a real history and real genealogies: for such particulars of names and other circumstances would never have been invented by any person, as no imaginable purpose could be answered by it; and the hazard of making mistakes, and being thereby exposed when they were first published, would be very great.

IV. The Chronicles are an abridgment of all the sacred history, but more especially from the origin of the Jewish nation to their return from the first captivity. The FIRST BOOK traces the rise and propagation of the people of Israel from Adam, and afterwards gives a circumstantial account of the reign and transactions of David. In the SECOND BOOK the narrative is continued, and relates the progress and dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, to the very year of the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity: as very little notice is taken of the kings of Israel, it is not improbable that this book was chiefly extracted from the records of the kingdom of Judah. The period of time embraced in the books of Chronicles is about 3468 years; and they may be commodiously divided into four parts; viz. — 1. The genealogies of those persons through whom the Messiah was to descend, from Adam to the captivity, and to the time of Ezra; — 2. The histories of Saul and David; — 3. The history of the united kingdoms of Israel and Judah under Solomon; and, 4. The history of the kingdom of Judah after the secession of the ten tribes from Rehoboam, to its utter subversion by Nebuchadnezzar.

PART I. *Genealogical Tables from Adam to the Time of Ezra.* (1 Chron. i.—ix. 1—34.)

SECT. 1. Genealogies of the patriarchs from Adam to Jacob, and of the descendants of Judah to David, and his posterity to Zerubbabel, from whom the Messiah was to descend. (1 Chron. i.—iii.)

SECT. 2. Genealogies of other descendants of Judah by Pharez, and of the remaining eleven sons of Jacob. (iv.—viii. ix. 1.)

SECT. 3. Genealogies of the first inhabitants of Jerusalem, after their return from the Babylonish captivity. (ix. 2—34.)

This long series of genealogies is a signal testimony to the origin and preservation of the Jewish church among mankind; and of the fulfilment of the divine promises to Abraham, that his seed should be multiplied as the sand upon the sea-shore. (Gen.

xxii. 17.) These genealogies are also of very great importance, as exhibiting the detail of the sacred line, through which the promise of the Messiah was transmitted: so that, "when in the fulness of time this promised Mediator was revealed in the flesh, the church and people of God might infallibly know that this was that very promised seed of the woman, the son of Abraham and the son of David."[1] In perusing the Hebrew genealogies, it will be necessary to remember that the terms "*father*," "*son*," "*begat*," and "*begotten*," which are of such frequent occurrence in them, do not always denote immediate procreation or filiation, but extend to any distant progenitor.[2]

It is further to be observed, that "these genealogical tables are exceedingly brief. Nothing is to be found of the tribe of Dan. That of Benjamin is twice introduced. (1 Chron. vii. 6—12. and viii.) The genealogies of the priests and Levites are given most in detail, and terminate with the destruction of Jerusalem. They are, however, very far from being complete: even those of the high priests, extending through one thousand years, comprehend only twenty-two succesions, where thirty might be expected. (1 Chron. vi.) Those of the tribe of Judah are pretty copious (1 Chron. ii. 3—17. iv. 1—22.), and the register of David's descendents runs down to the fourth century before Christ. (1 Chron. iii.) All these tables relate to distinguished families and individuals: they occasionally contain many important historical notices, which prove that historical matters were occasionally introduced in the original tables. See 1 Chron. iv. 9, 10. v. 19—22. and vii. 21—23."[3]

PART II. *The Histories of Saul and David.* (1 Chron. ix. 35—44. x.—xxix. 1—22.)

SECT. 1. The pedigree of Saul and his death. (1 Chron. ix. 35—44. x.)

SECT. 2. The history and transactions of the reign of David; including,

§ i. His inauguration; list of his worthies, and account of his forces. (xi. xii.)

§ ii. The bringing up of the ark from Kirjath-jearim, first to the house of Obededom, and thence to Jerusalem; and the solemn service and thanksgiving on that occasion. (xiii.—xvi.) David's intention of building a temple approved of by Jehovah. (xvii.)

§ iii. The victories of David over the Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, and Edomites (xviii.); and over the Ammonites, Syrians, and Philistines. (xix. xx.)

§ iv. David takes a census of the people; a plague inflicted, which is stayed at his intercession. (xxi. 1—27.)

§ v. An account of David's regulations for the constant service of the temple: — His preparations and directions concerning the building of it (xxi. 27—30. xxii. xxiii. 1.); regulations concerning the Levites (xxiii. 2—32.); the priests (xxiv.), singers (xxv.), and porters or keepers of the gates. (xxvi.)

§ vi. Regulations for the administration of his kingdom; list of his military and civil officers. (xxvii.)

§ vii. David's address to Solomon and his princes concerning the building of the temple (xxviii.); the liberal contributions of David and his subjects for this purpose, and his thanksgiving for them. (xxix. 1—22.)

PART III. *The History of the United Kingdom of Israel and Judah under Solomon.* (1 Chron. xxix. 23—30. 2 Chron. i.—ix.)

SECT. 1. The second inauguration of Solomon: — Death of David; the piety, wisdom, and grandeur of Solomon. (1 Chron. xxix. 23—30. 2 Chron. i.)

SECT. 2. Account of the erection and consecration of the temple, and of some other edifices erected by him. (2 Chron. ii.—viii. 16.)

SECT. 3. The remainder of Solomon's reign to his death. (viii. 17, 18. ix.)

PART IV. *The History of the Kingdom of Judah, from the Secession of the Ten Tribes, under Jeroboam, to its Termination by Nebuchadnezzar.* (2 Chron. x.—xxxvi.)

SECT. 1. The accession of Rehoboam to the throne of the united

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[1] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 105.

[2] Thus in Gen. xxix. 5. Laban is called the *son* of Nahor, though, in fact, he was only his "*grandson*" by Bethuel. Similar instances are often to be found in the Scriptures.

[3] Jahn's Introduction by Prof. Turner, p. 260.

kingdom; its division; Jerusalem plundered by Shishak. (2 Chron. x.—xii.

Sect. 2. The reigns of Abijah and Asa kings of Judah. (xiii.—xvi.)

Sect. 3. The reign of Jehoshaphat. (xvii.—xx.)

Sect. 4. The reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah; the usurpation of Athaliah. (xxi. xxii.)

Sect. 5. The reign of Joash. (xxiii. xxiv.)

Sect. 6. The reigns of Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham. (xxv.—xxvii.)

Sect. 7. The reign of Ahaz. (xxviii.)

Sect. 8. The reign of Hezekiah. (xxix.—xxxii.)

Sect. 9. The reigns of Manasseh and Amon. (xxxiii.)

Sect. 10. The reign of Josiah. (xxxiv. xxxv.)

Sect. 11. The reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah; the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple. (xxxvi.)[1]

V. Independently of the important moral and religious instruction to be derived from the two books of Chronicles, as illustrating the divine dispensations towards a highly-favoured but ungrateful people, the second book is extremely valuable in a critical point of view; not only as it contains some historical particulars which are not mentioned in any other part of the Old Testament, but also as it affords us many genuine readings, which, by the inaccuracy of transcribers, are now lost in the older books of the Bible. The discrepancies between the books of Kings and Chronicles, though very numerous, are not of any great moment, and admit of an easy solution, being partly caused by various lections, and partly arising from the nature of the books; which, being supplementary to those of Samuel and Kings, omit what is there related more at large, and supply what is there wanting.[2] It should further be recollected, that, *after* the captivity, the Hebrew language was slightly varied from what it had formerly been; that different places had received new names, or undergone sundry vicissitudes: that certain things were now better known to the returned Jews under other appellations, than under those by which they had formerly been distinguished; and that, from the materials to which the author had access (and which frequently were different from those consulted by the writers of the royal his-

[1] The two last verses of the second book of Chronicles are evidently the beginning of the book of Ezra, which follows next in the order of the canon; and must have been copied from it before the transcriber was aware of his error: but, finding his mistake, he abruptly broke off, and began the book of Ezra at the customary distance, without publishing his error by erasing or blotting out those lines which he had inadvertently subjoined to the book of Chronicles. This copy, however, being in other respects of authority, has been followed in all subsequent copies, as well as in all the antient versions. This circumstance affords a proof of the scrupulous exactness with which the copies of the canonical books were afterwards taken. No writer or translator would take upon himself to correct even a manifest error. How then can we think that any other alteration, diminution, or addition, would voluntarily be made by any of the Jewish nation, or not have been detected if it had been attempted by any person? Dr. Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 491—494. Dr. Priestley, Notes on Scripture, vol. ii. p. 94.

[2] The above remark will be clearly illustrated by comparing 2 Kings xxiv. 6. with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. and Jer. xxxvi. 30.; 1 Kings xv. 2. with 2 Chron. xv. 19.; 1 Kings xxii. 44. with 2 Chron. xvii. 6.; 2 Kings ix. 27. with 2 Chron. xxii. 9. See also Professor Dahler's learned Disquisition "De Librorum Paralipomenων auctoritate atque fide historica" (8vo. Argentorati et Lipsiæ, 1819); in which he has instituted a minute collation of the books of Chronicles with the books of Samuel and of Kings; and has satisfactorily vindicated their genuineness and credibility against the insinuations and objections of some recent sceptical German critics.

tories), he has selected those passages which appeared to him best adapted to his purpose, and most suitable to the time in which he wrote. It must also be considered, that he often elucidates obscure and ambiguous words in former books by a different mode of spelling them, or by a different order of the words employed, even when he does not use a distinct phraseology of narration, which he sometimes adopts. [1]

As the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles relate the same histories, they should each be constantly read and collated together; not only for the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Jewish history, but also in order to illustrate or amend from one book what is obscure in either of the others.

The following table of the more remarkable parallel passages of the books of Chronicles and those of Samuel and Kings will assist the reader in his collation of these books: [2] —

1 Chron. x. 1—12.	with	1 Sam. xxxi.
1 Chron. xi. 1—9.		2 Sam. v. 1—10.
1 Chron. xi. 10—41.		1 Sam. xxiii. 8—39.
1 Chron. xiii. 1—14.		2 Sam. vi. 3—11.
1 Chron. xiv. 1—7.		2 Sam. v. 11—25.
1 Chron. xvii.		2 Sam. vii.
1 Chron. xviii.		2 Sam. viii.
1 Chron. xix.		2 Sam. x.
1 Chron. xx. 1—3.		2 Sam. xi. 1. xii. 30. et seq.
1 Chron. xx. 4—8.		2 Sam. xxi. 18—22.
1 Chron. xxi.		2 Sam. xxiv.
2 Chron. i. 3—13.		1 Kings iii. 4—14.
2 Chron. i. 14—17.		1 Kings x. 26—29.
2 Chron. ii.		1 Kings v. 15—32.
2 Chron. iii. iv.		1 Kings vi. vii.
2 Chron. v. 2. vii. 10.		1 Kings viii.
2 Chron. vii. 11—22.		1 Kings ix. 1—9.
2 Chron. viii.		1 Kings xi. 15—28.
2 Chron. ix. 1—12.		1 Kings x. 1—13.
2 Chron. ix. 13—31.		1 Kings x. 14—29.
2 Chron. x. 1. xi. 4.		1 Kings xii. 1—24.
2 Chron. xii. 2—11.		1 Kings xiv. 25—28.
2 Chron. xvi. 1—6.		1 Kings xv. 17—22.
2 Chron. xviii.		1 Kings xxii. 2—35.
2 Chron. xx. 31—37.		1 Kings xxii. 41—50.
2 Chron. xxi. 6—10.		2 Kings viii. 17—24.
2 Chron. xxii. 2—6.		2 Kings viii. 26—29.
2 Chron. xxii. 10. xxiii. 21.		2 Kings xi.
2 Chron. xxiv. 1—14.		2 Kings xii. 1—16.
2 Chron. xxv. 1—4. 11. 17—24. 27, 28.		2 Kings xiv. 1—14. 19, 20.
2 Chron. xxvi. 1, 2.		2 Kings xiv. 21, 22.
2 Chron. xxvii. 1—3.		2 Kings xv. 33. 35.
2 Chron. xxviii. 1—4.		2 Kings xvi. 2—4.
2 Chron. xxix. 1, 2.		2 Kings xviii. 2, 3.
2 Chron. xxxii. 9—21.		2 Kings xviii. 17—37.
2 Chron. xxxii. 24—31.		2 Kings xx. 1—19.
2 Chron. xxxiii. 1—10.		2 Kings xxi. 1—10.
2 Chron. xxxiv. 1, 2. 8—28.		2 Kings xxii.
2 Chron. xxxiv. 29—33.		2 Kings xxiii. 1—20.
2 Chron. xxxv. 18. 20—25.		2 Kings xxiii. 22, 23.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 1.		2 Kings xxiii. 29, 30.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 2—4.		2 Kings xxiii. 31—34.

[1] Calmet's Dictionary, article Chronicles, *in fine*.

[2] This table is copied from Prof. Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn, p. 272. note.

SECTION VIII.

ON THE BOOK OF EZRA.

I. *Title and Author.* — II. *Argument, Scope, and Synopsis of its Contents.* — III. *Observations on a spurious Passage ascribed to Ezra.*

I. THE books of Ezra and Nehemiah were antiently reckoned by the Jews as one volume, and were divided by them into the first and second books of Ezra. The same division is recognised by the Greek and Latin churches: but the third book, assigned to Ezra, and received as canonical by the Greek church, is the same, in substance, as the book which properly bears his name, but interpolated. And the *fourth* book, which has been attributed to him, is a manifest forgery, in which the marks of falsehood are plainly discernible, and which was never unanimously received as canonical either by the Greek or by the Latin church, although some of the fathers have cited it, and the Latin church has borrowed some words out of it. It is not now extant in Greek, and never was extant in Hebrew.

It is evident that the author of the book of Ezra was personally present at the transactions recorded in it, the narrative being in the first person. It also bears upon the face of it every character of natural simplicity, and contains more particulars of time, persons, and places, than could have been introduced by any other individual. That the last four chapters of this book were written by Ezra himself there can be no doubt, as he particularly describes himself in the beginning of the seventh chapter, and likewise frequently introduces himself in the subsequent chapters. The Jews, indeed, ascribe the whole of this book to Ezra, and their opinion is adopted by most Christian commentators. But as the writer of the first six chapters appears, from ch. v. 4., to have been at Jerusalem in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, and it is evident from the beginning of the seventh chapter that Ezra did not go thither until the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (a distance of sixty years), some persons have ascribed the first six chapters to a more antient author. This, however, does not necessarily follow: and we apprehend it will appear that these chapters were written by Ezra as well as the four last: —

In the first place, *from the intimate connection of the sixth chapter with the seventh:* for the diversity of speech and narration observable in them may readily be accounted for by the circumstance of Ezra's having copied, or extracted from, the authentic memoirs, which he found on his arrival at Jerusalem, of the transactions that had happened since the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity.

Secondly, *the same method of narration prevails in both parts:* for, as in the second part (ch. vii. 12—26.), the royal decree is inserted, entire, in the Chaldee dialect; so, in the first part, the edict of Cyrus, the epistle of the Samaritans to the Pseudo-Smerdis, and his reply to them, together with part of the fourth chapter, are also given in Chaldee.

And, lastly, in the third place, it is not likely that a short historical

compendium, like the book of Ezra, should be the work of more than one author: nor ought we to assign it to several authors, unless we had either express declarations or internal evidence that they were concerned in it; all these evidences are wanting in the book of Ezra.

This book is written in Chaldee from chapter iv. 8. to chapter vii. 27. As this portion of Ezra chiefly consists of letters, conversations, and decrees, expressed in that language, the fidelity of the historian probably induced him to take down the very words which were used. The people, too, having been accustomed to the Chaldee during the captivity, were in all probability better acquainted with it than with the Hebrew; for it appears from Nehemiah's account that they did not all understand the law of Moses as it had been delivered in the original Hebrew tongue.

II. The book of Ezra harmonises most strictly with the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, which it materially elucidates. (Compare Ezra v. with Hagg. i. 12. and Zech. iii. iv.) It evinces the paternal care of Jehovah over his chosen people, whose history it relates from the time of the edict issued by Cyrus, to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, — a period of about seventy-nine, or, according to some chronologers, of one hundred years. This book consists of two principal divisions: the first contains a narrative of the return of the Jews from Babylon under the conduct of Zerubbabel; and the second gives an account of the reformation of religion under Ezra.

PART I. *From the Return of the Jews under Zerubbabel to the Rebuilding of the Temple.* (ch. i.—vi.)

SECT. 1. The edict of Cyrus, permitting the Jews to return into Judæa and rebuild the temple; account of the people who first returned under the conduct of Zerubbabel, and of their offerings towards rebuilding the temple, (i. ii.) On this joyous occasion it is probable that the hundred and twenty-sixth psalm was composed.

SECT. 2. The building of the temple commenced, but hindered by the Samaritans. (iii. iv.)

SECT. 3. The temple finished in the sixth year of Darius Hystaspes, by the encouragement of the decree issued in the second year of his reign. (v. vi.)

The history contained in the book of Esther should be read after these two chapters, as it relates to this period of Jewish history.

PART II. *The Arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, and the Reformation made there by him.* (vii.—x.)

SECT. 1. The departure of Ezra from Babylon with a commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus. (vii.)

SECT. 2. Account of his retinue and arrival at Jerusalem. (viii.)

SECT. 3. Narrative of the reformation effected by him. (ix. x.)

The zeal and piety of Ezra appear, in this book, in a most conspicuous point of view: his memory has always been held in the highest reverence by the Jews, who consider him as a second Moses: though not expressly styled a prophet, he wrote under the influence of the Divine Spirit, and the canonical authority of his book has never been disputed. He is said to have died in the hundred and twentieth year of his age, and to have been buried at Jerusalem.

III. In Justin the Martyr's conference with Trypho the Jew, there is a very extraordinary passage respecting the typical import of the passover, cited by that father: in which Ezra, in a speech made before the celebration of the passover, expounds the mystery of it as clearly relating to Christ; and which, Justin concludes, was at a very early day expunged from the Hebrew copies by the Jews, as too manifestly favouring the cause of Christianity. The passage may be thus translated[1]: — "*And Ezra said unto the people,* THIS PASSOVER *is our* SAVIOUR *and our* REFUGE; *and if ye shall understand and ponder it in your heart, that we are about to humble* HIM *in this sign, and afterwards shall believe on* HIM, *then this place shall not be made desolate for ever, saith the Lord of hosts. But if ye will not believe on* HIM, *nor hear* HIS *preaching, ye shall be a laughing-stock to the Gentiles.*" As this passage never existed in the Hebrew copies, and is not now to be found either in them or in any copies of the Septuagint version, it is the opinion of most critics that it originally crept into the Greek Bibles from a marginal addition by some early Christian, rather than that it was expunged from the later copies by the Jews.

SECTION IX.

ON THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

I. *Title and Author.* — II. *Argument and Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. THE book of Nehemiah, we have already observed, is in some versions termed the second book of Ezra or Esdras, from an opinion which antiently obtained, and was adopted, by Athanasius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and other eminent fathers of the church, that Ezra was the author of this book. In the modern Hebrew Bibles it has the name of Nehemiah prefixed to it, which is also retained in our English Bibles. The author of this book was *not* the Nehemiah who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon with Zerubbabel.

That Nehemiah, whose name this book bears, and who was cupbearer to Artaxerxes Longimanus, was the author of it, there cannot be any reasonable doubt: the whole of it being written in his name, and, what is very unusual when compared with the preceding sacred historians, being written in the first person. The insertion of the greater part of the register in chap. xii. 1—26. (which is supposed to militate against this generally received opinion) may be accounted for by supposing it either to have been added by some subsequent author, or, perhaps, by the authority of the great synagogue: for it seems to be unconnected with the narrative of Nehemiah, and if

[1] Justin. Martyr, Dial. cum Tryphone, pp. 292, 293. edit. by Thirlby, or vol. ii. p. 196. ed. Oberthur. Mr. Whitaker (Origin of Arianism, p. 305.) advocates its genuineness; and concludes that the passage in question originally stood in Ezra vi. 19—22., probably between the 20th and 21st verses. Dr. Grabe, Dr. Thirlby, and after them Archbp. Magee, (Disc. on Atonement, vol. i. p. 306. note,) doubt its genuineness. Dr. A. Clarke is disposed to believe it authentic. (Disc. on Eucharist, p. 83.)

genuine, must ascribe to him a degree of longevity which appears scarcely credible.[1]

II. Nehemiah, according to some writers, was of the tribe of Levi, but, in the opinion of others, of the royal house of Judah: as the office he held in the Persian court (that of cup-bearer) was a post of great honour and influence, it is certain that he was a man of illustrious family; and of his integrity, prudence, and piety, the whole of this book presents abundant evidence. He arrived at Jerusalem thirteen years after Ezra, with the rank of governor of the province, and vested with full power and authority to encourage the rebuilding of the walls of that city, and to promote the welfare of his countrymen in every possible way.

Having governed Judæa for twelve years (Neh. xiii. 6.), Nehemiah returned to his royal patron (ii. 6.), and after a short time he obtained permission to return to his country, where he is supposed to have spent the remainder of his life. His book may be conveniently divided into four parts; viz.

PART I. *The Departure of Nehemiah from Shushan, with a Royal Commission to rebuild the Walls of Jerusalem, and his first Arrival there.* (ch. i. ii. 1—11.)

PART II. *Account of the Building of the Walls, notwithstanding the Obstacles interposed by Sanballat.* (ii. 12—20. iii.—vii. 4.)

PART III. *The First Reformation accomplished by Nehemiah;* containing,

SECT. 1. A register of the persons who had first returned from Babylon, and an account of the oblations at the temple. (vii. 5—72.)

SECT. 2. Account of the reading of the law, and the celebration of the feast of tabernacles. (viii.)

SECT. 3. A solemn fast and humiliation kept; and the renewal of the covenant of the Israelites with Jehovah. (ix. x.)

SECT. 4. Lists of those who dwelt at Jerusalem, and of other cities occupied by the Jews that returned; register and succession of the high priests, chief Levites, and principal singers. (xi. xii. 1—26.) The completion and dedication of the wall. (xii. 27—47.)

PART IV. *The Second Reformation accomplished by Nehemiah on his second Return to Jerusalem, and his Correction of the Abuses which had crept in during his Absence.* (xiii.)

In Nehemiah we have the shining character of an able governor, truly zealous for the good of his country and for the honour of his religion: who quitted a noble and gainful post in the greatest court in the world; generously spent the riches he had there acquired for the public benefit of his fellow-Israelites; and waded through inexpressible difficulties with a courage and spirit, which alone could, with the divine blessing, procure the safety and reform the manners of such an unhappy and unthoughtful nation.[2] The administration of this pious man and truly patriotic governor lasted about thirty-six years, to the year of the world 3574 according to some chronologers,

[1] Prideaux, Connexion, sub anno 458, vol. i. p. 296. et seq. 8th edition.

[2] Pyle's Paraphrase on the Old Testament, vol. iv. p. 642.

but Dr. Prideaux has with more probability fixed it to the year 3595. The Scripture history closes with the book of Nehemiah.

SECTION X.

ON THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

I. *Title.*—II. *Author.*—III. *Argument.*—IV. *Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. THIS book, which derives its name from the person whose history it chiefly relates, is by the Jews termed *Megillah Esther*, or the volume of Esther. The history it contains comes in between the sixth and seventh chapters of Ezra: its authenticity was questioned by some of the fathers, in consequence of the name of God being omitted throughout[1], but it has always been received as canonical by the Jews, who hold this book in the highest estimation, placing it on the same level with the law of Moses. They believe that whatever destruction may attend the other Sacred Writings, the Pentateuch and the book of Esther will always be preserved by a special providence.

II. Concerning the author of this book, the opinions of biblical critics are so greatly divided, that it is difficult to determine by whom it was written. Augustine and some of the fathers of the Christian church ascribe it to Ezra. By other writers it is ascribed to the joint labours of the great synagogue, who, from the time of Ezra to Simon the Just, superintended the edition and canon of Scripture. Philo the Jew assigns it to Joachin, the son of Joshua the high priest, who returned with Zerubbabel: others think it was composed by Mordecai; and others, again, attribute it to Esther and Mordecai jointly. The two latter conjectures are grounded on the following declaration in Esther ix. 20. 23.:—*And Mordecai wrote these things, and sent letters unto all the Jews that were in all the provinces of king Ahasuerus; and the Jews undertook to do as they had begun, and as Mordecai had written unto them.* But the context of the passage clearly shows that these words do not relate to the book itself, but to the circular letters which Mordecai sent to the Jews in all the provinces of the Persian empire, announcing the mighty deliverance from their enemies which had been vouchsafed to them, and instituting a perpetual anniversary in commemoration of such deliverance.[2] The institution of this festival, and its continued observance to the present time, is a convincing evidence of the reality of the history of Esther, and of the genuineness of the book which bears her name: since it is impossible, and, in fact, inconceivable, that a nation should institute, and afterwards continue to celebrate, through a long succession of ages, this solemn annual festival, merely because a certain man among them had written an agreeable fable or romance.

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[1] On this account, Professor De Wette, who objects to all the other books of the Old Testament, their theocratico-mythological spirit, condems *this* for its want of religion! (Prof. Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 289.) Such is the consistency of neologian critics!

[2] For an account of this festival, called the feast of *Purim*, see Vol. III. pp. 321, 322.

A more probable opinion (and which will enable us satisfactorily to account for the omission of the name of God in this book) is, that it is a translated extract from the memoirs of the reign of the Persian monarch Ahasuerus. The Asiatic sovereigns, it is well known, caused annals of their reigns to be kept: numerous passages in the books of Kings and Chronicles prove that the kings of Israel and Judah had such annals; and the book of Esther itself attests that Ahasuerus had similar historical records. (ii. 23. vi. 1. x. 2.) It was indispensably necessary that the Jews should have a faithful narrative of their history under Queen Esther. Now, from what more certain source could they derive such history than from the memoirs of the king her consort? Either Ezra, or Mordecai, had authority or credit enough to obtain such an extract. In this case, we can better account for the retaining of the Persian word *Purim*, as well as for the details which we read concerning the empire of Ahasuerus, and (which could otherwise be of no use whatever for the history of Esther) for the exactness with which the names of his ministers and of Haman's sons are recorded. The circumstance of this history being an extract from the Persian annals will also account for the Jews being mentioned only in the third person, and why Esther is so frequently designated by the title of queen, and Mordecai by the epithet of "the Jew." It will also account for those numerous parentheses which interrupt the narrative, in order to subjoin the illustrations which were necessary for a Jewish reader; and by the abrupt termination of the narrative by one sentence relative to the power of Ahasuerus, and another concerning Mordecai's greatness. Finally, it is evident that the author of this extract, whoever he was, wished to make a final appeal to the source whence he derived it. (x. 2.) This very plausible conjecture, we apprehend, will satisfactorily answer the objection that this book contains nothing peculiar to the Israelites, except Mordecai's genealogy. There is, unquestionably, no mention made of Divine Providence, or of the name of God, in these memoirs or chronicles of Ahasuerus; and if the author of the extract had given it a more Jewish complexion, — if he had spoken of the God of Israel, — instead of rendering his narrative more credible, he would have deprived it of an internal character of truth.[1]

III. The transactions recorded in this book relate to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus[2], the same who reigned during the time of

[1] Coquerel, Biographie Sacrée, tom. i. pp. 361—363. (Amsterdam, 1825.)

[2] Chronologers are greatly divided in opinion who was the Ahasuerus of the sacred historian. Scaliger, who has been followed by Jahn, has advanced many ingenious arguments to show that it was Xerxes who was intended; Archbishop Usher supposes it to have been Darius the son of Hystaspes. The most probable opinion is that of Dr. Prideaux, (Connexion, sub anno 458, vol. i. pp. 270. et seq.); who, after a very minute discussion, maintains that the Ahasuerus of Esther was Artaxerxes Longimanus, agreeably to the account of Josephus, Antiq. Jud. lib. xi. c. 6.) of the Septuagint version, and of the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther. The opinion of Prideaux is adopted by Bishops Tomline and Gray, and the very accurate chronologer, Dr. Hales. (See Gray's Key, p. 227. Tomline's Elements, vol. i. p. 93. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. pp. 524. et seq.) We may therefore conclude, that the permission given to Nehemiah to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem was owing to the influence of Esther and Mordecai, and that the emancipation of the Jews from the Persian yoke was gradually, though silently, effected by the same influence. It is not improbable that the pious reason, assigned by Artaxerxes

Ezra and Nehemiah. They commence about the year of the world 3544, and continue through a period not exceeding eighteen or twenty years. The book of Esther relates the elevation of a Jewish captive to the throne of Persia, and the providential deliverance of herself and people from the machinations of the cruel Haman and his associates, whose intended mischief recoiled upon themselves: thus affording a practical comment on the declaration of the royal sage:—"Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished: but the seed of the righteous shall be delivered." (Prov. xi. 21.)

IV. The book consists of two parts; detailing,

PART I. *The Promotion of Esther; and the essential Service rendered to the King by Mordecai, in detecting a Plot against his Life.* (i. ii.)

PART II. *The Advancement of Haman; his Designs against the Jews, and their Frustration.*

SECT. 1. The promotion of Haman, and the occasion of which he availed himself to obtain an edict for massacring the Jews. (iii.)

SECT. 2. The consequent affliction of the Jews, and the measures pursued by them. (iv.)

SECT. 3. The defeat of Haman's particular plot against the life of Mordecai. (v. vi. vii.)

SECT. 4. The defeat of his general plot against the Jews. (viii. ix. 1—16.)

SECT. 5. The institution of the festival of Purim, to commemorate their deliverance (ix. 17—32.); and the advancement of Mordecai. (x.)

In our copies the book of Esther terminates with the third verse of the tenth chapter: but in the Greek and Vulgate Bibles, there are ten more verses annexed to it, together with six additional chapters which the Greek and Romish churches account to be canonical. As, however, they are not extant in Hebrew, they are expunged from the sacred canon by Protestants, and are supposed to have been compiled by some Hellenistic Jew.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE POETICAL BOOKS.

THOUGH some of the Sacred Writings, which present themselves to our notice in the present chapter, are anterior in point of date to the Historical Books, yet they are usually classed by themselves under the title of the *Poetical Books;* because they are almost wholly composed in Hebrew verse. This appellation is of considerable antiquity. Gregory Nazianzen calls them the *Five Metrical Books;* Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, in his iambic poem addressed to Seleucus, enumerates them, and gives them a similar denomination;

(Ezra vii. 23.) for the regulations given to Ezra, originated in the correct views of religion which were communicated to him by his queen Esther.

as also do Epiphanius and Cyril of Jerusalem.[1] The Poetical Books are five in number, viz. Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles or Song of Solomon: in the Jewish canon of Scripture they are classed among the Hagiographa, or Holy Writings; and in our Bibles they are placed between the Historical and Prophetical Books.

SECTION I.

ON THE BOOK OF JOB.

I. *Title of the Book.* — II. *Reality of Job's Person.* — III. *Age in which he lived.* — IV. *Scene of the Poem of Job.* — V. *Author and Canonical Authority.* — VI. *Structure of the Poem.* — VII. *Argument and Scope.* — VIII. *Spurious Addition to this Book in the Septuagint Version.* — IX. *Rules for studying this Book to advantage.* — X. *Synopsis.* — XI. *Idea of the Patriarchal Theology, as contained in the Book of Job.*

I. THIS book has derived its title from the venerable patriarch Job, whose prosperity, afflictions, and restoration from the deepest adversity, are here recorded, together with his exemplary and unequalled patience under all his calamities. No book, perhaps, has more exercised the ingenuity of critics and commentators than this of Job; and though the limits necessarily assigned to this article prevent us from detailing all the various and discordant hypotheses which have been offered concerning it, yet a brief retrospect of the principal opinions that have been entertained respecting this portion of Scripture can at no time be either uninteresting or unimportant.

II. Although this book professes to treat of a real person, yet the actual existence of the patriarch has been questioned by many eminent critics, who have endeavoured to prove that the whole poem is a mere fictitious narration, intended to instruct through the medium of parable. This opinion was first announced by the celebrated Jewish Rabbi Maimonides[2], and has since been adopted by Le Clerc, Michaelis, Semler, Bishop Stock, and others. The reality of Job's existence, on the contrary, (independently of its being the uniform belief of the Jewish and Christian church,) has been maintained with equal ability by Leusden, Calmet, Heidegger, Carpzov, Van Til, Spanheim, Moldenhawer, Schultens, Ilgen, Archbishop Magee, Bishops Patrick, Sherlock, Lowth, Tomline, and Gray, Drs. Kennicott and Hales, Messieurs Peters and Good, Drs. Taylor and Priestley, and, in short, by almost every other modern commentator and critic.

The principal arguments commonly urged against the reality of Job's existence are derived from the nature of the exordium in which Satan appears as the accuser of Job; from the temptations and sufferings permitted by the Almighty Governor of the world to befall an upright character; from the artificial regularity of the numbers by which the patriarch's possessions are described, as seven thousand, three thousand, one thousand, five hundred, &c.

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[1] *Greg. Naz. Carm.* 33. v. 16. Op. tom. ii. p. 98. Paris, 1611. Epiphanius de Pond. et Mens. p. 533. Suicer's Thesaurus, tom. ii. *voce* σχηρα.

[2] Moreh Nevochim, part ii. sect. 22.

With regard to the first argument, the incredibility of the conversation which is related to have taken place between the Almighty and Satan, "who is supposed to return with *news* from the terrestrial regions," — an able commentator has remarked, why should such a conversation be supposed incredible? The attempt at wit in the word *news* is somewhat out of place; for the interrogation of the Almighty, "Hast thou fixed thy view upon my servant Job, a perfect and upright MAN?" instead of aiming at the acquisition of news, is intended as a severe and most appropriate sarcasm upon the fallen spirit. "Hast THOU — who, with superior faculties and a more comprehensive knowledge of my will, hast not continued perfect and upright, — fixed thy view upon a subordinate being, far weaker and less informed than thyself, who has continued so?" — "The attendance of the apostate at the tribunal of the Almighty is plainly designed to show us that good and evil angels are equally amenable to him, and equally subject to his authority; — a doctrine common to every part of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and, except in the mythology of the Parsees, recognised by, perhaps, every antient system of religion whatever. The part assigned to Satan in the present work is that expressly assigned to him in the case of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, and of our Saviour in the wilderness: and which is assigned to him generally, in regard to mankind at large, by all the evangelists and apostles whose writings have reached us, both in their strictest historical narratives, and closest argumentative inductions. And hence the argument which should induce us to regard the present passage as fabulous, should induce us to regard all the rest in the same light which are imbued with the same doctrine:—a view of the subject which would sweep into nothingness a much larger portion of the Bible than, we are confident, M. Michaelis would choose to part with.

"The other arguments are, comparatively, of small moment. We want not fable to tell us that good and upright men may occasionally become the victims of accumulated calamities; for it is a living fact, which, in the mystery of Providence, is perpetually occurring in every country: while as to the roundness of the numbers by which the patriarch's possessions are described, nothing could have been more ungraceful or superfluous than for the poet to have descended to units, had even the literal numeration demanded it. And although he is stated to have lived a hundred and forty years after his restoration to prosperity, and in an æra in which the duration of man did not, perhaps, much exceed that of the present day, it should be recollected, that in his person as well as in his property he was specially gifted by the Almighty: that, from various passages, he seems to have been younger than all the interlocutors, except Elihu, and much younger than one or two of them: that his longevity is particularly remarked, as though of more than usual extent: and that, even in the present age of the world, we have well authenticated instances of persons having lived, in different parts of the globe, to the age of a hundred and fifty, a hundred and sixty, and even a hundred and seventy years. [1]

[1] See Pantalogia, art. *Life;* and Encyclopædia Britannica, art. *Longevity.*

"It is not necessary for the historical truth of the book of Job, that its language should be a direct transcript of that actually employed by the different characters introduced into it; for in such case we should scarcely have a single book of real history in the world. The Iliad, the Shah Nameh, and the Lusiad, must at once drop all pretensions to such a description; and even the pages of Sallust and Cæsar, of Rollin and Hume, must stand upon very questionable authority. It is enough that the real sentiment be given, and the general style copied: and this, in truth, is all that is aimed at, not only in our best reports of parliamentary speeches, but in many instances (which is indeed much more to the purpose), by the writers of the New Testament, in their quotations from the Old." [1]

Independently of these considerations, which we think sufficiently refute the objections adduced against the reality of Job's existence, we may observe, that there is every possible evidence that the book, which bears his name, contains a *literal history* of the temptations and sufferings of a real character.

In the first place, that Job was a real, and not a fictitious character, may be inferred from the manner in which he is mentioned in the Scriptures. Thus, the prophet Ezekiel speaks of him: — *Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God.* (Ezek. xiv. 14.) [2] In this passage the prophet ranks Noah, Daniel, and Job together, as powerful intercessors with God; the first for his family; the second for the wise men of Babylon; and the third for his friends: now, since Noah and Daniel were unquestionably real characters, we must conclude the same of Job. *Behold*, says the apostle James, *we count them happy which endure: ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy.* (James v. 11.) It is scarcely to be believed that a divinely inspired apostle would refer to an imaginary character as an example of patience, or in proof of the mercy of God. [3] But, besides the authority of the inspired writers, we have the strongest internal evidence, from the book itself, that Job was a real person: for it expressly specifies the names of persons, places, facts, and other circumstances usually related in true histories. Thus we have the name, country, piety, wealth, &c. of Job described (ch. i.); the names, number, and acts of his children are mentioned; the conduct of his wife is recorded as a fact (ii.); his friends, their names, countries, and

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[1] Dr. Good's Introductory Dissertation to his version of Job, pp. xv.—xvii. See also Archbishop Magee's Discourses and Dissertations on the Atonement, vol. ii. pp. 49—53. Dr. Gregory's translation of Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 358—370. in notes.

[2] To evade the strong proof afforded by Ezekiel's express recognition of the reality of Job's person, Jahn remarks that fictitious personages may be brought upon the stage along with real; as is evident from Luke xvi. 19—31., where Abraham is introduced with the fictitious characters Lazarus and the rich man. But there is an evident difference between a parable expressly purporting to be fictitious, and a solemn rebuke or warning to a whole nation. Besides, in Luke, the circumstances predicated of *all* the characters are fictitious; in Ezekiel they are unquestionably true with relation to Noah and Daniel, and might be reasonably expected to be so in the other instance associated with these two. (Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn, p. 467. note.

[3] Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 94.

discourses with him in his afflictions, are minutely delineated. (ii. 11, &c.) And can we rationally imagine that these were not realities?

Further, no reasonable doubt can be entertained respecting the real existence of Job, when we consider that it is proved by the concurrent testimony of all eastern tradition: he is mentioned by the author of the book of Tobit, who lived during the Assyrian captivity [1]; he is also repeatedly mentioned by Mohammed [2] as a real character. The whole of his history, with many fabulous additions, was known among the Syrians and Chaldæans; many of the noblest families among the Arabians are distinguished by his name [3], and boast of being descended from him. So late even as the end of the fourth century, we are told, that there were many persons who went into Arabia to see Job's dunghill [4], which, in the nature of things, could not have subsisted through so many ages; but the fact of superstitious persons making pilgrimages to it sufficiently attests the reality of his existence, as also do the traditionary accounts concerning the place of Job's abode. [5]

III. Since, then, the book of Job contains the history of a real character, the next point to be considered is the age in which he lived,—a question concerning which there is as great a diversity of opinion, as upon any other subject connected with this venerable monument of sacred antiquity. Thus, some think that he lived in the days of Moses, from a supposed resemblance between the style of Moses and that of Job; others, in the time of the Judges, from an expression in Job xxvii. 12., because at that time all was *vanity*, and every man did that which was good in his own eyes. Others, again, refer him to the time of Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes Longimanus, on account of the search then made for beautiful women, from whom the monarch might select a consort (Esth. ii. 2, &c.), and because Job's daughters are mentioned (Job xlii. 15.) as being the fairest in the whole land. Some make him to have been contemporary with Solomon and the queen of Sheba, if not Solomon himself [6], because the Sabeans are noticed in Job i. 15, &c.; and others, with Nebuchad-

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[1] Tobit ii. 12. in the Vulgate version, which is supposed to have been executed from a more extended history of Tobit than the original of the Greek version.

[2] Sale's Koran, pp. 271. 375. 4to. edit. See also D'Herbelot's Bibliothèque Orientale, voce *Aiúb*, tom. i. p. 145. 4to. edit.

[3] As the father of the celebrated Sultan Saladin (Elmacin, Hist. Saracen, p. 3.); and also Saladin himself, whose dynasty is known in the East by the name of Aiubiah or Jobites. D'Herbelot, tom. i. pp. 146, 147.

[4] Chrysostom. ad pop. Antioch. Hom. 5. Op. tom. ii. p. 59 A.

[5] Thevenot's Voyage, p. 447. La Roque, Voyages en Syrie, tom. i. p. 239.

[6] Staeudlin (a modern German critic, who plainly disbelieves any inspiration of the Old Testament,) takes a middle course. Conceiving that he has discovered in the book of Job phrases, sentiments, and pictures of manners which belong to a later date, and that its composition is more elaborate and exquisite than that of the generality of the other Hebrew books, he does not ascribe to it such a remote antiquity as many scholars of the present day suppose: but since it exhibits other *indubitable marks* of a venerable antiquity, he is led to suppose that it was composed by some Hebrew author of a lower age, perhaps by Solomon himself, out of certain very antient remains of poetry, history, and philosophy, to which that author added some things of his own, and had thrown the whole into its present practical form and arrangement. — Staeudlin's *Theol. Moralis Hebræorum ante Christum Hist.* (Gotting. 1794,) cited in Dr. Smith's Scripture Testimony of the Messiah, vol. i. p. 210.

nezzar, because the Chaldæans are introduced in Job i. 17. Lastly, some state him to have lived in the time of Jacob, whose daughter Dinah they suppose him to have married: and this conjecture they ground upon the resemblance between the expression in Job ii. 10. (*thou speakest like a foolish woman*) and that in Gen. xxxiv. 7. (—— *hath wrought folly in* [more correctly *against*] *Israel.*[1] The puerility of these conjectures sufficiently indicates their weakness; one thing, however, is generally admitted with respect to the age of Job, viz. the remote antiquity of the period when he must have lived. Even those who contend for the late production of the book of Job, are compelled to acquiesce in this particular. Grotius thinks the events of the history are such as cannot be placed latter than the sojourning of the Israelites in the Wilderness. Bishop Warburton, in like manner, admits them to bear the marks of high antiquity; and Michaelis confesses the manners to be perfectly Abrahamic, that is, such as were common to all the seed of Abraham, Israelites, Ishmaelites, and Idumæans.[2] The following are the principal circumstances from which the age of Job may be collected and ascertained:[3]—

1. The Usserian, or Bible chronology, dates the trial of Job about the year 1520 before the Christian æra, twenty-nine years before the departure of the Israelites from Egypt; and that the book was composed before that event, is evident from its total silence respecting the miracles which accompanied the exode: such as the passage of the Red Sea, the destruction of the Egyptians, the manna in the desert, &c.; all of which happened in the vicinity of Job's country, and were so apposite in the debate concerning the ways of Providence, that some notice could not but have been taken of them, if they had been coëval with the poem of Job.

2. That it was composed before Abraham's migration to Canaan may also be inferred, from its silence respecting the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities of the plain, which were still nearer to Idumæa, where the scene is laid.

3. The length of Job's life places him in the patriarchal times. He survived his trial one hundred and forty years (xlii. 16.), and was probably not less at that time: for we read that his seven sons were all grown up, and had been settled in their own houses for a considerable time. (i. 4, 5.) He speaks of the "sins of his youth" (xiii. 26.), and of the prosperity of "his youth;" and yet Eliphaz addresses him as a novice:—"With *us* are both the *very aged*, much elder than *thy father*." (xv. 10.)

4. That he did not live at an earlier period may be collected from

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[1] Mercerus, Præf. ad Job. The Bishop of Killala (Dr. Stock), after Bishop Warburton, refers the time of Job to that of Ezra, whom he supposes to be its author. (Preface to his translation of Job, pp. v. vi.) His arguments are very largely examined and refuted by Archbishop Magee, Discourses, vol. ii. pp. 87—154. See also British Critic, vol. xxix. O.S. pp. 369—372.

[2] Grotius, Præf. ad Job. Warburton's Divine Legation, book vi. sect. 2. Michaelis, Notæ et Epimetra in Lowthii Prælectiones, p. 181. Magee, vol. ii. p. 57.

[3] These observations are digested from the united remarks of Dr. Hales, in his Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 55—59. and of Archbishop Magee, in his Discourses, vol. ii. pp. 58—63.

an incidental observation of Bildad, who refers Job to their forefathers for instruction in wisdom:

> Inquire, I pray thee, of the *former* age,
> And prepare thyself to the search of their fathers:

Assigning as a reason, the comparative shortness of life, and consequent ignorance of the present generation:

> (For we are but of *yesterday*, and know nothing;
> Because *our days upon earth are a shadow*). viii. 8, 9.

But the "fathers of the former age," or grandfathers of the present, were the contemporaries of Peleg and Joktan, in the fifth generation after the deluge: and they might easily have learned wisdom from the fountain-head by conversing with Shem, or perhaps with Noah himself; whereas, in the seventh generation, the standard of human life was reduced to about two hundred years, which was a shadow compared with the longevity of Noah and his sons.

5. The general air of antiquity which pervades the manners recorded in the poem, is a further evidence of its remote date. The manners and customs, indeed, critically correspond with that early period. Thus, Job speaks of the most antient kind of writing, by *sculpture* (xix. 24.): his riches also are reckoned by his cattle. (xlii. 12.)[1] Further, Job acted as high priest in his family, according to the patriarchal usage (Gen. viii. 20.): for the institution of an established priesthood does not appear to have taken place anywhere until the time of Abraham. Melchizedec king of Salem was a priest of the primitive order (Gen. xiv. 18.): such also was Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, in the vicinity of Idumæa. (Exod. xviii. 12.) The first regular priesthood was probably instituted in Egypt, where Joseph was married to the daughter of the priest of On. (Gen. xli. 45.)

6. The slavish homage of prostration to princes and great men, which prevailed in Egypt, Persia, and the East in general, and which still subsists there, was unknown in Arabia at that time. Though Job was one of the "greatest men of all the East," we do not find any such adoration paid to him by his contemporaries, in the zenith of his prosperity, among the marks of respect so minutely described in the twenty-ninth chapter. "When the *young men* saw him, they *hid themselves*, (rather, *shrunk back*,) through respect or rustic bashfulness; *the aged arose and stood up* in his presence, (more correctly, *ranged themselves about him*,) *the princes refrained from talking, and laid their hand upon their mouth; the nobles held their peace*, and were all attention while he spoke. All this was highly respectful indeed, but still it was manly, and showed no cringing or servile adulation. With this description correspond the manners and conduct of the genuine Arabs of the present day, — a majestic race, who were never conquered, and who have retained their primitive customs, features, and character, with scarcely any alteration.[2]

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[1] The word *keschitah*, which is translated *a piece of money* (xlii. 11.), there is good reason to understand as signifying a lamb. See Archbishop Magee's critical note, Discourses, vol. ii. pp. 59—61.

[2] They are thus described by Sir William Jones: — "Their eyes are full of vivacity; their speech voluble and articulate; their deportment manly and dignified; their appre-

7. The allusion made by Job to that species of idolatry alone, which by general consent is admitted to have been the most antient, namely Zabianism, or the worship of the sun and moon, and also to the exertion of the judicial authority against it (xxxi. 26—28.), is an additional and most complete proof of the high antiquity of the poem, as well as a decisive mark of the patriarchal age.[1]

8. A further evidence of the remote antiquity of this book is the language of Job and his friends; who, being all Idumæans, or at least Arabians of the adjacent country, yet conversed in Hebrew. This carries us up to an age so early as that in which all the posterity of Abraham, Israelites, Idumæans, and Arabians, yet continued to speak one common language, and had not branched into different dialects.[2]

9. Lastly, Dr. Hales has adduced a *new and more particular proof, drawn from astronomy*, which FIXES the time of the patriarch's trial to 184 years before the birth of Abraham: for, by a retrograde calculation, the principal stars referred to in Job[3], by the names of *Chimah* and *Chesil*, or *Taurus* and *Scorpio*, are found to have been the cardinal constellations of spring and autumn in the time of Job, of which the chief stars are *Aldebaran*, the bull's eye, and *Antares*, the scorpion's heart. Knowing, therefore, the longitudes of these stars at present, the interval of time from thence to the assumed date of Job's trial will give the difference of their longitudes, and ascertain their positions then, with respect to the vernal and autumnal points of intersection of the equinoctial and ecliptic; which difference is one degree in 71½ years, according to the usual rate of the *precession of the equinoxes*.[4]

"In A. D. 1808, Aldebaran was in 2 signs 7 deg. east longitude. But since the date of Job's trial, B.C. 2338, added to 1800, makes 4138 years, the precession of the equinoxes amounted to 1 sign 27 deg. 53 min. which, being subtracted from the former quantity, left

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hension quick; their minds always present and attentive; with a spirit of independence appearing in the countenance of the lowest among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilisation, each measuring it by the habits and prejudices of their own country: but if courtesy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues, be a juster proof of civilised society, we have certain proof that the people of Arabia, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical states, were eminently civilised for many ages before their conquest of Persia." Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 3. or Works, vol. iii. p. 50. 8vo. edit.

[1] Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 355. note. Although Sir William Jones could obtain but little accurate information concerning the Zabian faith, yet, he remarks, "This at least is certain, that the people of Yemen (Arabia) very soon fell into the common but fatal error of adoring the sun and the firmament: for even the third in descent from Yoktan, who was consequently as old as Nahor, took the surname of *Abdu-shams*, or *servant of the sun*: and his family, we are assured, paid particular honour to that luminary. Other tribes worshipped the planets and fixed stars." Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 8. or Sir William Jones's Works, vol. iii. p. 57.

[2] Bishop Lowth, lect. xxxii. vol. ii. pp. 350, 351.

[3] ix. 9. xxxviii. 31, 32.

[4] For an explanation of this astronomical phenomenon, and its application to chronology, see Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. i. pp. 185—187. For the calculations given in the text, he makes acknowledgments to Dr. Brinkley, Andrews professor of astronomy in the university of Dublin (now Bishop of Cloyne): subsequently to the making of this calculation, Dr. H. discovered that it had been anticipated and published at Paris by M. Ducoutant, in 1765.

Aldebaran in only 9 deg. 7 min. longitude, or distance from the vernal intersection, which, falling within the constellation Taurus, consequently rendered it the cardinal constellation of spring, as Pisces is at present.

"In A. D. 1800, Antares was in 8 signs 6 deg. 58 min. east longitude, or 2 signs 6 deg. 58 min. east of the *autumnal* intersection; from which subtracting as before, the amount of the precession, *Antares* was left only 9 deg. 5 min. east. Since, then, the autumnal equinox was found within *Scorpio*, this was then the cardinal constellation of *Autumn*, as *Virgo* is at present.

"Since, then, these calculations critically correspond with the positions of the equinoxes at the assumed date of Job's trial, but disagree with the lower dates of the age of Moses, and still more of Ezra, furnishing different cardinal constellations, we may rest in the assumed date of the trial as correct. Such a combination and coincidence of various rays of evidence, derived from widely different sources, *history*, sacred and profane, *chronology*, and *astronomy*, and all converging to the same common focus, tend strongly to establish the time of Job's trial as rightly assigned in the year B. C. 2337 (2130 of the common computation, or 818 years after the deluge; 184 years before the birth of Abraham; 474 years before the settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt, and 689 years before their *exode* or departure from thence." The preceding arguments receive additional weight, from a consideration of the manner in which God has vouchsafed to deal with mankind. In Gen. xi. we read that the erection of the tower of Babel for idolatrous purposes had occasioned the dispersion. Idolatry "was gradually encroaching still further on every family, which had not yet lost the knowledge of the true God. Whoever has studied the conduct of Providence, will have observed, that God has never left himself without witnesses in the world, to the truth of his religion. To the old world, Noah was a preacher, and a witness; to the latter times of patriarchism Abraham and his descendants; to the ages of the Levitical law, Moses, David, and the Prophets; and to the first ages of Christianity, the apostles and the martyrs were severally witnesses of the truth of God. But we have no account whatever, unless Job be the man, that any faithful confessor of the one true God arose between the dispersion from Babel and the call of Abraham. If it be said, that the family of Shem was the visible church of that age; it will be answered, that it is doubtful whether even this family were not also idolators: for Joshua tells the Israelites (Jos. xxiv. 2.), that the ancestors of Abraham were worshippers of images.

"Job, therefore, in the age of error, may be considered as the faithful witness, in his day, to the hope of the Messiah: he professed the true religion, and his belief in the following important truths: the creation of the world by one Supreme Being; the government of that world by the Providence of God; the corruption of man by nature; the necessity of sacrifices, to propitiate the Deity; and the certainty of a future resurrection. These were the doctrines of the patriarchal age, as well as of the Jewish and Christian covenants. They are the fundamental truths of that one system of religion, which is alone ac-

ceptable to God, by whatever name it may be distinguished in the several ages of the world." [1]

On the evidence above offered respecting the antiquity of the book of Job, the reader will form his own conclusions. At this distance of time, it is, perhaps, difficult to determine its precise date; but topics like these are of comparatively little importance, and do not affect, in any degree, either the sentiments expressed, or the moral inculcated in this part of the inspired volume.

IV. The country, in which the scene of this poem is laid, is stated (Job i. 1.) to be the land of Uz, which by some geographers has been placed in Sandy, and by others in Stony Arabia. Bochart strenuously advocated the former opinion, in which he has been powerfully supported by Spanheim, Calmet, Carpzov, Heidegger, and some later writers; Michaelis, Ilgen, and Jahn, place the scene in the valley of Damascus; but Bishop Lowth and Archbishop Magee, Dr. Hales, Dr. Good, and some later critics and philologers, have shown that the scene is laid in Idumæa.

That the land of Uz or *Gnutz* (Job i. 1.) is evidently Idumæa, appears from Lam. iv. 21. Uz was the grandson of Seir the Horite. (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21. 28.; 1 Chron. i. 38. 42.) Seir inhabited that mountainous tract which was called by his name antecedent to the time of Abraham, but his posterity being expelled, it was occupied by the Idumæans. (Deut. ii. 12.) Two other men are mentioned of the name of Uz; one the grandson of Shem, the other the son of Nachor, the brother of Abraham; but whether any district was called after their name is not clear. Idumæa is a part of Arabia Petræa, situate on the southern extremity of the tribe of Judah (Numb. xxxiv. 3. Josh. xv. 1. 21.): the land of Uz, therefore, appears to have been between Egypt and Philistia (Jer. xxv. 20.), where the order of the places seems to have been accurately observed in reviewing the different nations from Egypt to Babylon; and the same people seem again to be described in exactly the same situations. (Jer. xlvi.—l.) Nor does the statement of the inspired writer, that Job *was the greatest of all the men of the East* (Job i. 3.), militate against the situation of the land of Uz.

The expression, *men of the East, children of the East*, or *Eastern people*, seems to have been the general appellation for that mingled race of people (as they are called, Jer. xxv. 20.) who inhabited the country between Egypt and the Euphrates, bordering upon Judæa from the south to the east; the Idumæans, the Amalekites, the Midianites, the Moabites, the Ammonites (see Judg. vi. 3. and Isa. xi. 14.); of these the Idumæans and Amalekites certainly possessed the southern parts. (See Numb. xxxiv. 3. xiii. 29.; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. 10.) This appears to be the true state of the case: the whole region between Egypt and the Euphrates was called the East, at first in respect to Egypt (where the learned Joseph Mede thinks the Israelites acquired this mode of speaking [2]), and afterwards absolutely and with-

[1] Townsend's Old Testament arranged in Historical and Chronological Order, vol. i. p. 29. note.

[2] Mede's Works, p. 580.

out any relation to situation or circumstances. Abraham is said to have sent the sons of his concubines, Hagar and Keturah, "eastward to the country which is commonly called the East" (Gen. xxv. 6.), where the name of the region seems to have been derived from the same situation. Solomon is reported "to have excelled in wisdom all the Eastern people, and all Egypt" (1 Kings iv. 30.): that is, all the neighbouring people in that quarter: for there were people beyond the boundaries of Egypt, and bordering on the south of Judæa, who were famous for wisdom, namely, the Idumæans (see Jer. xlix. 7.; Obad. 8.), to whom we may well believe this passage might have some relation. Thus JEHOVAH addresses the Babylonians: "Arise, ascend unto Kedar, and lay waste the children of the East" (Jer. xlix. 28.), notwithstanding these were really situated to the west of Babylon. Although Job, therefore, be accounted one of the Orientals, it by no means follows, that his residence must be in Arabia Deserta.

In effect, nothing is clearer than that the history of an inhabitant of Idumæa is the subject of the poem which bears the name of Job, and that all the persons introduced into it were Idumæans, dwelling in Idumæa, in other words, Edomite Arabs. These characters are, Job himself, of the land of Uz; Eliphaz of Teman, a district of as much repute as Uz, and which, it appears from the joint testimony of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Obadiah[1], formed a principal part of Idumæa; Bildad of Shuah, who is always mentioned in conjunction with Sheba and Dedan, the first of whom was probably named after one of the brothers of Joktan or Kahtan, and the two last from two of his sons, all of them being uniformly placed in the vicinity of Idumæa (Gen. xxv. 2, 3.; Jer. xlix. 8.); Zophar, of Naama, a city importing pleasantness, which is also stated by Joshua (xv. 21. 41.) to have been situate in Idumæa, and to have lain in a southern direction towards its coast, on the shores of the Red Sea; and Elihu of Buz, which, as the name of a place, occurs only once in sacred writ (Jer. xxv. 23.), but is there mentioned in conjunction with Teman and Dedan; and hence, necessarily, like them, a border city upon Uz or Idumæa. Allowing this chorography to be correct, (and such, upon a fair review of facts, we may conclude it to be,) there is no difficulty in conceiving that hordes of nomadic Chaldæans as well as Sabeans,—a people addicted to rapine, and roving about at immense distances for the sake of plunder,—should have occasionally infested the defenceless country of Idumæa, and roved from the Euphrates even to Egypt.[2]

To the preceding considerations we may add, that "the contents of the book, and the customs which it introduces, agree with the opinion, that Idumæa was the country of Job's friends. Idumæa, in the earliest ages, was distinguished for its wise men, and sentences of Arabian wisdom flow from the mouths of Job and his friends. The Jordan is represented as a principal stream, as it was to the Edomites; and chiefs, such as those of Edom, are frequently mentioned. The

[1] Jer. xlix. 7. 20.; Ezek. xxv. 13.; Amos i. 11, 12.; Obad. 8, 9.

[2] Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 347—351. Good's Introd. Diss. to Job, pp. ii.—xi.

addition[1], which is found at the end of the Septuagint version, places Job's residence on the confines of Idumæa and Arabia.[2]

V. The different parts of the book of Job are so closely connected together, that they cannot be detached from each other. The exordium prepares the reader for what follows, supplies us with the necessary notices concerning Job and his friends, unfolds the scope, and places the calamities full in our view as an object of attention. The epilogue, or conclusion, again, has reference to the exordium, and relates the happy termination of Job's trials; the dialogues which intervene, flow in regular order. Now, if any one of these parts were to be taken away, the poem would be extremely defective. Without the prologue the reader would be utterly ignorant who Job was, who were his friends, and the cause of his being so grievously afflicted. Without the discourse of Elihu (xxxii.—xxxvii.), there would be a sudden and abrupt transition from the last words of Job to the address of God, for which Elihu's discourse prepares the reader. And without the epilogue or conclusion, we should remain in ignorance of the subsequent condition of Job.

Hence it is evident, that the poem is the composition of a single author, but who that was, is a question concerning which the learned are very much divided in their sentiments. Elihu, Job, Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, an anonymous writer in the reign of Manasseh, Ezekiel, and Ezra, have all been contended for. The arguments already adduced respecting the age of Job[3], prove that it could not be either of the latter persons. Dr. Lightfoot, from an erroneous version of xxxii. 16, 17., has conjectured that it is the production of Elihu: but the correct rendering of that passage[4] refutes this notion. Ilgen ascribes it probably to a descendant of Elihu. Luther, Grotius, and Doederlein, are disposed to regard it as the production of Solomon. Another and more generally received opinion attributes this book to Moses: this conjecture is founded on some apparently striking coincidences of sentiment[5], as well as from some marks of later date which are supposed to be discoverable in it. But, independently of the characters of antiquity already referred to, and which place the book of Job very many centuries before the time of Moses, the total absence of every the slightest allusion to the manners, customs, ceremonies,

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[1] See a translation of this addition in p. 93. note, *infra*.

[2] Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn, p. 471. note.

[3] See § III. pp. 74—78. of this volume.

[4] See Good's translation of Job, *in loc.* pp. 380, 381. Bishop Lowth, taking the passage in question as it stands in our English Bibles, observes that this conjecture of Lightfoot's seems at first sight rather countenanced by the exordium of the first speech of Elihu (xxxii. 15, 16.), in which he seems to assume the character of the author, by continuing the narrative in his own person. But that passage which appears to interrupt the speech of Elihu, and to be a part of the narrative, the Bishop conceives to be nothing more than an apostrophe to Job, or possibly to himself: for it manifestly consists of two distichs; while, on the contrary, it is well known that all the narrative parts — all in which the author himself appears — are certainly written in prose. Lecture xxxii. vol. ii. p. 352.

[5] Dr. Good, who adopts this hypothesis, has collected these seeming coincidences, Introd. Diss. pp. lvi.—lxii. Archbishop Magee has examined and refuted at considerable length the arguments of Huet, Dr. Kennicott, Heath, Bishop Warburton, and others who have advocated the same notion. Discourses on the Atonement, vol. ii. pp. 63—80.

or history of the Israelites, is a direct evidence that the great legislator of the Hebrews was not, and could not, have been the author. To which may be added, that the style of Job (as Bishop Lowth has remarked) is materially different from the poetical style of Moses; for it is much more compact, concise or condensed, more accurate in the poetical conformation of the sentences: as may be observed also in the prophecies of Balaam the Mesopotamian, a foreigner indeed with respect to the Israelites, but not unacquainted either with their language or with the worship of the true God.

Upon the whole, then, we have sufficient ground to conclude that this book was not the production of Moses, but of some earlier age. Bishop Lowth favours the opinion of Schultens, Peters, and others (which is also adopted by Bishop Tomline and Dr. Hales), who suppose Job himself, or some contemporary, to have been the author of this poem: and there seems to be no good reason for supposing that it was not written by Job himself. It appears, indeed, highly probable that Job was the writer of his own story, of whose inspiration we have the clearest evidence in the forty-second chapter of this book, in which he thus addresses the Almighty:—"I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee." (xlii. 5.) It is plain that in this passage some privilege is intended which he never had enjoyed before, and which he calls the sight of God.

He had heard of him by the "hearing of the ear," or the tradition delivered down to him from his forefathers: but he now had a clear and sensible perception of his being and divine perfections, — some light thrown in upon his mind, which carried its own evidence, and of which, perhaps, we can form no notion, because we have never felt it, but which to him had all the certainty and clearness even of sight itself, — some manifestations of the Deity made to him in vision, such as the prophets had, and from which they derived their very name of *seers*. If we allow Job himself to have been the writer of the book, two important advantages will be evidently obtained: — *First*, all objections to historical truth will vanish at once: no one could tell us his own story so well as Job: nor have we any reason to question its veracity. The dialogue, too, will then appear to have been the substance of a real conversation, for no dialogue was ever more natural. If the story be told us in verse, or in the prophetic style and language, as the first of these was a practice of the highest antiquity, the other adds the most sacred and unquestionable authority to it: so that neither truth nor ornament is here wanting, any more than dignity of subject, to render this a book of inestimable value. The *second* advantage alluded to is this, — that if Job himself were the writer of the book, then every point of history and every doctrine of religion here treated of, which coincide with those delivered in the books of Moses, are an additional proof and confirmation of the latter, as being evidently derived from some other source, not borrowed from the Pentateuch.[1]

"But whether we suppose Job the author of the book, or not, its

[1] Peters' Critical Dissertation on Job, p. 123. et seq.

great antiquity, and even its priority to the age of Moses, seems to stand on strong grounds. And, upon the whole, perhaps we may not unreasonably conjecture the history of the book to be this: — The poem, being originally written either by Job, or some contemporary of his, and existing in the time of Moses, might fall into his hands, whilst residing in the land of Midian, or afterwards when in the neighbourhood of Idumæa; and might naturally be made use of by him, to represent to the Hebrews, either whilst repining under their Egyptian bondage, or murmuring at their long wanderings in the wilderness, the great duty of *submission to the will of God.* The encouragement which this book holds out, that every good man suffering patiently will finally be rewarded, rendered it a work peculiarly calculated to minister mingled comfort and rebuke to the distressed and discontented Israelites, and might, therefore, well have been employed by Moses for this purpose. We may also suppose, that Moses, in transcribing, might have made some small and unimportant alterations, which will sufficiently account for *occasional* and *partial* resemblances of expression between it and the Pentateuch, if any such there be.

"This hypothesis both furnishes a reasonable compromise between the opinions of the great critics, who are divided upon the point of Moses being the author; and supplies an answer to a question of no small difficulty, which hangs upon almost every other solution; namely, when, and wherefore, a book treating manifestly of the concerns of a stranger, and in no way connected with their affairs, was received by the Jews into their sacred canon? For Moses having thus applied the book to their use, and sanctioned it by his authority, it would naturally have been enrolled among their sacred writings: and from the antiquity of that enrolment, no record would consequently appear of its introduction."[1] Indeed, it is difficult to account for its introduction into the canon of the Jewish Scriptures on any other supposition than that it was written by a Hebrew; since the language is Hebrew, and it is written in the style of Hebrew poetry. "The Hebrews were jealous of their religious prerogatives. Would they have admitted into their sacred volume a poem written by a foreigner? The supposition that the [original] author travelled or resided a considerable time in Arabia will account for the Arabian images and words contained in it."[2]

The poem of Job being thus early introduced into the sacred volume, we have abundant evidence of its subsequent recognition as a canonical and inspired book, in the circumstance of its being occasionally quoted or copied by almost every Hebrew writer who had

[1] Magee's Discourses, vol. ii. p. 82. This notion, Archbishop Magee remarks, is not without support from many respectable authorities. The antient commentator on Job, under the title of Origen, has handed down a piece of traditional history, which perfectly accords with it. See *Patrick's Preface to Job.* Many of the most respectable early writers seem to have adopted the same idea, as may be seen in Huet (Dem. Evang. p. 326.), and, with some slight variation, it has been followed by that learned author. Patrick also and Peters speak of it as a reasonable hypothesis. (Crit. Diss. Pref. pp. xxxiv. xxxv.) And certainly it possesses this decided advantage, that it *solves all the phenomena.* Ibid. pp. 83, 84.

[2] United States' Review and Literary Gazette, vol. ii. p. 343.

an opportunity of referring to it, from the age of Moses to that of Malachi; especially by the Psalmist, by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (not to mention several of the apocryphal writers).[1] The reality of Job's person, we have already remarked[2], was particularly recognised by the prophet Ezekiel[3] (xiv. 14. 18. 20.), and, consequently, the reality and canonical authority of his book: a similar admission of it was made by the apostle James (v. 11.); and it is expressly cited by St. Paul (compare 1 Cor. iii. 19. and Job v. 13.), who prefaces his quotation by the words, "*It is written*," agreeably to the common form of quoting from other parts of Scripture. All these testimonies, direct and collateral, when taken together, afford such a body of convincing evidence as fully justifies the primitive fathers and early councils in their reception of it as an inspired book: and, — independently of its completing the Jewish and Christian canons of Scripture, by uniting as full an account as is necessary of the patriarchal dispensation, with the two other dispensations by which it was progressively succeeded, — the enrolment of the history of Job in the sacred volume may, perhaps, have been designed as an intimation of the future admission of the Gentiles into the church of Christ.[4]

VI. All commentators and critics are unanimously agreed, that the poem of Job is the most antient book extant: but concerning its species and structure there is a considerable diversity of opinion, some contending that it is an epic poem, while others maintain it to be a drama.

M. Ilgen on the Continent, and Dr. Good in our own country, are the only two commentators that have come to the writer's knowledge, who advocate the hypothesis that the book of Job is a regular epic. The former critic contends that it is a regular epic, the subject of which is tried and victorious innocence; and that it possesses unity of action, delineation of character, plot, and catastrophe, — not exactly, indeed, in the Grecian, but in the Oriental style.[5] Dr. Good[6] observes, that were it necessary to enter minutely into the question, this poem might easily be proved to possess all the more prominent features of an epic, as laid down by Aristotle himself, such as unity, completion, and grandeur in its action; loftiness in its sentiments and language; multitude and variety in the passions which it deve-

[1] Huet, Demonstr. Evang. tom. i. pp. 324, 325., and Dr. Good, in the notes to his Version of Job, have pointed out numerous instances of passages thus directly copied or referred to.

[2] See p. 73. *supra*, of this volume.

[3] As Job lived so many ages before the time of the prophet Ezekiel, mere oral tradition of such a person could not have subsisted through so long a period of time, without appearing at last as uncertain or fabulous. There must, therefore, have been some history of Job in Ezekiel's time; no other history but that which we now have, and which has always had a place in the Hebrew code, was ever heard of or pretended. Therefore this must have been the history of Job in Ezekiel's time, and must have been generally known and read as true and authentic, and, consequently, must have been written near to [rather in] the age when the fact was transacted, and not in after-times, when its credibility would have been greatly diminished. Dr. Taylor's Scheme of Scripture Divinity, ch. 22. *in fine* (in Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, vol. i. p. 93.).

[4] Gregorii Præfat. in Jobum. Magee, vol. ii. p. 84. Good's Job, p. lxiv.

[5] Ilgen, Jobi antiquissimi Carminis Hebraici Natura atque Virtutes, cap. 3. pp. 40—89.

[6] Introd. Diss. to Job, section 2.

lopes. Even the characters, though not numerous, are discriminated and well supported; the milder and more modest temper of Eliphaz (compare Job iv. 2, 3. with xv. 3.) is well contrasted with the forward and unrestrained violence of Bildad; the terseness and brevity of Zophar with the pent-up and overflowing fulness of Elihu: while in Job himself we perceive a dignity of mind that nothing can humiliate, a firmness that nothing can subdue, still habitually disclosing themselves amidst the tumult of hope, fear, rage, tenderness, triumph, and despair, with which he is alternately distracted. This hint is offered by Dr. Good, not with a view of ascribing any additional merit to the poem itself, but merely to observe, so far as a single fact is possessed of authority, that mental taste, or the internal discernment of real beauty, is the same in all ages and nations, and that the rules of the Greek critic are deduced from a principle of universal impulse and operation.

The dramatic form of this poem was strenuously affirmed by Calmet, Carpzov, and some other continental critics, and after them by Bishop Warburton; who, in support of this opinion, adduced the metrical form of its style, excepting in the introduction and conclusion, — its sentiments, which are delivered, not only in verse, but in a kind of poetry animated by all the sublimity and floridness of description (whence he concludes this book to be a work of imagination), — and, in short, the whole form of its composition. Bishop Lowth has appropriated two entire lectures[1] to an examination of this question; and after inquiring whether the poem is possessed of any of the properties of the Greek drama, and considering a variety of circumstances which are here necessarily omitted, he affirms, without hesitation, that the poem of Job contains no plot or action whatever, not even of the most simple kind; that it uniformly exhibits one constant chain of things, without the smallest change of feature from beginning to end; and that it exhibits such a representation of manners, passions, and sentiments as might be naturally expected in such a situation. But though the book of Job is by no means to be considered as a drama written with fictitious contrivance; or as resembling in its construction any of those much admired productions of the Grecian dramatic poets which it preceded by so many centuries, — yet, he concludes, it may still be represented as being so far dramatic, as the parties are introduced speaking with great fidelity of character; and as it deviates from strict historical accuracy for the sake of effect. It is a complete though peculiar work, and regular in its subject as well as in the distribution of its parts: the exordium and conclusion are in prose, but all the intermediate dialogues are in metre. But, whatever rank may be assigned to Job in a comparison with the poets of Greece, to whom we must at least allow the merit of art and method; among the Hebrews it must certainly be allowed, in this respect, to be unrivalled. Such is a brief outline of Bishop Lowth's arguments and conclusions, which have been generally adopted.

[1] Lect. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

It only remains that we notice the opinion of Professor Bauer already referred to[1], viz. that the book of Job approximates most nearly to the *Mekámat* or moral discourses of the philosophical Arabian poets. He has simply announced his hypothesis, without offering any reasons in its support; but the following considerations appear not unfavourable to the conjecture of Bauer. The Mekáma treats on every topic which presented itself to the mind of the poet, and though some parts are occasionally found in prose, yet it is generally clothed in all the charms of poetry which the vivid imagination of the author could possibly bestow upon it. The subjects thus discussed, however, are principally ethical. The Arabs have several works of this description, which are of considerable antiquity; but the most celebrated is the collection of Mekámats, composed by the illustrious poet Hariri[2], which are read and admired to this day. Now, it will be recollected, that the scene of the book of Job is laid in the land of Uz or Idumæa, in the Stony Arabia; the interlocutors are Edomite Arabs; the beginning and termination are evidently in prose, though the dialogue is metrical; the language is pure Hebrew, which we know for a considerable time was the common dialect of the Israelites, Idumæans, and Arabs, who were all descended from Abraham; the manners, customs, and allusions, too, which, it is well known, have not varied in any material degree, are supported by those of the modern Arabs. Since, then, the book of Job is allowed on all sides to be a poem, single and unparalleled in the sacred volume, may we not consider it as a prototype of the Mekáma of the Arabians? This conjecture, which is offered with deference to the names and sentiments of so many learned men, possesses at least one advantage; it furnishes a compromise between the opinions of the great critics who are divided in sentiment upon the class of poetry to which this book is to be referred, and perhaps reconciles difficulties which could not otherwise be solved respecting its real nature.

The reader will now determine for himself to which class of poetry this divine book is to be referred. After all that has been said, it is, perhaps, of little consequence whether it be esteemed a didactic or an ethic, an epic or dramatic poem; provided a distinct and conspicuous station be assigned to it in the highest rank of Hebrew poesy: for not only is the poetry of the book of Job equal to that of any other of the Sacred Writings, but it is superior to them all, those of Isaiah alone excepted. As Isaiah, says Dr. Blair, is the

[1] In Vol. II. p. 443. The Arabic word Mekáma signifies an assembly and conversation, or discourse (D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 500.): the name is derived from the circumstance of these compositions being read at the meetings or conversazioni of eminent literary characters.

[2] He composed his Mekáma, or Mecamát, as D'Herbelot spells the word, at the request of Abu Shirvan Khaled, vizir of the Seljuk Sultan Mahmoud. It is esteemed a masterpiece of Arabian poesy and eloquence; and consists of fifty discourses or declamatory conversations on various topics of morality, each of which derives its name from the place where it was recited. So highly were these productions of Hariri valued, that Zamakshari, the most learned of the Arabian grammarians, pronounced that they ought only to be written on silk. The Mekámat of Hariri were published by Schultens, and six of his "Assemblies" were translated into English from the Arabic, and published, by Professor Chappelow, in 8vo. London, 1767. See an account and extract from this work in the Monthly Review, O. S. vol. xxxvii. pp. 22—28.

most sublime, David the most pleasing and tender, so Job is the most descriptive of all the inspired poets. A peculiar glow of fancy and strength of description characterise this author. No writer whatever abounds so much in metaphors. He may be said not only to describe, but to render visible, whatever he treats of. Instances of this kind every where occur, but especially in the eighteenth and twentieth chapters, in which the condition of the wicked is delineated.[1]

VII. The subject of this book is the history of a real sufferer, the patriarch Job, who at the period in question was an emir, or Arab prince of distinguished wealth, eminence, and authority, resident in the country of Uz or Idumæa. His three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, where also probably emirs of the cities or places whence they are denominated: but of Elihu, the fourth interlocutor in the poem, we have no notice whatever.[2] The principal object offered to our contemplation in this production is the example of a good man, eminent for his piety, and of approved integrity, suddenly precipitated from the very summit of prosperity into the lowest depths of misery and ruin: who, having been first bereaved of his wealth, his possessions, and his children, is afterwards afflicted with the most excruciating anguish of a loathsome disease which entirely covers his body. (i. ii.) He sustains all with the mildest submission, and the most complete resignation to the will of Providence: *In all this*, says the historian, *Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly.* (i. 22.) And after the second trial, *In all this did not Job sin with his lips.* (ii. 10.) The author of the history remarks upon this circumstance a second time, in order to excite the observation of the reader, and to render him more attentive to what follows, which properly constitutes the true subject of the poem; namely, the conduct of Job with respect to his reverence for the Almighty, and the changes which accumulating misery might produce in his temper and behaviour. Accordingly we find that another still more exquisite trial of his patience yet awaits him, and which, indeed, as the writer seems to intimate, he scarcely appears to have sustained with equal firmness, namely, the unjust suspicions, the bitter reproaches, and the violent

[1] Blair's Lectures, vol. iii. p. 188.

[2] From the circumstance of Eliphaz, Zophar, and Bildad being termed kings in the Septuagint version, some critics have supposed that they as well as Job were monarchs: but this conjecture is destitute of support. For, 1. Job is not represented as losing his kingdom, but his children, servants, and flocks; 2. He possessed no army or forces with which he could pursue the predatory Sabæans and Chaldæans; 3. Though his friends accused him of various crimes, and among others of harshly treating his servants, yet they no where charge him with tyranny towards his subjects; 4. Job gives an account of his private life and conduct towards his domestics, but is totally silent as to his conduct towards his subjects; lastly, when he does mention kings (iii. 14. xxix. 25.), he by no means places himself upon an equality with them. Hence we see the erroneousness of the appendix to the Septuagint version of Job, of which some notice is taken in p. 93. *infra*, and which makes him to be the same as Jobab king of the Edomites. (Gen. xxxvi. 33.) It is equally clear that Job was not subject to any sovereign, for neither he nor his friends make any mention of his allegiance to any king; on the contrary, when he entered the gate of the city where the magistrates sat in a judicial capacity, the first place was reserved to him, and his opinion was asked with the utmost deference. From all these circumstances, therefore, coupled with his extensive flocks and ample possessions, we conclude with Herder, Jahn, and Dr. Good, that he was emir, prince, or chief magistrate of the city of Uz.

altercations of his friends, who had visited him on the pretence of affording consolation. Here commences the plot or action of the poem: for when, after a long silence of all parties, the grief of Job breaks forth into passionate exclamations and a vehement execration of the day of his birth (iii.); the minds of his friends are suddenly exasperated, their intentions are changed, and their consolation, if indeed they originally intended any, is converted into contumely and reproaches. Eliphaz, the first of these three singular comforters, reproves his impatience: calls in question his integrity, by indirectly insinuating that God does not inflict such punishments upon the righteous; and, finally, admonishes him that the chastisement of God is not to be despised. (iv. v.) The next of them, not less intemperate in his reproofs, takes it for granted, that the children of Job had only received the reward due to their offences; and with regard to himself, intimates, that if he be innocent, and will apply with proper humility to the divine mercy, he may be restored. (viii.) The third upbraids him with arrogance, with vanity, and even with falsehood, because he has presumed to defend himself against the unjust accusations of his companions, and exhorts him to a sounder mode of reasoning, and a more holy life. (xi.) They all, with a manifest though indirect allusion to Job, discourse very copiously concerning the divine judgments, which are always openly displayed against the wicked, and of the certain destruction of hypocritical pretenders to virtue and religion. In reply to this, Job enumerates his sufferings, and complains bitterly of the inhumanity of his friends, and of the severity which he has experienced from the hand of God; he calls to witness both God and man, that he is unjustly oppressed; he intimates, that he is weak in comparison with God, that the contention is, consequently, unequal, and that, be his cause ever so righteous, he cannot hope to prevail. (vi. vii.) He expostulates with God himself still more vehemently, and with greater freedom, affirming, that he does not discriminate characters, but equally afflicts the just and the unjust. (x.) The expostulations of Job serve only to irritate still more the resentment of his pretended friends: they reproach him in severer terms with pride, impiety, passion, and madness; they repeat the same arguments respecting the justice of God, the punishment of the wicked, and their certain destruction after a short period of apparent prosperity. This sentiment they confidently pronounce to be confirmed both by their experience and by that of their fathers; and they maliciously exaggerate the ungrateful topic by the most splendid imagery and the most forcible language. (xi.) On the part of Job, the general scope of the argument is much the same as before, but the expression is considerably heightened; it consists of appeals to the Almighty, asseverations of his own innocence, earnest expostulations, complaints of the cruelty of his friends, melancholy reflections on the vanity of human life, and upon his own severe misfortunes, ending in grief and desperation: he affirms, however, that he places his ultimate hope and confidence in God; and the more vehemently his adversaries urge that the wicked only are objects of the divine wrath, and obnoxious to punishment, so much the more resolutely does Job assert their

perpetual impunity, prosperity, and happiness, even to the end of their existence. The first of his opponents, Eliphaz, incensed by this assertion, descends directly to open crimination and contumely: he accuses the most upright of men of the most atrocious crimes, of injustice, rapine, and oppression; inveighs against him as an impious pretender to virtue and religion, and with a kind of sarcastic benevolence exhorts him to penitence. Vehemently affected with this reproof, Job, in a still more animated and confident strain, appeals to the tribunal of All-seeing Justice, and wishes it were only permitted him to plead his cause in the presence of God himself. He complains still more intemperately of the unequal treatment of Providence; exults in his own integrity, and then more tenaciously maintains his former opinion concerning the impunity of the wicked. To this another of the triumvirate, Bildad, replies, by a masterly, though concise dissertation on the majesty and sanctity of the Divine Being, indirectly rebuking the presumption of Job, who has dared to question his decrees. In reply to Bildad, Job demonstrates himself no less expert at wielding the weapons of satire and ridicule than those of reason and argument; and reverting to a more serious tone, he displays the infinite power and wisdom of God more copiously and more poetically than the former speaker. The third of the friends making no return, and the others remaining silent, Job at length opens the true sentiments of his heart concerning the fate of the wicked; he allows that their prosperity is unstable, and that they and their descendants shall at last experience on a sudden that God is the avenger of iniquity. In all this, however, he contends that the divine counsels do not admit of human investigation, but that the chief wisdom of man consists in the fear of God. He beautifully descants upon his former prosperity; and exhibits a striking contrast between it and his present affliction and debasement. Lastly, in answer to the crimination of Eliphaz, and the implications of the others, he relates the principal transactions of his past life; he asserts his integrity as displayed in all the duties of life, and in the sight of God and man; and again appeals to the justice and omniscience of God in attestation of his veracity.

If these circumstances were fairly collected from the general tenor and series of the work, as far as we are able to trace them through the plainer and more conspicuous passages, it will be no very difficult task to explain and define the subject of this part of the poem, which contains the dispute between Job and his friends. The argument seems chiefly to relate to the piety and integrity of Job, and turns upon this point, whether he, who by the divine providence and visitation is so severely punished and afflicted, ought to be accounted pious and innocent. This leads into a more extensive field of controversy, into a dispute, indeed, which less admits of any definition or limit, concerning the nature of the divine counsels, in the dispensations of happiness and misery in this life. The antagonists of Job in this dispute, observing him exposed to such severe visitations, conceiving that this affliction had not fallen upon him unmeritedly, accuse him of hypocrisy, and falsely ascribe to him the guilt of some atrocious

but concealed offence. Job, on the contrary, conscious of no crime, and wounded by their unjust suspicions, defends his own innocence before God with rather more confidence and ardour than is commendable; and so strenuously contends for his own integrity, that he seems virtually to charge God himself with some degree of injustice.[1]

The argument of Job's friends may, in substance, be comprised in the following syllogism: —

God, who is just, bestows blessings upon the godly, but afflicts the wicked:
But *Job is most heavily afflicted by God:*
Therefore *Job is wicked, and deserves the punishment of his sins;* and therefore he is bound to *repent*, that is, *to confess and bewail his sins.*

To the major proposition Job replies, that *God afflicts not only the wicked, but also the pious*, in order that their faith, patience, and other virtues, may be proved, and that the glory of God may become more conspicuously manifest in their wonderful deliverances. But overwhelmed with grief and the cruel suspicions of his friends, he defends his cause with hard and sometimes impatient expressions.

This state of the controversy is clearly explained by what follows: for when the three friends have ceased to dispute with Job, *because he seemeth just in his own eyes* (xxxii. 1.), that is, because he has uniformly contended that there was no wickedness in himself which could call down the heavy vengeance of God, Elihu comes forward, justly offended with both parties; with Job, *because he justified himself in preference to God* (xxxii. 2. compare xxxv. 2. xl. 8.), that is, because he defended so vehemently the justice of his own cause, that he seemed in some measure to arraign the justice of God; against the three friends, because, *though they were unable to answer Job, they ceased not to condemn him* (xxxii. 3.), that is, they concluded in their own minds that Job was impious and wicked, while, nevertheless, they had nothing specific to object against his assertions of his own innocence, or upon which they might safely ground their accusation.

The conduct of Elihu evidently corresponds with this state of the controversy: he professes, after a slight prefatory mention of himself, to reason with Job, unbiassed equally by favour or resentment. He therefore reproves Job from his own mouth, because he had attributed too much to himself; because he had affirmed himself to be altogether free from guilt and depravity; because he had presumed to contend with God, and had not scrupled to insinuate, that the Deity was hostile to him. He asserts, that it is not necessary for God to explain and develope his counsels to men; that he nevertheless takes many occasions of admonishing them, not only by visions and revelations, but even by the visitations of his Providence, by sending calamities and diseases upon them, to repress their arrogance and reform their obduracy. He next rebukes Job, because he had pronounced himself upright, and affirmed that God had acted inimically, if not unjustly, towards him, which he proves to be no less improper than indecent. In the third place, he objects to Job, that from the miseries of the good and the prosperity of the wicked, he has falsely and perversely concluded, that there was no advantage

[1] Lowth's Lectures, No. xxxii. vol. ii. pp. 371—378.

to be derived from the practice of virtue. On the contrary, he affirms, that when the afflictions of the just continue, it is because they do not place a proper confidence in God, ask relief at his hands, patiently expect it, nor demean themselves before him with becoming humility and submission. This observation alone, he adds very properly, is at once a sufficient reproof of the contumacy of Job, and a full refutation of the unjust suspicions of his friends. (xxxv. 4.) Lastly, he explains the purposes of the Deity, in chastening men, which are in general to prove and to amend them, to repress their arrogance, to afford him an opportunity of exemplifying his justice upon the obstinate and rebellious, and of showing favour to the humble and obedient. He supposes God to have acted in this manner towards Job: on that account he exhorts him to humble himself before his righteous Judge, to beware of appearing obstinate or contumacious in his sight, and of relapsing into a repetition of his sin. He entreats him, from the contemplation of the divine power and majesty, to endeavour to retain a proper reverence for the Almighty. To these frequently intermitted and often repeated admonitions of Elihu, Job makes no return.

The address of God himself follows that of Elihu, in which, disdaining to descend to any particular explication of his divine counsels, but instancing some of the stupendous effects of his infinite power, he insists upon the same topics which Elihu had before touched upon. In the first place, having reproved the temerity of Job, he convicts him of ignorance, in being unable to comprehend the works of his creation, which were obvious to every eye; the nature and structure of the earth, the sea, the light, and the animal kingdom. He then demonstrates his weakness, by challenging him to prove his own power by emulating any single exertion of the divine energy, and then referring him to one or two of the brute creation, with which he is unable to contend: — how much less, therefore, with the Omnipotent Creator and Lord of all things, who is or can be accountable to no being whatever? (xli. 2, 3.)[1]

The scope of this speech is, to humble Job, and to teach others by his example to acquiesce in the dispensations of Jehovah, from an unbounded confidence in his equity, wisdom, and goodness: — an end this, which (Bishop Stock truly remarks) is, indeed, worthy of the interposition of the Deity. The method pursued in the speech to accomplish its design, is a series of questions and descriptions, relative to natural things, admirably fitted to convince this complainant, and all others, of their incapacity to judge of God's moral administration, and of the danger of striving with their Maker. Nothing, in the whole compass of language, can equal, much less surpass, the inimitable grandeur and sublimity of this divine address, which extends from chapter xxxviii. to xli.

On the conclusion of the speech of Jehovah, Job humbles himself before God, acknowledging his own ignorance and imbecility, and "repents in dust and ashes." He then offers sacrifice for his friends, and is restored to redoubled prosperity, honour, and comfort.

[1] Lowth's Lectures, No. xxxii. vol. ii. pp. 378—382.

From a due consideration of all these circumstances, Bishop Lowth concludes that the principal object of the poem is this third and last trial of Job from the injustice and unkindness of his accusing friends; the consequence of which is, in the first place, the anger, indignation, and contumacy of Job, and afterwards, his composure, submission, and penitence. The design of the poem is, therefore, to teach men, that, having a due respect to the corruption, infirmity, and ignorance of human nature, as well as to the infinite wisdom and majesty of God, they are to reject all confidence in their own strength, in their own righteousness, and to preserve on all occasions an unwavering and unsullied faith, and to submit with becoming reverence to his decrees. It is, however, to be carefully observed, that the subject of the dispute between Job and his friends differs from the subject of the poem in general; and that the end of the poetical part differs from the design of the narrative at large. For, the Bishop remarks, although the design and subject of the poem be exactly as they are above defined, it may, nevertheless, be granted that the whole history, taken together, contains an example of patience, together with its reward: and he considers much of the perplexity in which the subject has been involved, as arising principally from this point not having been treated with sufficient distinctness by the learned.

Moldenhawer and some other critics have considered the passage in Job xix. 25—27. as a prediction of the Messiah. It cannot, however, be clearly shown that this book contains any prophecies, strictly so called; because the passages which might be adduced as prophetical may also be considered as a profession of faith in a promised Redeemer, and concerning a future resurrection. A learned commentator of the present day has remarked, that there are but few parts of the Old Testament which declare more explicitly the grand outlines of revealed truth, nay even of evangelical doctrine: so that they, who speak of it as consisting chiefly of natural *religion*, seem entirely to have mistaken its scope. The book of Job, he continues, is full of caution and encouragement to the tempted and afflicted, and of warning to those who hastily judge their brethren. It throws great light upon the doctrine of Providence, and upon the agency and influence of evil spirits under the control of God. In the patriarch Job we see an eminent type of the suffering and glorified Saviour, and a pattern of the believer's "passing through much tribulation to the kingdom of God." In short, the whole is replete with most important instruction: and among the rest we are reminded of the ill effects of acrimonious religious dispute. These four pious men argued together, till, becoming angry, they censured and condemned each other, and uttered many irreverent things concerning the divine character and government; and having lost their temper, they would also have lost their labour, and have been at more variance than ever, if another method had not been taken to decide the controversy. [1]

"The character of each person is well sustained through the whole book: JOB, every where consistent, pious, conscious of his

[1] Scott's Preface to Job.

own uprightness, but depressed by misery, weighed down by disease, and irritated by the clamorous accusations of his friends, is hurried on to make some rash assertions. Confident in his own innocence, his appeals to GOD are sometimes too bold, and his attacks upon his friends too harsh, but he always ends in complaints, and excuses his vehemence on account of the magnitude of his calamity. His *friends*, all sincere worshippers of the true GOD, and earnest advocates of virtue, agree in the opinion that divine justice invariably punishes the wicked, and rewards the good with present happiness. They endeavour to prove this by appeals to more antient revelations, to the opinions of those who lived in former times, and to experience, — apprehensive lest the contrary assertion of Job should injure morals and religion. They all speak of angels. Nevertheless, they differ from each other in many other matters. ELIPHAZ is superior to the others in discernment and in delicacy. He begins by addressing Job mildly, and it is not until irritated by contradiction, that he reckons him among the wicked. — BILDAD, less discerning and less polished, breaks out at first in accusations against Job, and increases in vehemence: in the end, however, he is reduced to a mere repetition of his former arguments. — ZOPHAR is inferior to his companions in both these respects: at first, his discourse is characterised by rusticity; his second address adds but little to the first; and in the third dialogue, he has no reply to make. — ELIHU manifests a degree of veneration for Job and his friends, but speaks like an inflated youth, wishing to conceal his self-sufficiency under the appearance of modesty. — GOD is introduced in all his majesty, speaking from a tempestuous cloud in the style of one, with whose honour it is not consistent to render an account of his government, and to settle the agitated question, which is above the reach of human intellect. He, therefore, merely silences the disputants. The *feelings* of the interlocutors, as is natural, become warm in the progress of the controversy, and each speaker returns to the stage, with an increased degree of eagerness and impetuosity."[1]

VIII. At the end of the Septuagint version of this book, after the account of Job's death (xlii. 16.), there is the following addition: Γεγραπται δε, παλιν αναστησεσθαι αυτον, μετ' ων ὁ Κυριος ανιστησιν. — "*But it is written that he shall rise again along with those whom the Lord raiseth up.*" Where it was so written concerning Job, is not easily to be found, unless in his own celebrated confession, *I know that my* REDEEMER *liveth*, &c. (xix. 25—27.) The remark, however, is so far of importance as it proves the popular belief of the doctrine *before* the coming of Christ, — a belief, to which this inestimable book, we may rest assured, contributed not a little.[2] To this additional passage there is also annexed in the Septuagint version a subscription or appendix, containing a brief genealogical account of the patriarch, derived from an old Syriac version[3], and identifying

[1] Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn's Introduction, p. 463.

[2] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 102.

[3] This subscription is also found in the Arabic version, where it is less circumstantial, and in the old Latin Vulgate translation of Job. The following version is given from the Septuagint in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, vol. iii. p. 86.: — "This is translated out of a

him with Jobab king of the Edomites, and, consequently, making him nearly contemporary with Moses. This subscription was received and credited by the pseudo-Aristeas, Philo, and Polyhistor: it was also believed in the time of Origen, and is preserved by Theodotion at the end of his version of the book of Job.

This genealogy is received by Calmet and Herder [1] as genuine, but it is manifestly spurious; for not only was it never extant in the Hebrew copies, but, even admitting the genealogy in question to be prior to the time of our Saviour, it is too recent to be admitted as evidence in a fact of such remote antiquity, especially as it is drawn only from conjecture supported by the slender resemblance between the two names Job and Jobab: and when we consider that it is contradicted by the arguments already adduced to prove that the patriarch lived so many ages anterior to the great legislator of the Hebrews [2], as well as by the internal evidence derived from the poem itself respecting the rank and condition of Job, we cannot doubt for a moment that the subscription is both erroneous and spurious.

IX. Although the preceding view of the scope and argument will convey to the reader an accurate idea of this very antient, but in many passages confessedly obscure poem; yet the following rules contain so many useful hints for the right understanding of its contents, that, long as this section necessarily is, the author is unwilling to omit them.[3]

RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN STUDYING THE BOOK OF JOB.

1. He that would rightly explain this book must, as much as he can, imagine himself in the same afflicted condition.

2. Every daring thought, or ardent expression, which occurs in the speeches of this afflicted and exasperated man, is not to be vindicated; yet, as he was a great man, and a prince, he may be allowed to use bold and animated language.

3. We shall certainly judge amiss, if we think every thing wrong which will not suit with the politeness of our manners. Allowance must be made for the simplicity of those times.

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book in the Syrian language; for he dwelt in the land of Ausitis, on the confines of Idumæa and Arabia. His first name was Jobab; and having married an Arabian woman, he had by her a son whose name was Ennon. Now he himself was the son of Zave, one of the sons of Esau: so that he was the fifth in descent from Abraham. Now these were the kings who reigned in Edom, over which country he also bare rule. The first was Balak the son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dannaba; and after Balak, Jobab, who is called Job; and after him, Asom, who was general over the region of Thæmanitis (Teman); and after him, Adad, the son of Barad, who smote Madiam in the land of Moab; and the name of his city was Gethaim. And the friends who came to Job were Eliphaz of the sons of Esau king of the Thæmanites; Baldad, the sovereign of the Saucheans (Shuhites); and Sophar (Zophar), the king of the Minains" (Naamathites).

[1] Calmet's Dictionary, vol. i. art. Job. Herder on Hebrew Poetry in M. R. (O. S.) vol. lxxx. p. 644.

[2] § III. pp. 74—78. supra.

[3] These rules are extracted from Dr. John Taylor's Scheme of Scripture Divinity, chap. xxiii. in Bishop Watson's Collection of Theological Tracts, vol. i. pp. 97, 98. Dr. Taylor of Norwich was an eminent divine of the last century; who was distinguished for his command of temper, benevolent feeling, and deep acquaintance with the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. His Scheme of Divinity, it is deeply to be regretted, was Arian, and, therefore, cannot be recommended to students, indiscriminately.

4. In judging of Job's character we must set the noble strains of his piety against the unguarded expressions of his sorrow.

5. It is not his innocence, strictly speaking, which Job insists on, but his sincerity. (chap. vii. 20, 21.)

6. Except their hard censures of Job, his friends speak well and religiously.

7. His friends encouraged Job to hope for a temporal deliverance (chap. v. 18, &c. vii. 20, &c. xi. 14, &c.); but Job despaired of it, and expected his bodily disorder would terminate in death (chap. vi. 11, 12.; vii. 6, 7, 8. 21.; xvii. 1. 13, 14, 15.; xix. 10.); though, in the increasing heat of the dispute, they seem to drop this sentiment in their following answers, as if they supposed Job to be too bad to hope for any favour from God. He hoped, however, that his character would be cleared in the day of judgment; though he was greatly concerned that it could not be cleared before; that after a life led in the most conspicuous virtues, his reputation, in the opinion of his nearest friends, would set under a black cloud, and, with regard to the ignorant and profane, leave an odious reproach upon a profession of religion. This touched him to the heart, exasperated all his sufferings, and made him often wish, that God would bring him to his trial here in this life, that his integrity might be vindicated, and that all, friends and enemies, might understand the true end or design of God in his sufferings, and the honour of religion might be secured. (chap. x. 2, 3.) *Is it good unto thee, that thou shouldest — shine upon the counsel of the wicked?* who from my case take occasion to reproach and vilify true religion, and to confirm themselves in their wicked and idolatrous practices. (chap. viii. 20—22.; xi. 17—20.; xvi. 9—11.)

8. He could only affirm his integrity, but could give no special satisfactory reason, why God should afflict him in a manner so very extraordinary, and beyond all preceding cases that were ever known in the world. This very much perplexed and embarrassed his mind, and laid him under a great disadvantage in the dispute. And for one thing, it is on this account that he is so earnest to come to a conference with God, to know his mind and meaning (chap. x. 2.); *Show me wherefore thou contendest with me?*[1] He knew very well he could not absolutely justify himself before God. (chap. ix. 2—17.) *For he breaks me with a tempest, he multiplieth my wounds without a cause*, or without any apparent reason. (chap. vii. 12. 20.) The whole twenty-third chapter relates to this point; in which he wishes he could come to the dwelling-place of God (ver. 3.), and spread his case before him, and argue about it at large (ver. 4.), for he had turned his thoughts every way, and could make nothing of it (ver. 8, 9.), only he was sure God knew he was an upright man. (ver. 10. —12.) *But* (ver. 13.) *he is in one* בְּאֶחָד, or in unity, supreme above all others, absolutely entire, keeping his mind and designs to himself; *and none can turn*, or oblige him to alter his resolution. All that we can say is, that he doth whatever is agreeable to his own wisdom. For (ver. 14.) what he hath resolved to inflict upon me he hath accomplished; and many such things he doth, of which he will not give us the reason. To the same purpose understand chap. xxvii. 2—4. 14. and chap. xxviii. 2. *He hath taken away my judgment*, i. e. the rule by which I might judge of the reason of my afflictions. This point, in reference to God, Elihu tells him (chap. xxxiii. 13.) he had urged to no purpose, *seeing he gives no account of his matters*, or will not reveal to us the secrets of his providence.

9. In such a noble performance, if any thing seems to be said not in consistency, or not in character, we should rather suspect our own judg-

[1] See Bishop Patrick's Paraphrase on Job x. 2—8.

ment than the good sense of the author. *The fault is not in the book, but in our understanding.*

10. That sense which best agrees with the subject, or the point in hand, or which stands in the best connection with the context, should always be judged the best sense.

X. Nothing, perhaps, has contributed more to render the poem of Job obscure, than the common division into chapters and verses; by which, not only the unity of the general subject, but frequently that of a single paragraph or clause, is broken. The commentators, critics, and analysts, indeed, are not agreed as to the exact number of parts of which it consists: thus Heidegger and the elder Carpzov institute two leading divisions, with a multitude of subdivisions; Van Til divides it into four leading parts, Moldenhawer into three, and Mr. Noyes into two[1], with a number of subordinate heads; Dr. Good divides it into six books or parts; and Dr. Hales into five parts, independently of the exordium and conclusion: but as these are requisite to the unity of the book, it does not appear that they should be excluded from the arrangement. The poem, then, may be conveniently divided into six parts: the first of these contains the exordium or narrative part (ch. i. ii.); the second comprises the *first* debate or dialogue of Job and his friends (iii.—xiv.); the third includes the *second* series of debate or controversy (xv.—xxi.); the fourth comprehends the *third* series of controversy (xxii.—xxxi.); in the fifth part Elihu sums up the argument (xxxii.—xxxvii.); and in the sixth part Jehovah determines the controversy; Job humbles himself, is accepted, and restored to health and prosperity. (xxxiii. —xlii.)

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[1] The following Synopsis exhibits the divisions and subdivisions, adopted by Mr. Noyes in his "amended Version of the Book of Job:" (Cambridge, North Am. 1827.)—

I. Historical Introduction in Prose. Ch. I. II.
II. Controversy in Verse. Ch. III.—XLII. 7.
The Speech of Job, in which he curses his Birthday, is succeeded by
I. The first Series of Controversy. Ch. IV.—XIV.
1. Speech of Eliphaz. Ch. IV. V.
2. Answer of Job. Ch. VI. VII.
3. Speech of Bildad. Ch. VIII.
4. Answer of Job. Ch. IX, X.
5. Speech of Zophar. Ch. XI.
6. Answer of Job. Ch. XII. XIII. XIV.
II. Second Series of Controversy. Ch. XV.—XXI.
1. Speech of Eliphaz. Ch. XV.
2. Answer of Job. Ch. XVI. XVII.
3. Speech of Bildad. Ch. XVIII.
4. Answer of Job. Ch. XIX.
5. Speech of Zophar. Ch. XX.
6. Answer of Job. Ch. XXI.
III. Third Series of Controversy. Ch. XXII.—XXXI.
1. Speech of Eliphaz. Ch. XXII.
2. Answer of Job. Ch. XXIII. XXIV.
3. Speech of Bildad. Ch. XXV.
4. Answer of Job. Ch. XXVI.—XXXI.
IV. The Judgment of Elihu respecting the Discussion. Ch. XXXII.—XXXVII.
V. The Speech of the Deity, which terminates the Discussion. Ch. XXXVIII. —XLII. 7.
III. The Conclusion, in Prose. Ch. XLII. 7. to the end.

PART I. *The Exordium, containing the Narration of Job's Circumstances, and Trials* (ch. i. ii.), *which is written in prose.*

SECT. 1. The situation and circumstances of Job. (i. 1—6.)

SECT. 2. The *first* trial of Job by Satan, with divine permission, in the loss of his property and children; the integrity of Job declared. (i. 7—22.)

SECT. 3. The *second* trial of Job by Satan, in the severe affliction of his person (ii. 1—10.), and the visit of his friends to console him.

PART II. *The* first *Dialogue or Controversy between Job and his friends.* (iii.—xiv.)

SECT. 1. The complaint of Job on his calamitous situation, which is the ground-work of the following arguments. (iii.)

SECT. 2. The speech of Eliphaz, in which he reproves the impatience of Job, and insinuates that his sufferings were the punishment of some secret iniquity. (iv. v.)

SECT. 3. Job's reply, in which he apologises for the intemperance of his grief by the magnitude of his calamities, prays for speedy death, accuses his friends of cruelty, and expostulates with God, whose mercy he supplicates. (vi. vii.)

SECT. 4. The argument of Eliphaz resumed by Bildad, who reproves Job with still greater acrimony, and accuses him of irreligion and impiety. (viii.)

SECT. 5. Job's rejoinder, in which, while he acknowledges the justice and sovereignty of God, he argues that his afflictions are no proof of his wickedness, and in despair again wishes for death. (ix. x.) This passionate reply calls forth,

SECT. 6. Zophar, who prosecutes the argument begun by Eliphaz, and continued by Bildad, with still greater severity; and exhorts him to repentance, as the only means by which to recover his former prosperity. (xi.)

SECT. 7. The answer of Job, who retorts on his friends, censuring their pretensions to superior knowledge, and charging them with false and partial pleading against him, and appeals to God, professing his hope in a future resurrection. (xii.—xiv.)

PART III. *The* second *Dialogue or Controversy* (xv.—xxi.); *in which we have,*

SECT. 1. The argument renewed, nearly in the same manner as it had been commenced by Eliphaz, who accuses Job of impiety in justifying himself. (xv.)

SECT. 2. Job's reply, who complains of the increasing unkindness of his friends, protests his innocency, and looks to death as his last resource. (xvi. xvii.)

SECT. 3. Bildad, going over his former line of argument, with increased asperity, applies it to Job, whose aggravated sufferings, he urges, are justly inflicted upon him. (xviii.)

SECT. 4. Job's appeal to the sympathy of his friends, and from them to God; professing his faith in a future resurrection, he cautions his friends to cease from their invectives, lest God should chastise them. (xix.)

SECT. 5. Job's appeal is retorted upon himself by Zophar (xx.); to whom the patriarch replies by discussing at large the conduct of Divine Providence, in order to evince the fallacy of Zophar's argument of the short-lived triumph of the wicked. (xxi.)

PART IV. *The* third *Debate or Controversy* (xxii.—xxxi.) ; *in which,*

SECT. 1. Eliphaz resumes the charge, representing Job's vindication and appeal as displeasing to God ; contends that certain and utter ruin is the uniform lot of the wicked, as was evinced in the destruction of the old world by the deluge ; and concludes with renewed exhortation to repentance and prayer. (xxii.)

SECT. 2. In reply, Job ardently desires to plead his cause before God, whose omnipresence he delineates in the sublimest language, urging that his sufferings were designed as trials of his faith and integrity ; and he shows in various instances that the wicked frequently escape punishment in this life. (xxiii. xxiv.)

SECT. 3. The rejoinder of Bildad, who repeats his former proposition, that, since no man is without sin in the sight of God, consequently Job cannot be justified in his sight. (xxv.)

SECT. 4. The answer of Job, who, having reproved the harsh conduct of Bildad, re-vindicates his own conduct with great warmth and animation, and takes a retrospect of his former character in the relative situations of life, as a husband, as a master, and as a magistrate ; and concludes by repeating his ardent wish for an immediate trial with his calumniator before the tribunal of God. (xxvi.—xxxi.)

PART V. *Contains the Summing up of the whole argument by Elihu ; who, having condemned the conduct of all the disputants, whose reasonings were not calculated to produce conviction* (xxxii.), *proceeds to contest several of Job's positions, and to show that God frequently afflicts the children of men for the best of purposes, and that in every instance our duty is submission. He concludes with a grand description of the omnipotence of the Creator.* (xxxiii.—xxxvii.)

PART VI. *The Termination of the Controversy, and the Restoration of Job to his former Prosperity* (xxxviii.—xlii.) ; *containing,*

SECT. 1. The appearance of Jehovah to pronounce judgment ; who addresses Job, out of a whirlwind, in a most sublime and magnificent speech, the substance of which is nearly a counterpart to that of Elihu. In it are illustrated the omnipotence of God, and man's utter ignorance of his ways, and works of creation and providence. (xxxvii.—xli.)

SECT. 2. The submission of Job, which is accepted, his restoration to his former prosperity, and the increase of his substance to double. (xlii. 1—10.)

SECT. 3. A more particular account of Job's restoration and prosperity. (xlii. 11—17.)[1]

XI. Independently of the important instruction and benefit which may be derived from a devout perusal of the book of Job, this divine poem is of no small value, as transmitting to us a faithful delineation of the patriarchal doctrines of religion ; that confirms and illustrates the notices of that religion contained in the book of Ge-

[1] Dr. Hales is of opinion that the last six verses of this chapter, 11—17. (which particularise the increase of Job's family, the names of his daughters, who, according to primitive usage, were made co-heiresses with their brothers, together with the number of years during which he survived his trial,) form an appendix ; which was probably added in later times from tradition, either by Moses, who resided so long in his neighbourhood, or by Samuel, or by the person (whoever he was) that introduced the book into the sacred canon. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 101.

nesis, an outline of which has been given in a former volume.[1] On this account, we trust, the reader will not be reluctantly detained, if we take a brief retrospect of the patriarchal creed, — more especially as some very learned men have denied that it contained any reference either to fallen angelic spirits, or to a future resurrection of the body from the grave, and consequently to a future state of existence.

The two grand articles of patriarchal faith, from the earliest days, according to Saint Paul (Heb. xi. 6.), were, 1. *That there is a God*, and, 2. *That he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.* These articles are particularly contained in Job's declaration,

> I know that my Redeemer liveth,
> And that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth.

But there are several other important points of doctrine either directly stated, or which may be legitimately inferred from different parts of this book: they may be reduced to the following nine articles: —

1. *The creation of the world by one supreme, omnipresent, and eternal Being*, of boundless wisdom, irresistible power, indescribable glory, inflexible justice, and infinite goodness. This first great principle of what is usually called natural religion, is laid down throughout the whole book as an incontestable truth; but it is particularly illustrated in the speech of Jehovah himself, in Job xxxviii.—xli.

2. *The government of the world by the perpetual and superintending providence of God.* This article of the patriarchal creed is particularly noticed in Job i. 9. 21.; ii. 10.; v. 8—27.; ix. 4—13.; and in almost every other chapter of the book: in every instance, this doctrine is proposed, not as a matter of nice speculation, but as laying mankind under the most powerful obligations to fear and serve, to submit to and trust in their Creator, Lord, and Ruler.

3. *That the providential government of the Almighty is carried on by the ministration of a heavenly hierarchy* (i. 6, 7.; iv. 18, 19.; v. 1.; xxxiii. 22, 23.), which is composed of various ranks and orders, possessing different names, dignities, and offices.[2]

4. *An apostasy or defection in some rank or order of these powers* (iv. 18.; xv. 15.); of which Satan seems to have been one, and perhaps chief. (i. 6 – 12.; ii. 2—7.)

5. *The good and evil powers or principles, equally formed by the Creator*, and hence equally denominated "Sons of God;" both of them employed by him in the administration of his Providence; and both amenable to him at stated courts, held for the purpose of receiving an account of their respective missions.[3] (i. 6, 7.; ii. 1.)

6. *That Zabianism, or the idolatrous worship of the stars, was a judicial offence, cognisable by the pelilim* or judges; who were arbitrators, consisting of the heads of tribes or families, appointed by common consent to try offences against the community, and to award summary justice.[4]

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[1] See Vol. I. Chap. V. Sect. I. § 1. pp. 366, 367.

[2] As *obedim*, servants; *malachim*, angels; *melizim*, intercessors; *memitim*, destinies or destroyers; *alep*, the miliad or thousand; *kedosim*, SANCTI, the heavenly SAINTS or hosts generally. Good's Introd. Diss. to his Version of Job, p. lxv. See ch. iv. 18. xxxiii. 22, 23. v. 1. xv. 15. of his translation, compared with p. lxxiv. of his Dissertation, and his notes on the passages cited.

[3] Ibid. p. lxv.

[4] Job xxxi. 26—28. Dr. Hales, to whose researches we are indebted for the sixth article of the patriarchal creed, translates the 28th verse thus:

> Even this would be a *judicial crime*,
> *For I should have lied unto* GOD ABOVE.

Such was the case of the Trans-jordanite tribes, who were suspected of apostasy, and were threatened with extirpation by the heads of the ten tribes on the western side of Jordan. (Josh. xxii. 16—22.)[1]

7. *Original sin, or "that corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam."*[2] "It is certain," as Bishop Burnet has well remarked, "that in Scripture this general corruption of our nature is often mentioned[3]:" and it is not to be supposed that this article of doctrine, however repugnant to the pride of man, should be omitted in the book of Job. Accordingly, we find it expressly asserted in chap. xiv. 4.; xv. 14—16. and xxxv. 3.

8. *The propitiation of the Creator, in the case of human transgressions by sacrifices* (i. 5.; xlii. 8.), *and the mediation and intercession of a righteous person.* (xlii. 8, 9.) In his intercession for his friends, Job is generally regarded as a type of Him "who ever liveth to make intercession" for transgressors. If any evidence were wanting to prove sacrifices of divine institution, the declaration in xlii. 8. alone would be sufficient.[4]

9. *That there will be a day of future resurrection* (xiv. 7—11. with verses 12—15. of the same chapter), judgment (xix. 25—29.), and retribution to all mankind. (xxvii. 8.; xxxi. 13, 14.)

The passage, in which Job expresses his firm faith in a Redeemer (xix. 25—29.), has been greatly contested among critics; some of whom refer it simply to his deliverance from his temporal distresses, maintaining that it has no allusion whatever to a future state; while others understand it in the contrary sense, and consider it a noble confession of faith in the Redeemer. The latter opinion has been ably advocated by Pfeiffer, the elder Schultens, Michaelis, Velthusen, Rosenmüller, Dr. Good, and the Rev. Drs. Hales and J. P. Smith, and is now generally received. The following is Dr. Hales's version of this sublime passage of Job: —

I know that my REDEEMER [*is*] living,
And that at the last [*day*]
He will arise [*in judgment*] upon dust [*mankind*].
And after my skin be mangled thus,
Yet ever from my flesh shall I see God;
Whom I shall see for me [*on my side*],
And mine eyes shall behold him not estranged;
[*Though*] my reins be [*now*] consumed within me.
—— But ye should say, "Why persecute we him [*further*]?"
Since the strength of the argument is found in me,
Fear ye for yourselves, from the face of the *sword;*
For [divine] wrath [punisheth] iniquities [with] *the sword;*
That ye may know there is a judgment.[5]

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[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book i. pp. 105, 106.

[2] Article ix. of the Confession of the Anglican Church.

[3] Burnet on Art. ix. p. 139. Having cited several passages at length, he thus concludes: "These, with many other places of Scripture to the same purpose, when they are joined to the *universal experience* of all mankind concerning the corruption of our whole race, lead us to settle this point, that in fact it *has* overrun our whole kind, the contagion *is* spread over all."

[4] Archbp. Magee has collected all the evidence on this important subject with great ability. Discourses on the Atonement, vol. ii. part i. pp. 25—46.

[5] Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 83—86. For the very elaborate notes with which he has supported and vindicated his translation, we must refer the reader to his work. Other illustrations of this passage may be seen in Pfeiffer's Dubia Vexata Scripturæ, Centuria III. No. 39. (Op. tom. i. pp. 169—272.); and Dr. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i. pp. 199—211. In Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, there is a good illustration of Job xix. 25—29.

Nor was the morality of Job less excellent than his theology. He thus expresses his undeviating obedience to the laws of God, and his delight therein: —

xxiii. 11. My foot hath held His steps,
His way have I kept and not declined:
12. Neither have I gone back from the commandment of His lips.
I have esteemed the words of His mouth,
More than my necessary *food*.

From this and other passages, Dr. Hales with great probability thinks it evident, that there was some collection of certain precepts, or rules of religion and morality, in use among the patriarchs; — such were the precepts of the Noachidæ or sons of Noah: and there is great reason to believe, that the substance at least of the decalogue, given at Sinai, was of primitive institution. Compare Gen. ix. 1—6. How well the venerable patriarch observed the duties of morality, will be manifest to every one who will take the trouble of perusing chap. xxix. 11—17. and xxxi. 6—22.

There is a remarkable reference in the book of Job, to the former destruction of the world by water, and to its final dissolution by fire; which was prophesied by Enoch before the deluge, whence it must have been known to Noah; and no doubt transmitted by him to his family; and so might be communicated to Job and his friends. It occurs in the last speech of Eliphaz, the most intelligent of the three.

xxii. 15. Dost [not] *thou* keep the *old way*,
Which wicked men have trodden?
16. Who were cut off, before their time,
The flood overthrew their foundation:
17. Who said unto GOD, "*Depart from us:*"
And, "*What can* THE ALMIGHTY *do for us?*"
18. Yet he filleth their houses with good,
Though the counsel of the wicked was far from Him.
19. The righteous saw, and were glad,
And the innocent [*Noah*] derided them:
20. "*Is not their substance cut down?*"
And the fire shall consume the remnant of them!"

As if Noah had said, Though this judgment by water, however universal, may not so thoroughly purge the earth, as that iniquity shall not spring up again, and wicked men abound: yet know that a final judgment by fire will utterly consume the remnant of such sinners as shall then be found alive, along with the earth itself.[1]

SECTION II.

ON THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

I. *General Title of this Book.* — II. *Structure of the Psalms.* — III. *Their Canonical Authority.* — IV. *Authors to whom they are ascribed.* — 1. *Moses.* — 2. *David.* — 3. *Asaph.* — 4. *The Sons of Korah.* — 5. *Heman and Ethan.* — 6. *Solomon.* — 7. *Anonymous Psalms.* — *Chronological Arrangement of the Psalms by Calmet.* — V. *Collection of the Psalms*

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 111, 112.

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into a Volume. — VI. *The Inscriptions or Titles prefixed to the different Psalms.* — VII. *Probable Meaning of the Word* Selah. — VIII. *Scope of the Book of Psalms.* — IX. *Rules for better understanding them.* — X. *A Table of the Psalms classed according to their several Subjects.*

I. THIS book is entitled in the Hebrew ספר תהילים (SEPHER TEHILLIM), that is, the *Book of Hymns* or *Praises;* because the greater part of them treat of the praises of God, while the remainder consist either of the complaints of an afflicted soul, or of penitential effusions, or of the prayers of a heart overwhelmed with grief. In the Roman edition of the Septuagint Version printed in 1587, which professes to follow the Vatican manuscript, this book is simply denominated ΨΑΛΜΟΙ, the *Psalms;* and in the Alexandrian manuscript, preserved in the British Museum, it is intitled ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΕΤ' ΩΔΑΙΣ, the *Psalter with Odes* or Hymns.[1] The Syriac Version, in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, denominates it the *Book of Psalms of David, the King and Prophet;* and the Arabic version commences with the *first Book of Psalms of David the Prophet, King of the Sons of Israel.*

II. The book of Psalms presents every possible variety of Hebrew poetry. They may all, indeed, be termed poems of the lyric kind, that is, adapted to music, but with great variety in the style of composition. Thus some are simply odes. "An ode is a dignified sort of song, narrative of the facts, either of public history, or of private life, in a highly adorned and figured style. But the figure in the Psalms is that, which is peculiar to the Hebrew language, in which the figure gives its meaning with as much perspicuity as the plainest speech."[2] Others, again, are *ethic* or *didactic,* "delivering grave maxims of life, or the precepts of religion, in solemn, but for the most part simple strains." To this class we may refer the hundred and nineteenth, and the other *alphabetical psalms,* which are so called because the initial letters of each line or stanza follow the order of the alphabet.[3] Nearly one-seventh part of the Psalms are elegiac, or pathetic compositions on mournful subjects. Some are enigmatic, delivering the doctrines of religion in enigmata, sentences contrived to strike the imagination forcibly, and yet easy to be understood;

[1] These Odes or Hymns, which are thirteen in number, are printed in Dr. Grabe's Edition of the Septuagint: they are thus intitled: —

1. The Ode of Moses in Exodus. (ch. xv. 1. et seqq.)
2. The Ode of Moses in Deuteronomy. (ch. xxxii. v. 1. seqq.)
3. The Prayer of Hannah the Mother of Samuel. (1 Sam. ch. ii. v. 1. seqq.)
4. The Prayer of Isaiah (*in the margin,* of Hezekiah). Isa. ch. xxvi. v. 9. seqq.
5. The Prayer of Jonah. (Jon. ch. ii. v. 3. seqq.)
6. The prayer of Habakkuk (Sept. Ambakoum), Hab. ch. iii. v. 2. seqq.
7. The Prayer of Hezekiah. (Isa. ch. xxxviii. v. 10. seq.)
8. The Prayer of Manasseh. (2 Chron. ch. xxxiii. according to some copies, but one of the apocryphal pieces in our Bibles.)
9. The Prayer of Azariah. (Dan. ch. iii. v. 26. seqq.)
10. The Hymn of our Fathers. (Dan. ch. iii. v. 52. seqq.)
11. The Prayer of Mary, the Mother of God. (Luke ch. i. v. 46. seqq.)
12. The Prayer of Simeon. (Luke ch. ii. v. 29. seqq.)
13. A Morning Hymn, the first part of which nearly corresponds with the sublime hymn in the post-communion service of the church of England.

[2] Bishop Horsley's translation of the Psalms, vol. i. p. xv.

[3] The alphabetical psalms are xxv. xxxiv. xxxvii. cxi. cxii. cxix. and cxlv. On the peculiar structure of the Hebrew alphabetical poems, see Vol. II. p. 444. supra.

while a few may be referred to the class of idyls, or short pastoral poems. But the greater part, according to Bishop Horsley, is a sort of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between certain persons sustaining certain characters. "In these dialogue-psalms the persons are frequently the psalmist himself, or the chorus of priests and Levites, or the leader of the Levitical band, opening the ode with a proem declarative of the subject, and very often closing the whole with a solemn admonition drawn from what the other persons say. The other persons are, Jehovah, sometimes as one, sometimes as another of the three persons: Christ in his incarnate state, sometimes before, sometimes after his resurrection; the human soul of Christ, as distinguished from the divine essence. Christ, in his incarnate state, is personated sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a king, sometimes as a conqueror; and, in those psalms in which he is introduced as a conqueror, the resemblance is very remarkable between this conqueror in the book of Psalms, and the warrior on the white horse in the book of Revelations, who goes forth with a crown on his head and a bow in his hand, conquering and to conquer. And the conquest in the Psalms is followed, like the conquest in the Revelations, by the marriage of the conqueror. These are circumstances of similitude, which, to any one versed in the prophetic style, prove beyond a doubt that the mystical conqueror is the same personage in both." [1]

III. The right of the book of Psalms to a place in the sacred canon has never been disputed: they are frequently alluded to in the Old Testament, and are often cited by our Lord and his apostles as the work of the Holy Spirit. They are generally termed the Psalms of David, that Hebrew monarch being their chief author. Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Euthymius [2] and others of the antient fathers, indeed, were of opinion that he was their sole author: but they were opposed by Hilary and Athanasius [3] (or the author of the synopsis attributed to him), Jerome, Eusebius, and other fathers of equal eminence. And indeed this notion is manifestly erroneous; for an attentive examination of the Psalms will immediately prove them to be the compositions of various authors, in various ages, some much more antient than the time of David, some of a much later age; and others were evidently composed during the Babylonish captivity. Some modern commentators have even referred a few to the time of the Maccabees: but for this opinion, as we shall show in a subsequent page [4], there does not appear to be any foundation. Altogether they embrace a period of about nine hundred years.

The earliest composer of sacred hymns unquestionably was Moses (Exod. xv.); the next, who are mentioned in the Scriptures, are

[1] Bishop Horsley's Psalms, vol. i. p. xvi.

[2] Chrysostom in Psal. i. Ambros. Præfat. in Psal. i. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xvii. c. 14. Theodoret, Præf. in Psal. Cassiodorus, Proleg. in Psal. Euthymius, Præf. in Psal. Philastrius, Hæres. 129. Huet, Dem. Ev. tom. i. prop. iv. p. 330.

[3] Hilarii Proleg. in Psal. et comment. in Psal. cxxxi. Athanasii Synopsis. Hieronymi Epist. ad Sophronium. Eusebii Cæsariensis Præf. in Psalmos, pp. 7, 8. et in Inscrip. Psal. p. 2. et in Psal. xli. lx. lxii. Calmet, Præf. Générale sur les Pseaumes. (Com. tom. iv. pp. v. vi.) Huet, ut supra.

[4] See p. 108. infra.

Deborah (Judg. v.) and Hannah (1 Sam. ii.): but it was David himself, an admirable composer and performer in music (1 Sam. xvi. 18. Amos vi. 5.), who gave a regular and noble form to the musical part of the Jewish service, and carried divine poetry and psalmody to perfection; and therefore he is called the sweet psalmist of Israel. (2 Sam. xxiii. 1.) He, doubtless by divine authority, appointed the singing of psalms by a select company of skilful persons, in the solemn worship of the tabernacle (1 Chron. vi. 31. xvi. 4—8.)[1]; which Solomon continued in the first temple (2 Chron. v. 12, 13.), and it was re-established by Ezra, as soon as the foundation of the second temple was laid. (Ezra iii. 10, 11.) Hence the Jews became well acquainted with these songs of Sion; and, having committed them to memory, were celebrated for their melodious singing among the neighbouring countries. (Psal. cxxxvii. 3.) The continuance of this branch of divine worship is confirmed by the practice of our Lord, and the instructions of St. Paul (Matt. xxvi. 30. Mark xiv. 26. Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16. compared with Rev. v. 9. xiv. 1, 2, 3.); and the practice of divine psalmody has subsisted through every succeeding age to our own time, not more to the delight than to the edification of the church of Christ. "There are, indeed, at this time" (to use the words of a sensible writer[2]), "very few professing Christians who do not adopt these sacred hymns in their public and private devotions, either by reading them, composing them as anthems, or singing poetical translations and imitations of them. In this particular there ever has existed, and there still exists, a wonderful communion of Saints. The language, in which Moses, and David, and Solomon, Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun, worshipped God, is applicable to Christian believers. They worship the same God, through the same adorable Redeemer; they give thanks for similar mercies, and mourn under similar trials; they are looking for the same blessed hope of their calling, even everlasting life and salvation, through the prevailing intercession of the Messiah. The antient believers, indeed, worshipped him as about to appear; we adore him as having actually appeared, and put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. They saw, as through a glass, darkly: but we face to face."

IV. The Jewish writers ascribe the book of psalms to *ten* different authors[3], viz. Adam, to whom they ascribe the ninety-second psalm; Melchizedec; Abraham, whom they call Ethan, and give to him the eighty-ninth psalm; Moses, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and the three sons of Korah: and they make David to be merely the collector of them into one volume or book. But this opinion is evidently fabulous: for, 1. The ninety-second psalm, which is ascribed to Adam, appears from its internal structure and style to be of a later date, though no author is mentioned in its title or inscription: besides, if Adam had left any sacred odes, it is more than probable that some notice would

[1] On the subject of Jewish psalmody, there is much curious information collected in "The Temple Music; or, an Essay concerning the Method of singing the Psalms of David in the Temple, before the Babylonish Captivity. By Arthur Bedford. London, 1706." 8vo.

[2] The editor of the 4to. Bible of 1810, with the notes of several of the venerable reformers.

[3] Francisci Junii Proleg. ad Librum Psalmorum, § 2.

have been taken of them in the book of Genesis, which, however, is totally silent concerning any such compositions. 2. That the hundred and tenth psalm, which is attributed to Melchizedec, was certainly written by David, is evident, not only from the title which claims him for its author, but also from its style and manner, which correspond with the acknowledged productions of the royal prophet; and especially from the testimony of Jesus Christ and his apostle Peter. (Matt. xxii. 43—45. Mark xii. 36. Luke xx. 42. Acts ii. 34.) And, 3. It is most certain that David was the author of very many psalms, not merely of those which have his name in their respective titles, but likewise of several others, to which his name is not prefixed, especially of psalms ii. and xcv., as we are assured by the inspired apostles. (Acts iv. 25, 26. Heb. iv. 7.) To make David, therefore, merely the collector and editor of those divine compositions, is alike contradictory to the clearest evidence, derived from the book of Psalms itself, and from the testimony of the inspired writers of the New Testament, as well as contrary to the whole current of antiquity.

A careful investigation of these divine odes will enable us to form a better opinion concerning their respective authors, whom the modern Jews, and all modern commentators, understand to be Moses, David, Solomon, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Jeduthun, and the three sons of Korah. Other authors have been conjectured by some eminent critics, whose hypotheses will presently be noticed.

1. To Moses the Talmudical writers ascribe *ten* psalms, viz. from xc. to xcix. inclusive. The ninetieth psalm, in the Hebrew manuscripts, is inscribed with his name; and from its general coincidence in style and manner with his sacred hymns in Exod. xv. and Deut. xxxii. it is generally considered as the composition of the great lawgiver of the Jews. But Dr. Kennicott and other critics think that it was written in a later age, and consequently cannot be of that date which the title imports: because in the time of Moses most of the persons mentioned in Scripture lived to an age far exceeding the standard of *threescore years and ten or fourscore*, which in the ninetieth psalm is assigned as the limit of human life. But this "opinion seems founded on the exceptions from the general rule, rather than on the rule itself. The life of Aaron, Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, unquestionably exceeded the age of fourscore considerably, and ran on from a hundred and ten to a hundred and twenty; but all these were probably instances of special favour. The decree which abbreviated the life of man, as a general rule, to seventy or eighty years, was given as a chastisement upon the whole race of Israelites in the wilderness; and, with these few exceptions, none of them at the date of this psalm could have reached more than seventy, and few of them so high a number. But it does not appear that the term of life was lengthened afterwards. Samuel died about seventy years old, David under seventy-one, and Solomon under sixty: and the history of the world shows us that the abbreviation of life in other countries was nearly in the same proportion." [1] The other nine psalms, xci. to

[1] Extract from Dr. Good's (unpublished) Version of the Book of Psalms, in Professor Gregory's Memoirs of his Life, p. 316.

xcix., are attributed to Moses by the Jews, by virtue of a canon of criticism which *they* have established, namely, that all anonymous psalms are to be referred to that author whose name occurred in the title last preceding them.[1] But for this rule no foundation whatever exists: it is certain that the ninety-ninth psalm could *not have been written* by Moses, for in the sixth verse mention is made of the prophet *Samuel*, who was not born till two hundred and ninety-five or six years *after* the death of Moses.

2. The name of DAVID is prefixed to seventy-one psalms in the Hebrew copies, to which the Septuagint version adds eleven others; but it is evident, from the style and subject-matter of the latter, that many of them cannot be the composition of David, particularly the hundred and second, which is in no respect whatever applicable to him, but from its subject-matter must be referred to some pious Jew who composed it after the return from the Babylonish captivity, while the temple was in ruins, and the country in a state of desolation. The hundred and thirty-eighth psalm, also, though attributed in the Septuagint to David, could not have been written by him, for reference is made in it to the *temple*, which was not erected till after his death by Solomon. On the contrary, some of the psalms thus ascribed to David in the Septuagint version are unquestionably his, as well as some which are anonymous: of the former class is the ninety-fifth, and of the latter the second psalm, both of which are cited as David's psalms by the inspired writers of the New Testament. Compare Acts iv. 25—28. xiii. 33. Heb. iii. 7—11. iv. 7—13.

Many of the psalms, which bear the royal prophet's name, were composed on occasion of remarkable circumstances in his life, his dangers, his afflictions, his deliverances. "But of those which relate to the public history of the natural Israel, there are few in which the fortunes of the mystical Israel are not adumbrated: and of those which allude to the life of David, there are none in which the Son of David is not the principal and immediate subject. David's complaints against his enemies are Messiah's complaints, first of the unbelieving Jews, then of the heathen persecutors, and of the apostate faction in later ages. David's afflictions are Messiah's sufferings. David's penitential supplications are Messiah's, under the burden of the imputed guilt of man. David's songs of triumph and thanksgiving are Messiah's songs of triumph and thanksgiving for his victory over sin, and death, and hell. In a word, there is not a page of this book of Psalms, in which the pious reader will not find his Saviour, if he reads with a view of finding him."[2]

From the variety of circumstances and situations in which David was placed at different times, and the various affections which consequently were called into exercise, we may readily conceive that his style is exceedingly various. The remark, indeed, is applicable to

[1] This opinion is very antient: it was adopted by Origen (Select. in Psalmos, Opp. tom. ii. p. 574. edit. Benedict.), and by Jerome (Epist. cxxxix. ad Cyprianum, p. 388. edit. Plantin.), who says it was derived from a tradition recorded by Iullus, patriarch of the Jews. Advers. Ruffin. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 235. Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, tom. i. p. xii.

[2] Bishop Horsley's Psalms, vol. i. p. x.

the entire book of Psalms, but eminently so to the odes of David. Hence it is that those, which are expressive of the natural character and state of man, and of sin, seem to bear marks of difficulty, and, as it were, disgust in their composition. "The sentences are laboured, and move heavily, and cannot be perused with that lively pleasure, which, on the contrary, is received from those themes of the psalmist which place before us the glorious attributes of God, and express either His love to man, or the believer's love to Him. These strains flow with vigorous and well adapted expressions, as if the subject was felt to be most delightful, entered on with alacrity, and pursued with holy joy." [1] Some of David's psalms possess great sublimity, as the twenty-fourth; but softness, tenderness, and pathos, are their prevailing characteristics.

3. With the name of ASAPH, a very celebrated Levite, and chief of the choirs of Israel in the time of David (1 Chron. xvi. 4, 5.), twelve psalms are inscribed, viz. l. lxxiii.—lxxxiii. But the seventy-fourth and seventy-ninth psalms evidently cannot be his, because they deplore the overthrow of Jerusalem and the conflagration of the temple, and in point of style approach nearest to the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Either, therefore, they are erroneously ascribed to him, or were composed by another Asaph, who lived during the captivity. The subjects of Asaph's psalms are doctrinal or preceptive: their style, though less sweet than that of David, is much more vehement, and little inferior to the grandest parts of the prophecies of Isaiah and Habakkuk.

4. Eleven psalms, viz. xlii.—xlvii. lxxxiv. lxxxv. lxxxvii. and lxxxviii. are inscribed, "*For the sons of* KORAH:" but such is the uncertainty of the prepositional prefix, that it is not easy to decide whether these psalms were written *by* them, or were composed *for* them, and to be performed by them with music in the temple. As the names of the musical instruments, with which these psalms were to be accompanied, are specified in the titles of psalms xlvi. and lxxxviii. to which last is added the name of Heman, it is most probable that they were directed to the sons of Korah; but by whom they were composed is not now known. The same remark is applicable to psalms xxxix. lxii. and lxxvii. the titles of which are inscribed to Jeduthun, who was one of three directors of music in the national worship. See 1 Chron. xxv.].

5. To HEMAN the Ezrahite is ascribed the eighty-eighth psalm; and to ETHAN the Ezrahite the following psalm. They were both probably descendants from Zerah, who is mentioned in 1 Chron. ii. 6.; but at what time they lived is uncertain. They are, however, supposed to have flourished during the Babylonish captivity.

6. It is highly probable that many of the psalms were composed during the reign of Solomon, who, we learn from 1 Kings iv. 32. "wrote a thousand and five songs," or poems.

[1] Memorial Sketches of the late Rev. David Brown, p. 93. — a very instructive piece of clerical biography. Mr. B., to whom we are indebted for the above remark, was most accurately intimate with the psalms in their original Hebrew. "He accustomed himself to them," says his biographer, "in the original, as the medium of his most private and earnest devotions, whether of contrition, supplication, or praise. In all affliction, and in all rejoicing, he alike called upon God in the language of David." Ibid.

There are only two psalms, however, which bear his name, viz. the seventy-second and the hundred and twenty-seventh psalms. The title of the former may be translated *for* as well as *of* Solomon: and, indeed, it is evident, from considering its style and subject-matter, that it could not have been composed by him. But, as he was inaugurated just before David's death, it was, in all probability, one of David's latest odes. The hundred and twenty-seventh psalm is most likely Solomon's, composed at the time of his nuptials; it strongly and beautifully expresses a sense of dependence upon Jehovah for every blessing, especially a numerous offspring, which we know was an object of the most ardent desire to the Israelites.

7. Besides the preceding, there are upwards of thirty psalms which in the Hebrew Bibles are altogether anonymous, although the Septuagint version gives names to some of them, chiefly, it should seem, upon conjecture, for which there is little or no foundation. Thus the Alexandrian Greek translators ascribe the hundred and thirty-seventh psalm to Jeremiah, who could not have written it, for he died before the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, which joyous event is most pleasingly commemorated in that ode. In like manner, the hundred and forty-sixth and hundred and forty-seventh psalms are attributed by them to the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, for no other reason, it should seem, than because psalm cxlvi. 7—10. treats of the deliverance of the captives and those who were oppressed, and cxlvii. of the restoration of the Jewish church. Psalms ii. and xcv. however, as we have already remarked [1], though anonymous, are ascribed by the inspired apostles to David. Some modern critics have imagined, that there are a few of the untitled psalms which were composed so lately as the time of the Maccabees. Thus Rudinger assigns to that period psalms i. xliv. xlvi. xlix. and cviii.; Herman Vonder Hardt, psalm cxix.; and Venema, psalms lxxxv. xciii. and cviii.[2] This late date, however, is impossible, the canon of the Old Testament Scriptures being closed by Ezra, nearly three centuries before the time of the Maccabees. But, "whether David, or any other prophet, was employed as the instrument of communicating to the church such or such a particular psalm, is a question, which, if it cannot always be satisfactorily answered, needs not disquiet our minds. When we discern, in an epistle, the well-known hand of a friend, we are not solicitous about the pen with which it was written." [3]

The following chronological arrangement of the Psalms, after a careful and judicious examination, has been adopted by Calmet [4], who has further specified the probable occasions on which they were composed.

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[1] See p. 106. *supra*.

[2] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, Prolegom. c. 2. pp. xi.—xix. He adopts the untenable hypothesis of Rudinger.

[3] Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms, vol. i. Pref. p. v.

[4] Commentaire Littéral, tom. iv. pp. lxii.—lxvi. As some of the psalms in the Vulgate Latin version, which was used by Calmet, are divided and numbered in a different manner from that in which they appear in our Bibles, we have adapted the references to the psalms to the authorised English version.

1. *Psalms of which the Date is uncertain.* These are eight in number; viz.

Psal. i. This is a preface to the whole book, and is by some ascribed to David, by others to Ezra, who is supposed to have collected the psalms into a volume.

Psal. iv. The expressions of a devout person amid the corrupt manners of the age. An evening prayer.

Psal. viii. The prerogatives of man; and the glory of Jesus Christ.

Psal. xix. A beautiful eulogy on the law of God. A psalm of praise to the Creator, arising from a consideration of his works, as displayed in the creation, in the heavens, and in the stars.

Psal. lxxxi. This psalm, which is attributed to Asaph, was sung in the temple, at the feast of trumpets, held in the beginning of the civil year of the Jews, and also at the feast of tabernacles.

Psal. xci. This moral psalm, though assigned to Moses, was in all probability composed during or after the captivity. It treats on the happiness of those who place their whole confidence in God.

Psal. cx. The advent, kingdom, and generation of the Messiah; composed by David.

Psalm. cxxxix. A psalm of praise to God for his all-seeing providence and infinite wisdom.

2. *Psalms composed by David during the Persecution of Saul.* These are seventeen; namely,

Psal. xi. David, being entreated by his friends to withdraw from the court of Saul, professes his confidence in God.

Psal. xxxi. David, proscribed by Saul, is forced to withdraw from his court.

Psal. xxxiv. Composed by David, when, at the court of Achish king of Gath, he counterfeited madness, and was permitted to depart.

Psal. lvi. Composed in the cave of Adullam, after David's escape from Achish.

Psal. xvi. David persecuted by Saul, and obliged to take refuge among the Moabites and Philistines.

Psal. liv. David pursued by Saul in the desert of Ziph, whence Saul was obliged to withdraw and repel the Philistines. David's thanksgiving for his deliverance.

Psal. lii. Composed by David after Saul had sacked the city of Nob, and put the priests and all their families to the sword.

Psal. cix. Composed during Saul's unjust persecution of David. The person, against whom this psalm was directed, was most probably Doeg. Bishop Horsley considers it as a prophetic malediction against the Jewish nation.[1]

Psal. xvii. A prayer of David during Saul's bitterest persecution of him.

Psal. xxii. David, persecuted by Saul, personates the Messiah, persecuted and put to death by the Jews.

Psal. xxxv. Composed about the same time, and under the same persecution.

Psal. lvii. David, in the cave of En-gedi, implores divine protection, in sure prospect of which he breaks forth into grateful praise. (1 Sam. xxiv. 1.)

Psal. lviii. A continuation of the same subject. Complaints against Saul's wicked counsellors.

[1] On the imprecations supposed to be contained in this psalm, see the Appendix to Vol. II. pp. 532, 533.

Psal. cxlii. David in the cave of En-gedi.
Psal. cxl. cxli. David, under severe persecution, implores help of God.
Psal. vii. David violently persecuted by Saul.

3. *Psalms composed by David at the beginning of his Reign, and after the Death of Saul.* Of this class there are sixteen; viz.

Psal. ii. Written by David, after he had fixed the seat of his government at Jerusalem, notwithstanding the malignant opposition of his enemies. It is a most noble prediction of the kingdom of the Messiah.
Psal. lxviii. Composed on occasion of conducting the ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem.
Psal. ix. and xxiv. Sung by David on the removal of the ark from the house of Obededom to Mount Sion.
Psal. ci. David describes the manner in which he guided his people in justice and equity.
Psal. xxix. A solemn thanksgiving for the rain that fell after David had avenged the Gibeonites on the house of Saul, by whom they had been unjustly persecuted. 2 Sam. xxi. et seq.
Psal. xx. Composed by David when he was on the point of marching against the Ammonites and Syrians, who had leagued together against him. 2 Sam. x.
Psal. xxi. A continuation of the preceding subject. David's thanksgiving for his victory over the Ammonites.
Psal. vi. xxxviii. and xxxix. Composed by David during sickness: although no notice is taken of this sickness in the history of David, yet it is the opinion of almost every commentator that these psalms refer to some dangerous illness from which his recovery was long doubtful.
Psal. xl. A psalm of thanksgiving for his recovery from sickness.
Psal. li. xxxii. and xxxiii. were all composed by David after Nathan had convinced him of his sin with Bathsheba.[1]

4. *Psalms during the Rebellion of Absalom.* This class comprises eight psalms.

Psal. iii. iv. lv. Composed when David was driven from Jerusalem by Absalom.
Psal. lxii. David professes his trust in God during the unnatural persecution of his son.
Psal. lxx. lxxi. A prayer of David when pursued by Absalom.
Psal. cxliii. Written during the war with Absalom.
Psal. cxliv. A thanksgiving for his victories over Absalom, Sheba, and other rebels. 2 Sam. xviii. 20.

5. *The Psalms written between the Death of Absalom and the Captivity,* are ten in number; viz.

Psal. xviii. David's solemn thanksgiving for all the blessings he had received from God. Compare 2 Sam. xxii.
Psal. xxx. Composed on occasion of dedicating the altar on the threshing-floor of Araunah. 2 Sam. xxiv. 25.
Psal. xlv. Composed on the marriage of Solomon with a king's daughter. It is throughout prophetical of the victorious Messiah.
Psal. lxxviii. Composed on occasion of Asa's victory over the forces of the king of Israel. See 2 Chron. xvi. 4. 6.

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[1] Dr. Hales refers to this period psalm ciii. which is a psalm of thanksgiving. He considers it as David's eucharistical ode, after God had pardoned his great sin. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 376, 377.

Psal. lxxxii. Instructions given to the judges, during the reign of Jehoshaphat king of Judah. See 2 Chron. xix. 5, 6.

Psal. lxxxiii. A triumphal ode, composed on occasion of Jehoshaphat's victory over the Ammonites, Moabites, and other enemies. See 2 Chron. xx. 1. et seq.

Psal. lxxvi. Composed after the destruction of Sennacherib's army. See 2 Chron. xxxii.

Psal. lxxiv. and lxxix. A lamentation for the desolation of the temple of Jerusalem: it was most probably composed at the beginning of the captivity.

6. *Psalms composed during the Captivity;* the authors of which are unknown. Calmet ascribes them chiefly to the descendants of Asaph and Korah.

Their subjects are wholly of a mournful nature, lamenting the captivity, imploring deliverance, and complaining of the oppression of the Babylonians. These psalms, forty in number, are as follow: x. xii. xiv. xv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. xxxvi. xxxvii. xlii. xliii. xliv. xlix. l. liii. lx. lxiv. lxvii. lxix. lxxiii. lxxv. lxxvii. lxxx. lxxxiv. lxxxvi. lxxxviii. lxxxix. xc. xcii. xciii. xciv. xcv. xcix. cxx. cxxi. cxxiii. cxxx. cxxxi. cxxxii.

7. *Psalms composed after Cyrus issued his Edict, allowing the Jews to return from their Captivity.*

This class consists of thanksgiving odes for their release, and also on occasion of dedicating the walls of the city, as well as of the second temple. They abound with the most lively expressions of devotion and gratitude, and amount to fifty-one; viz. cxxii. lxi. lxiii. cxxiv. xxiii. lxxxvii. lxxxv. xlvi. xlvii. xlviii. xcvi. to cxvii. inclusive, cxxvi. cxxxiii. to cxxxvii. inclusive, cxlix. cl. cxlvi. cxlvii. cxlviii. lix. lxv. lxvi. lxvii. cxviii. cxxv. cxxvii. cxxviii. cxxix. cxxxviii.

According to this distribution of Calmet, only forty-five of these psalms were composed by David.

V. At what time and by whom the book of Psalms was collected into one volume, we have no certain information. Many are of opinion that David collected such as were extant in his time into a book for the use of the national worship: this is not unlikely, but it is manifest that such a collection could not include *all* the psalms, because many of David's odes are scattered throughout the entire series. Some have ascribed the general collection to the friends or servants of Hezekiah before the captivity: but this could only apply to the psalms *then* extant, for we read that Hezekiah caused the *words* or psalms of David to be sung in the temple when he restored the worship of Jehovah there (2 Chron. xxix. 25—30.); the collection by the men of Hezekiah could not comprise any that were composed either under or subsequent to the captivity. That the psalms were collected together at different times and by different persons, is very evident from an examination of their contents. Accordingly, in the Masoretic copies (and also in the Syriac version) they are divided into five books; viz.

1. The FIRST BOOK is entitled סֵפֶר אֶחָד (SEPHER ACHAD): it comprises psalms i. to xli. and concludes thus:—*Blessed* be *the* LORD *God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen and Amen.* (xli. 13.)

It is worthy of remark, that the titles of all these psalms (excepting i. ii.[1] x. xxxiii.) ascribe them to David: hence it has been supposed that this first book of psalms was collected by the Hebrew monarch.

2. The SECOND BOOK is termed ספר שני (SEPHER SHENI): it includes psalms xlii. to lxxii. and ends with — *Blessed* be the LORD *God of Israel, who only doeth wondrous things. And blessed* be *his glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled* with *his glory. Amen and Amen. The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.* (lxxii. 18—20.) From this termination of the second book of Psalms, some have conjectured that David also collected it, as nineteen out of the the thirty-one bear his name: but it is more likely that the concluding sentence of psalm lxxii. simply means the psalms of David in that book, because several of his compositions are to be found in the following books or collections.[2]

3. The THIRD BOOK is called ספר שלישי (SEPHER SHELISHI): it comprehends psalms lxxiii. to lxxxix. which is thus concluded: — *Blessed* be *the* LORD *for evermore. Amen and Amen.* (lxxxix. 52.) Of the seventeen psalms included in this book, one only is ascribed to David; one, to Heman; and one, to Ethan: three of the others are directed to the sons of Korah, without specifying the author's name; and eleven bear the name of Asaph, who has been supposed to be the collector of this book.

4. The FOURTH BOOK is inscribed ספר רבעי (SEPHER REBINGI), and also contains seventeen psalms, viz. from xc. to cvi. This book concludes with the following doxology: — *Blessed be the* LORD *God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say, Amen. Praise ye the* LORD. (cvi. 48.) One of these psalms is ascribed to Moses, and two have the name of David in their title. The rest have no authors' names, or titles prefixed to them. The collector of this book is unknown.

5. The FIFTH and last BOOK is called ספר חמישי (SEPHER CHAMISHI), and consists of forty-four psalms, viz. from psalm cvii. to the end of cl. It terminates the whole book of Psalms thus: — *Let every thing that hath breath praise the* LORD. *Praise ye the* LORD. (cl. 6.) Of these forty-four psalms, fifteen are ascribed to David: the rest have for the most part no titles at all, and are anonymous. This book is supposed to have been collected in the time of Judas Maccabæus, but by whom it is impossible to conjecture.[3]

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[1] The second psalm, however, is expressly declared to be David's, in Acts iv. 25, 26.

[2] Bishop Horsley, however, is of opinion that this is the close of the particular psalm in question, and not a division of the book, as if these first seventy-two psalms were all of David's composition. "The sense is, that David the son of Jesse had nothing to pray for, or to wish, beyond the great things described in this psalm. Nothing can be more animated than this conclusion. Having described the blessings of Messiah's reign, he closes the whole with this magnificent doxology: —

> Blessed be Jehovah God,
> God of Israel alone performing wonders;
> And blessed be his name of glory,
> And let his glory fill the whole of the earth.
> Amen and Amen.
> Finished are the prayers of David, the son of Jesse."

Bishop Horsley's Psalms, vol. ii. p. 195.

[3] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, Proleg. pp. xx.—xxv. c. 3. de Psalmorum Collectione, Partitione, et Numero; Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 166.

This division of the PSALMS into five books is of great antiquity, because it was in existence before the Septuagint Greek version was executed [1]; and as there are many Chaldee words in those composed during or after the Babylonish captivity, the most probable opinion is, that the different collections then extant were formed into one volume by Ezra, when the Jewish canon of Scripture was completed. But whatever subordinate divisions may have existed, it is certain that the Psalms composed but one book in that canon: for they are cited by our Lord collectively as the "*Psalms*" (Luke xxiv. 44.), and also as "*the Book of Psalms*" (Luke xx. 42.), by which last title they are cited by Saint Peter in Acts i. 20.: and they are reckoned only as one book in all subsequent enumerations of the Scriptures, both by Jews and Christians.

The number of the canonical psalms is one hundred and fifty: but in the Septuagint version, as well as in the Syriac, Arabic, and Æthiopic translations, there is extant another, which is numbered CLI. Its subject is the combat of David with Goliath (related in 1 Sam. xvii.), but it is evidently spurious; for, besides that it possesses not a particle of David's genius and style, it never was extant in the Hebrew, and has been uniformly rejected by the fathers, and by every council that has been held in the Christian church. It is certainly very antient, as it is found in the Codex Alexandrinus. [2]

Although the number of the psalms has thus been ascertained and fixed, yet, between the Hebrew originals and the Greek and Vulgate Latin versions, there is considerable diversity in the arrangment and distribution. In the latter, for instance, what is numbered as the *ninth* psalm forms two distinct psalms, namely, ix. and x. in the Hebrew; the tenth psalm commencing at verse 22. of the Greek and Latin translations: so that, from this place to the hundred and thirteenth psalm *inclusive*, the quotations and numbers of the Hebrew are different from these versions. Again, psalms cxiv. and cxv. of the Hebrew form but one psalm in the Greek and Latin, in which the hundred and sixteenth psalm is divided into two. In the Greek and Latin copies also, the hundred and forty-seventh psalm is divided into

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[1] Eusebius and Theodoret, in their respective Prefaces to the book of Psalms, consider this book as ranking next in priority to the Pentateuch; on which account it was divided into five parts or books, like the writings of Moses.

[2] The following is a translation of this pretended psalm, from the Septuagint, made as complete as possible by Dr. A. Clarke, from the different versions. See his Commentary, on Psalm cli.

"*A psalm in the hand-writing of David, beyond the number of the psalms, composed by David, when he fought in single combat with Goliath.*"

"1. I was the least among my brethren, and the youngest in my father's house; and "I kept also my father's sheep. 2. My hands made the organ, and my fingers jointed "the psaltery. 3. And who told it to my Lord? [*Arab.* And who is he who taught me?] "The LORD himself, — He is my master, and the hearer of all that call upon him. 4. He "sent his angel, and took me away from my father's sheep: and anointed me with the oil "of his anointing." [*Others have* the oil of his mercy.] 5. "My brethren were taller "and more beautiful than I: nevertheless, the LORD delighted not in them. 6. I went "out to meet the Philistine, and he cursed me by his idols. 7. [In the strength of the "LORD I cast three stones at him. *I smote* him in the forehead, and felled him to the "earth. *Arab.*] 8. And I drew out his own sword from its sheath, and cut off his head, "and took away the reproach from the children of Israel." — How vapid! How unlike the songs of Sion, composed by the sweet psalmist of Israel!

two, thus completing the number of one hundred and fifty. The Protestant churches, and our authorised English version, adhere to the Hebrew notation, which has been invariably followed in the present work.

The following table exhibits at one view the different numerations in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint version:—

Psal. i.—viii. in the Hebrew are	Psal. i.—viii. in LXX.
Psal. ix. x. - - -	Psal. ix. in LXX.
Psal. xi.—cxiii. - - -	Psal. x.—cxii. in LXX.
Psal. cxiv. cxv. - - -	Psal. cxiii. in LXX.
Psal. cxvi. - - -	Psal. cxiv. cxv. in LXX.
Psal. cxvii.—cxlvi. - -	Psal. cxvi.—cxlv. in LXX.
Psal. cxlvii. - - -	Psal. cxlvi. cxlvii. in LXX.
Psal. cxlviii.—cl. - - -	Psal. cxlviii.—cl. in LXX.
To which is added, - -	Psal. cli. in LXX.[1]

VI. To most of the psalms[2] are prefixed INSCRIPTIONS or TITLES, concerning the import of which, expositors and interpreters are by no means agreed. Some hold them in the profoundest reverence, considering them as an original part of these divine odes, and absolutely necessary to the right understanding of them, while others regard the titles as subsequent additions, and of no importance whatever. In one thing only are they all unanimous, namely, in the obscurity of these titles.

That *all* the inscriptions of the psalms are canonical and inspired, we have no authority to affirm. Augustine, Hilary, Theodoret, Cassiodorus, and many other antient fathers, admit that they have no relation to the body of the psalm, and that they contribute nothing to the sense. The Septuagint and other Greek versions have added titles to some of the psalms, which have none in the Hebrew: the Protestant and Romish churches have determined nothing concerning them. If the titles of the psalms had been esteemed canonical, would it have been permitted to alter them, to suppress them, or to add to them? Which of the commentators, Jewish or Christian, Catholic or Protestant, thinks it incumbent upon him to follow the title of the psalm in his commentary? And yet both Jews and Christians receive the book of Psalms as an integral part of Holy Writ. Although, therefore, many of the titles prefixed to the psalms are of very questionable authority, as not being extant in Hebrew manuscripts, and some of them are undoubtedly not of equal antiquity with the text, being, in all probability, conjectural additions; yet, we have no reason to suppose that very many of them are not canonical parts of the psalms; because they are perfectly in unison with the Oriental manner of giving titles to books and poems.

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[1] Prof. Turner's translation of Jahn, p. 450. note.

[2] The number of psalms without titles in the Hebrew Scriptures is twenty-six, viz. i. ii. x. xxiv. xxxiii. xliii. lxxi. xci. xciii. to xcix. inclusive, civ. cv. cvii. cxiv. to cxix. inclusive, cxxxvi. and cxxxvii.; by the Talmudical writers they are termed *orphan psalms*. The untitled psalms in our English version amount to thirty-seven; but many of these are Hallelujah psalms, which have lost their inscriptions, because the venerable translators have rendered the Hebrew word Hallelujah by the expression "Praise the Lord," which they have made a part of the psalm, though in the Septuagint version it stands as a distinct title.

It is well known that the seven poems, composed in Arabic by as many of the most excellent Arabian bards, (and which, from being originally suspended around the caaba or temple at Mecca, were called *Moallakāt*, or *suspended*,) were called, *al Modhadhebat*, or the golden verses, because they were written in characters of gold on Egyptian papyrus.

Might not the six psalms, which bear the title of *Michtam*, or golden[1], be so called on account of their having been on some occasion or other written in letters of gold, and hung up in the sanctuary? D'Herbelot, to whom we are indebted for the preceding fact, also relates that Sherfeddin al Baussiri, an Arabian poet, called one of his poems, in praise of Mohammed, (who, he affirmed, had cured him of a paralytic disorder in his sleep,) *The Habit of a Derveesh*; and, because he is there celebrated for having (as it is pretended) given sight to a blind person, this poem is also intitled by its author *The Bright Star*.[2] D'Herbelot further tells us that a collection of moral essays was named *The Garden of Anemonies*.

The antient Jewish taste, Mr. Harmer remarks, may reasonably be supposed to have been of the same kind: and agreeable to this is the explanation given by some learned men of David's commanding the *bow* to be taught the children of Israel (2 Sam. i. 18.); which, they apprehend, did not relate to the use of that weapon in war, but to the hymn which he composed on occasion of the death of Saul and Jonathan; and from which they think that he intitled this elegy the *Bow*. The twenty-second psalm might in like manner be called *The Hind of the Morning* (*Aijeleth Shahar*); the fifty-sixth, *The Dumb in distant Places* (*Joneth-elemrechokim*); the sixtieth, *The Lily of The Testimony* (*Shoshan-eduth*); the eightieth, *The Lilies of the Testimony* (*Shoshannim-eduth*), in the plural number; and the forty-fifth, simply *The Lilies* (*Shoshannim*). That these appellations do not denote musical instruments, Mr. Harmer is of opinion, is evident from the names of trumpet, timbrel, harp, psaltery, and other instruments with which

[1] Psalms vi. lvi. lvii. lviii. lix. lx. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. i. pp. 383. 415.

[2] D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. ii. p. 624. It were easy to multiply examples of this kind from the works of Oriental writers; a few must suffice: — Among the works of modern Hebrew poets, enumerated by Sarchi, in his Essay on Hebrew Poetry (pp. 116—125.), *A Treatise on Morals*, by Rabbi Clonimous ben Clonimous, is termed *A Tried Stone*; a collection of *Festival Odes and Hymns* for the Jewish year, by R. Joseph Salom, is designated *Speeches of Beauty*; a collection of *Songs* by R. Levi Bar Abraham Bar Chaim, on various scientific topics, is called *The Tablets and Earrings*; a *Collection of Prayers* is the *Gate of Penitence*; and another of *Songs and Hymns on moral Topics*, has the high-sounding appellation of *The Book of the Giant*. — In Casiri's list of works written by the celebrated Spanish-Arab statesman Ibn-ū-l-Khatib, this author's *History of Granada* is intitled *A Specimen of the Full Moon*; his *Chronology of the Kings of Africa and Spain* has the lofty appellation of the *Silken Vest embroidered with the Needle*; his *Lives of eminent Spanish Arabs*, who were distinguished for their learning and virtue, are termed *Fragrant Plants*; a tract on *Constancy of Mind* is *Approved Butter*; and, to mention no more, a treatise on *the Choice of Sentences* is designated *Pure Gold*. These works are still extant among the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the library of the Escurial. (Casiri, Bibliotheca Arabico-Escurialensis, tom. ii. p. 72.) The *Gulis-tān*, *Bed of Roses* or *Flower Garden* of the Persian poet Sady, has been translated into English by Mr. Gladwin; and the *Bahar Danush*, or *Garden of Knowledge*, of the Persian bard Einaut-Oollah, by Mr. Scott. Dr. A. Clarke has collected some additional instances, in his Commentary on the Bible. See Psalm lx. Title.

psalms were sung, being *absent* from those titles. If they signified tunes (as he is disposed to think), they must signify the tunes to which such songs or hymns were sung as were distinguished by these names: and so the inquiry will terminate in this point, whether the psalms to which these titles are affixed were called by these names, or whether they were some other psalms or songs, to the tune of which these were to be sung. Now, as we do not find the bow referred to, nor the same name twice made use of, so far as our information goes, it seems most probable that these are the names of the very psalms to which they are prefixed. The forty-second psalm, it may be thought, might very well have been intitled *the Hind of the Morning;* because, as that panted after the water-brooks, so panted the soul of the psalmist after God: but the twenty-second psalm, it is certain, might equally well be distinguished by this title,—*Dogs have encompassed me, the assembly of the wicked have enclosed me*[1]; and, as the psalmist, in the forty-second psalm, rather chose to compare himself to an *hart* than an hind (see ver. 1.), the twenty-second psalm much better answers this title, in which he speaks of his hunted soul in the feminine gender, *Deliver my soul from the sword, my darling* (which in the original is feminine) *from the power of the dog.* Every one that reflects on the circumstances of David, at the time to which the fifty-sixth psalm refers (see 1 Sam. xxi. 11—15. xxii. 1.), and considers the Oriental taste, will not wonder to see that psalm intitled the *dumb in distant places;* nor are *lilies* more improper to be made the title of other psalms, with proper distinctions, than a garden of *anemonies* is to be the name of a collection of moral discourses.[2]

Besides the psalms, whose titles have thus been considered and explained, there are *forty-five* called *Mismor* or *psalms;* viz. iii. iv. v. vi. viii. ix. xii. xiii. xv. xix. xx. xxi. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxix. xxxi. xxxvii. xxxix. xl. xli. xlvii. xlix. l. li. lxii. lxiii. lxiv. lxxiii. lxxv. lxxvii. lxxix. lxxx. lxxxii. lxxxiv. lxxxv. xcviii. c. ci. cix. cx. cxxxix. cxl. cxli. and cxiii. One is called *Shir*, or *song* (Psal. xlvi.); seven are called *Mismor-Shir*, or *psalm-songs*, viz. xxxi. lxv. lxvii. lxviii. lxxv. lxxvii. and cxii.; and five are called *Shir-Mismor*, or *song-psalms*, xlviii. lxvi. lxxxiii. lxxxviii. and cviii. In what respects these titles differed, it is now impossible to ascertain, as Rabbi Kimchi, one of the most learned Jews, ingenuously acknowledges: but we may infer that they combined both music and singing, which are indicated by the respective words psalm and song, with some modifications. In the Septuagint version these are called *a psalm of an ode*, and *an ode of a psalm. Four* are called *Thephilah*, or *prayers*, namely, xvii. lxxxvi. xc. and cii.: and the hundred and forty-fifth psalm is called *Tehillah*, or *praise.* So excellent, indeed, was this composition always accounted, that the title of the whole Book of Psalms, *Sepher Tehillim*, or the Book of Praises, was taken from it. It is wholly filled with the praises of God, expressed with such admirable

[1] According to Dr. Shaw, the Eastern mode of hunting is, by assembling great numbers of people, and enclosing the creatures they hunt. Travels in Barbary and the Levant, 4to. p. 235. or vol. i. pp. 422, 423. 8vo. edit.

[2] Harmer's Observations, vol. iii. pp. 146—149.

devotion, that the antient Jews used to say, "He could not fail of being an inhabitant of the heavenly Canaan, who repeated this psalm three times a day."[1]

Fifteen psalms, cxx. to cxxxiv. are intitled *Shir-Hammachaloth*, literally *Songs of the Steps* (in our English version, Songs of Degrees); or, as Bishop Lowth terms them, *Odes of Ascension*.[2] They are supposed to have derived this name from their being sung, when the people *came up* either to worship in Jerusalem, at the annual festivals, or perhaps from the Babylonish captivity. In Ezra vii. 9. the *return* from captivity is certainly called "*the ascension*, or *coming up from Babylon*." The hundred and twenty-sixth psalm favours the latter hypothesis: but as some of these odes were composed *before* the captivity, the title may refer to either of these occasions, when the Jews *went up* to Jerusalem, which, it will be recollected, stood on a steep *rocky ascent*, in large companies, after the Oriental manner, and perhaps beguiled their way by singing these psalms. For such an occasion, Jahn remarks[3], the appellation of ascensions was singularly adapted, as the inhabitants of the East, when speaking of a journey to the metropolis of their country, delight to use the word *ascend*.

To ten psalms, viz. cvi. cxi. cxii. cxiii. cxxxv. cxlvi. to cl. inclusive, is prefixed the title Hallelujah, which, as already intimated, forms part of the first verse in our English translation, and is rendered—*Praise the Lord.*

The title *Maschil* is prefixed to Psalms xxxii. xlii. xliv. lii. liii. liv. lv. lxxiv. lxxviii. lxxxviii. lxxxix. and cxlii.: and as it is evidently derived from the Hebrew root שכל SHAKAL, to be wise, to behave wisely or prudently, Calmet thinks it merely signifies to give instruction, and that the psalms to which it is prefixed are peculiarly adapted to that purpose: Rosenmüller coincides with him, as far as his remark applies to Psalm xxxii., but rather thinks it a generic name for a particular kind of poem.

It only remains that we briefly notice those psalms, whose titles are generally considered as names, either of musical instruments or of tunes. The first of these is *Neginoth*, which is prefixed to Psalms iv. vi. liv. lv. lx. lxi. lxxvi.: it signifies stringed instruments of music to be played on by the fingers. Calmet proposes to translate the titles of those psalms, where this word is to be found, in the following manner: *A Psalm of David, to the master of music who presides over the stringed instruments.*

2. *Nehiloth*, which is in the title of Psalm v. is supposed to have been a wind instrument; but whether of the organ kind as Rosenmüller thinks, or of the flute kind as Calmet supposes, it is now impossible to determine. 3. *Sheminith* (Psalms vi. and xii.) is supposed

[1] Bishop Patrick, *in loc.* And therefore he thinks it was composed alphabetically, *i. e.* every verse beginning with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet, in order that it might be the more readily committed to memory.

[2] Bishop Lowth, Prælect. xxv. *in fine.*

[3] Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 471, 472. Calmet and Dr. T. A. Clarisse are of opinion that the whole of the Psalms of Ascensions were sung at the time of the return from the captivity. Dissert. sur les Pseaumes quinze graduels. — Dissert. tom. ii. part ii. pp. 323, 324. Clarisse, Psalmi Quindecim Hammaäloth, p. 23.

to have been an octochord, or harp of eight strings: from the circumstance of its being united with the Neginoth in the title of Psalm vi., it is supposed to have been an accompaniment to the latter instrument. 4. *Shiggaion* (Psalm vii.), according to Houbigant, Parkhurst, and some others, means a wandering song; and is so called, because it was composed by David when a fugitive from the persecution of Saul. But Calmet says, that it signifies a song of consolation in distress, synonymous with an *elegy*; with him coincide Dr. Kennicott and Rosenmüller, who derive the word from an Arabic root, importing that the inspired author of this psalm was overwhelmed with sorrow and anxiety at the time he composed it. 5. *Gittith* (Psalms viii. lxxxi. lxxxiv.), according to Rabbi Jarchi, signifies a musical instrument brought from Gath: but as the original Hebrew denotes *wine-presses*, Calmet thinks that it probably is an air or song which was sung at the time of vintage. Rosenmüller prefers the former derivation: both, however, may be true. The instrument bearing this name might have been used by the people of Gath, from whom it might have been adopted by the Jews, with whom it afterwards became a favourite instrument during the festivity and dances of the vintage. 6. For *Muthlabben*, which appears in the title of Psalm ix. upwards of twenty manuscripts of Dr. Kennicott's collation, and more than forty of De Rossi's, read *almuth*, which signifies virgins.—Calmet thinks that a chorus of virgins is intended, and that La Ben, that is *to Ben*, refers to Ben or Benaiah, who was their precentor, and who is mentioned in 1 Chron. xv. 18. 20. 7. *Mahalath* (Psalm liii.) denotes a dance, such as was used at some peculiar festivals and occasions. (Compare Exod. xv. 20. Judg. xxi. 21. 1 Sam. xviii. 6.) According to Calmet, the title of this ode is —"An instructive psalm of David for the chief master of dancing; or, for the chorus of singers and dancers." *Mahalath-Leannoth* (Psalm lxxxix.) probably means a responsive psalm of the same description. [1]

VII. Of the word SELAH, which occurs upwards of seventy times in the book of Psalms, and three times in the prophecy of Habakkuk, it is by no means easy to determine the meaning: in the Septuagint it occurs still more frequently, being placed where it does not occur in the Hebrew original, and rendered by ΔΙΑΨΑΛΜΑ (*diapsalma*), which signifies a rest or pause, or, according to Suidas, a change of the song or modulation. Some imagine that it directed the time of the music, and was perhaps equivalent to our word *slow*, or, according to some of our provincial dialects, "*slaw*;" which, in a rapid pronunciation, might easily be taken for Selah. Dr. Wall conjectures that it is a note, directing that the last words to which it is added should be repeated by the chorus; and observes, that it is always put after some remarkable or pathetic clause. Parkhurst and others are of opinion, that it was intended to direct the reader's particular attention to the passage: others, that it makes a

[1] Calmet, Commentaire Littérale, tom. iv. pp. xi.—xiv. liii. liv. Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, tom. i. cap. 4. De Psalmorum Incriptionibus, et explicatio Dictionum in Psalmorum Titulis obviarum, pp. xxv.—lviii.

new sense or change of the metre. Jerome says, that Selah connects what follows with what went before, and further expresses that the words to which it is affixed are of eternal moment; that is, are not applicable to any particular person or temporary circumstances, but ought to be remembered by all men, and for ever; whence the Chaldee paraphrast renders it "for ever." Aquila, Symmachus, Geier, Forster, Buxtorf, and others, are of opinion that Selah has no signification, but that it is a note of the antient music, the use of which is now lost. Aben Ezra says, that it is like the conclusion of a prayer, answering nearly to amen. Meibomius, and after him Jahn, think that it means a repeat, and that it is equivalent to the Italian *Da Capo.* Calmet is of opinion that the antient Hebrew musicians sometimes put Selah in the margin of their psalters, to show where a musical pause was to be made, and where the tune ended; just as in the copies of the Gospels [1] which were solemnly read in the early ages of the Christian church, the Greek word Τελος, *telos*, or the Latin word *finis*, was written in the margin, either at length or with a contraction, to mark the place where the deacon was to *end* the lesson; the divisions of chapters and verses being unknown at that time: or else he thinks, the antient Hebrews sang nearly in the same manner as the modern Arabians do [2], with long pauses, ending all at once, and beginning all at once; and, therefore, it was necessary, in the public services, to mark in the margin of the psalm as well the place of the pause as the end, in order that the whole choir might suspend their voices, or recommence their singing at the same time. Rosenmüller, after Herder and A. F. Pfeiffer, declares in favour of Selah being a rest or pause, for the vocal performers, during which the musical instruments only were to be heard. Mr. Hewlett thinks it resembled our concluding symphonies. It only remains that we notice the sentiment of Rabbi Kimchi, which has been adopted by Grotius and others. That eminent Jewish teacher says, that Selah is both a musical note, and a note of emphasis in the sense, by which we are called to observe something more than usually remarkable. It is derived from the Hebrew word סלל SALAL, which signifies *he raised* or *elevated;* and denotes the elevation of the voice in singing; and at the same time the lifting up of the heart, the serious considering and meditating upon the thing that is spoken.

That this word was of use in music and singing is evident from the manner in which, we have already remarked, it was rendered by the Septuagint translators; and that it is also a mark of observation and meditation, may be inferred from its being joined in Psal. ix. 16. with the word *Higgaion,* which signifies meditation. Now, though in some passages Selah may appear to be used where there is no emphatic word or sense, yet it may be applied not only to the immediately preceding word or verse, but also to the whole series of verses or periods to which it is subjoined. And if it be thus considered, we shall find that it is used with great propriety, and for

[1] Simon, Histoire Critique du Nouv. Test. ch. xxxiii.

[2] D'Arvieux's Travels in Arabia the Desart, p. 52. English translation, 1718. 12mo.

the best of purposes, viz. to point out to us something well worthy of our most attentive observation: and that it calls upon us to revolve in our minds, with great seriousness, the matter placed before us.[1]

VIII. In praise of the Psalms, all the fathers of the church are unanimously eloquent. Athanasius styles them an epitome of the whole Scriptures: Basil, a compendium of all theology; Luther, a little Bible, and the summary of the Old Testament; and Melancthon, the most elegant writing in the whole world. How highly the Psalter was valued subsequently to the Reformation, we may easily conceive by the very numerous editions of it which were executed in the infancy of printing, and by the number of commentators who have undertaken to illustrate its sacred pages. Carpzov, who wrote a century ago, enumerates upwards of one hundred and sixty; and of the subsequent modern expositors of this book, it would perhaps be difficult to procure a correct account. "The Psalms," as their best interpreter in our language has remarked, with equal piety and beauty[2], "are an epitome of the Bible, adapted to the purposes of devotion. They treat occasionally of the creation and formation of the world; the dispensations of Providence, and the economy of grace; the transactions of the patriarchs; the exodus of the children of Israel; their journey through the wilderness, and settlement in Canaan; their law, priesthood, and ritual; the exploits of their great men, wrought through faith; their sins and captivities; their repentances and restorations; the sufferings and victories of David; the peaceful and happy reign of Solomon; the advent of Messiah, with its effects and consequences; his incarnation, birth, life, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, kingdom, and priesthood: the effusion of the spirit; the conversion of the nations; the rejection of the Jews; the establishment, increase, and perpetuity of the Christian church; the end of the world; the general judgment; the condemnation of the wicked, and the final triumph of the righteous with their Lord and King. These are the subjects here presented to our meditations. We are instructed how to conceive of them aright, and

[1] Calmet, Dissertation sur Sela, Commentaire, tom. iv. pp. xvi.—xviii. Hewlett *in loc.* Rosenmüller, Scholia in Psalmos, tom. i. pp. lix.—lxii. Dr. John Edwards, on the Authority, Style, and Perfection of Scripture, vol. iii. p. 373. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 471. Biel and Schleusner, Lexicon in LXX, voce Διαψαλμα. In addition to the observations already offered, it may be stated that Professor Wilson has announced the following ingenious conjecture respecting the derivation and import of the word Selah. The root of the word, he remarks, appears evidently to lie in the two first letters סל which are in contraction for סלל, *to raise, to exalt, to magnify.* The ה he considers as an abbreviation for יהוה; so that the word סלה (SELAH) is a contracted form of סלויה, *celebrate ye Jehovah*, or *exalt the Lord*, viz. in songs of praise accompanied with musical instruments, and is nearly of the same import with הללויה, in our characters *Hallelujah*, in Greek letters Αλληλουια, that is, Praise ye the Lord. This conjecture receives strong confirmation from the latter part of the fourth verse of Psalm lxviii. which is thus translated, *Extol him that rideth upon the heavens by the name* JAH. It is highly probable that the meaning here assigned to Selah is the true one, as it corresponds to the dignity and chief end of devotional music, in which the singers and players were frequently reminded of the sacred intention of their solemn prayers, praises, and adoration. All were designed to magnify the name, the nature, the perfections, excellences, and works of Jehovah the only true God. In this sublime exercise the church on earth are fellow-worshippers, in perfect concord with the church in heaven. See Rev. xix. 1—3. (Wilson's Elements of Hebrew Grammar, pp. 315, 316. 4th edit.)

[2] The late Bishop Horne.

to express the different affections, which, when so conceived of, they must excite in our minds. They are, for this purpose, adorned with the figures, and set off with all the graces of poetry; the poetry itself is designed yet farther to be recommended by the charms of music, thus consecrated to the service of God: that so delight may prepare the way for improvement, and pleasure become the handmaid of wisdom, while every turbulent passion is calmed by sacred melody, and the evil spirit is still dispossessed by the harp of the son of Jesse. This little volume, like the paradise of Eden, affords us in perfection, though in miniature, every thing that groweth elsewhere, every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food: and above all, what was there lost, but is here restored — *the tree of life in the midst of the garden.* That which we read, as matter of speculation, in the other Scriptures, is reduced to practice, when we recite it in the Psalms; in those repentance and faith are described, but in these they are acted: by a perusal of the former, we learn how others served God, but, by using the latter, we serve him ourselves. "What is there necessary for man to know," says the pious and judicious Hooker, "which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident unto the soul of man, any wound or sickness named, for which there is not, in this treasure-house, a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found."[1] In the language of this divine book, therefore, the prayers and praises of the church have been offered up to the throne of grace, from age to age. And it appears to have been the manual of the Son of God, in the days of his flesh; who, at the conclusion of his last supper, is generally supposed, and that upon good grounds, to have sung an hymn taken from it[2]; who pronounced, on the cross, the beginning of the twenty-second psalm, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and expired, with a part of the thirty-first psalm in his mouth, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit." Thus He, who had not the Spirit by measure, in whom were hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and who spake as never man spake, yet chose to conclude his life, to solace himself in his greatest agony, and at last to breathe out his soul, in the psalmist's form of words, rather than his own. No tongue of man or angel, as Dr. Hammond

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1 Hooker, Ecclesiast. Pol. book v. sect. 37.

2 Matthew informs us, chap. xxvi. 30. that he and his apostles *sung an hymn;* and the hymn usually sung by the Jews, upon that occasion, was what they called "the great Hallel," consisting of the Psalms from the cxiiith to the cxviiith inclusive.

justly observes, can convey an higher idea of any book, and of their felicity who use it aright." [1]

The number of psalms, which are *throughout* more eminently and directly prophetical of the Messiah, is indeed comparatively small: but the passages of *particular* psalms which are predictive of him in various ways are very numerous, no part of the Old Testament being cited in the New so frequently as this book. That those psalms which were composed by David himself were prophetic, we have David's own authority: "which," Bishop Horsley remarks, "may be allowed to overpower a host of modern expositors. For thus King David, at the close of his life, describes himself and his sacred songs: *David the son of Jesse said, and the man who was raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel, said, the Spirit of Jehovah spake by me, and his word was in my tongue.* (2 Sam. xxiii. 1, 2.) It was the word, therefore, of Jehovah's Spirit which was uttered by David's tongue. But, it should seem, the Spirit of Jehovah would not be wanting to enable a mere man to make complaint of *his own enemies*, to describe *his own sufferings just as he felt them*, and *his own escapes just as they happened.* But the Spirit of Jehovah described, by David's utterance, what was known to that Spirit only, and that Spirit only could describe. So that, if David be allowed to have had any knowledge of the true subject of his own compositions, it was nothing in his own life, but something put into his mind by the Holy Spirit of God, and the misapplication of the Psalms to the literal David has done more mischief than the misapplication of any other parts of the Scriptures, among those who profess the belief of the Christian religion." [2]

For a table of those portions of the Psalms which are strictly prophetical of the Messiah, see Vol. II. Part I. pp. 263, 264.

IX. The book of Psalms, being composed in Hebrew verse, must generally be studied and investigated agreeably to the structure of Hebrew poetry: but in addition to the remarks already offered on this subject [3], there are a few observations more particularly applicable to these songs of Sion, which will enable the reader to enter more fully into their force and meaning.

1. *Investigate the Argument of each Psalm.*

This is sometimes intimated in the prefixed title: but as these inscriptions are not always genuine, it will be preferable, in every case, to deduce the argument from a diligent and attentive reading of the psalm itself, and then to form our opinion concerning the correctness of the title, if there be any.

2. *With this view, examine the Historical Origin of the Psalm, or the circumstances that led the sacred poet to compose it.*

Besides investigating the occasion upon which a psalm was written, much advantage and assistance may be derived from studying the psalms *chronologically*, and comparing them with the historical books of the Old Testament, particularly those which treat of the

[1] Bishop Horne on the Psalms, vol. i. Preface, p. i.—iv.

[2] Bishop Horsley's Psalms, vol. i. p. xiv. Calmet has a very fine passage on the scope of the book of Psalms, as pointing to the Messiah; it is too long to cite, and would be impaired by abridgment. See his Commentaire, vol. vi. pp. vi. viii., or Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 197—199.

[3] See Vol. I. pp. 445, 446.

Israelites and Jews, from the origin of their monarchy to their return from the Babylonish captivity. Of the benefit that may be obtained from such a comparison of the two books of Samuel, we have already given some striking examples. [1]

3. *Ascertain the Author of the Psalm.*

This is frequently intimated in the inscriptions; but as these are not always to be depended upon, we must look for other more certain criteria by which to ascertain correctly the real author of any psalm. The *historical circumstances*, which are very frequently as well as clearly indicated, and the *poetical character* impressed on the compositions of each of the inspired poets, will enable us to accomplish this very important object. Let us take, for instance, the Psalms of David. Not only does he allude to his own personal circumstances, to the dangers to which he was exposed, the persecutions he endured, the wars in which he was engaged, his heinous sin against God, and the signal blessings conferred upon him; but his psalms are further stamped with a peculiar character, by which, if it be carefully attended to, we may easily distinguish him from every other inspired author of the Psalms. Hence we find him repeating the same words and ideas almost perpetually; complaining of his afflictions and troubles; imploring help from God in the most earnest supplications; professing his confidence in God in the strongest manner; rejoicing in the answers graciously vouchsafed to his prayers; and labouring to express his gratitude for all the blessings conferred upon him. Again, in what ardent language does he express his longing desire to behold the sanctuary of God, and join with the multitude of those who kept holiday! With what animation does he describe the solemn pomp with which the ark was conducted to Jerusalem! &c. Of all the sacred poets, David is the most pleasing and tender.

The style of David has been imitated by the other psalmists, who have borrowed and incorporated many of his expressions and images in their odes; but these imitations may easily be distinguished from their archetype, by the absence of that elegance and force which always characterise the productions of an original author.

4. *Attend to the Structure of the Psalms.*

The Psalms, being principally designed for the national worship of the Jews, are adapted to choral singing: as we have already adverted to this circumstance [2], it may suffice again briefly to intimate it on the present occasion, and to observe, that attention to the choral structure of these compositions will enable us better to enter into their spirit and meaning.[3] Bishop Horsley's edition of the Psalms is carefully divided with a view to this very circumstance; and Dr. Good has happily succeeded in showing the choral divisions of many of these sacred poems, in his version of the Psalms.

X. We shall conclude this section, the importance of whose subject must apologise for its apparently disproportionate length, with the following common but very useful

TABLE OF THE PSALMS,

classed according to their several subjects, and adapted to the purposes of private devotion.

I. *Prayers.*

1. Prayers for pardon of sin, Psal. vi. xxv. xxxviii. li. cxxx. Psalms styled penitential, vi. xxii. xxxviii. li. cii. cxxx. cxliii.

2. Prayers, composed when the Psalmist was deprived of an opportunity of the public exercise of religion, Psal. xlii. xliii. lxiii. lxxxiv.

3. Prayers, in which the Psalmist seems extremely dejected, though not totally deprived of consolation, under his afflictions, Psal. xiii. xxii. lxix. lxxvii. lxxxviii. cxliii.

4. Prayers, in which the Psalmist asks help of God, in consideration of his own integrity, and the uprightness of his cause, Psal. vii. xvii. xxvi. xxxv.

5. Prayers, expressing the firmest trust and confidence in God under afflictions, Psal. iii. xvi. xxvii. xxxi. liv. lvi. lvii. lxi. lxii. lxxi. lxxxvi.

6. Prayers, composed when the people of God were under affliction or persecution, Psal. xliv. lx. lxxiv. lxxix. lxxx. lxxxiii. lxxxix. xciv. cii. cxxiii. cxxxvii.

7. The following are likewise prayers in time of trouble and affliction, Psal. iv. v. xi. xxviii. xli. lv. lix. lxiv. lxx. cix. cxx. cxl. cxli. cxliii.

8. Prayers of intercession, Psal. xx. lxvii. cxxii. cxxxii. cxliv.

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[1] See p. 52. of this volume.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 421.

[3] Bauer, Herm. Sacr. pp. 392—394.

II. *Psalms of Thanksgiving.*

1. Thanksgivings for mercies vouchsafed to particular persons, Psal. ix. xviii. xxii. xxx. xxxiv. xl. lxxv. ciii. cviii. cxvi. cxviii. cxxxviii. cxliv.
2. Thanksgivings for mercies vouchsafed to the Israelites in general, Psal. xlvi. xlviii. lxv. lxvi. lxviii. lxxvi. lxxxi. lxxxv. xcviii. cv. cxxiv. cxxvi. cxxix. cxxxv. cxxxvi. cxlix.

III. *Psalms of Praise and Adoration, displaying the Attributes of God.*

1. General acknowledgments of God's goodness and mercy, and particularly his care and protection of good men, Psal. xxiii. xxxiv. xxxvi. xci. c. ciii. cvii. cxvii. cxxi. cxlv. cxlvi.
2. Psalms displaying the power, majesty, glory, and other attributes of the Divine Being, Psal. viii. xix. xxiv. xxix. xxxiii. xlvii. l. lxv. lxvi. lxxvi. lxxvii. xciii. xcv. xcvi. xcvii. xcix. civ. cxi. cxiii. cxiv. cxv. cxxxiv. cxxxix. cxlvii. cxlviii. cl.

IV. *Instructive Psalms.*

1. The different characters of good and bad men, — the happiness of the one, and the misery of the other, — are represented in the following psalms: i. v. vii. ix. x. xi. xii. xiv. xv. xvii. xxiv. xxv. xxxii. xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii. l. lii. liii. lviii. lxxii. lxxv. lxxxiv. xci. xcii. xciv. cxii. cxix. cxxi. cxxv. cxxvii. cxxviii. cxxxiii.
2. The excellence of God's laws, Psal. xix. cxix.
3. The vanity of human life, Psal. xxxix. xlix. xc.
4. Advice to magistrates, Psal. lxxxii. ci.
5. The virtue of humility, Psal. cxxxi.

V. *Psalms more eminently and directly Prophetical.*

Psal. ii. xvi. xxii. xl. xlv. lxviii. lxxii. lxxxvii. cx. cxviii.

VI. *Historical Psalms.*

Psal. lxxviii. cv. cvi.

SECTION III.

ON THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

I. *Title, Author, and Canonical Authority.* — II. *Scope.* — III. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — IV. *Observations on its Style, Use, and Importance.*

I. THE book of Proverbs[1] has always been ascribed to Solomon, whose name it bears, though, from the frequent repetition of the same sentences, as well as from some variations in style which have been discovered, doubts have been entertained whether he really was the author of every maxim it comprises." "The latter part of it, from the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter, forming evidently an appendix, was collected after his death, and added to what appears to have been more immediately arranged by himself."[2] The proverbs in the thirtieth chapter are expressly called *The words of Agur the son of Jakeh;* and the thirty-first chapter is intitled *The words of king Lemuel.* It seems certain that the collection called the PROVERBS of SOLOMON was arranged in the order in which we now have it, by different hands: but it is not therefore to be concluded that they are not the productions of Solomon, who, we are informed, spoke[3] no less than three thousand proverbs. (1 Kings iv. 32.) As

[1] On the peculiar nature of the Hebrew Proverbs, see Vol. II. Part II. Chapter I. Section VI. pp. 412—414.

[2] Extract from Dr. Mason Good's unpublished translation of the Book of Proverbs, in Prof. Gregory's Memoirs of his Life, p. 289.

[3] It is not said that these proverbs were *written* compositions, but simply that Solomon

it is no where said that Solomon himself made a collection of proverbs and sentences, the general opinion is, that several persons made a collection of them, perhaps, as they were uttered by him. Hezekiah, among others, as mentioned in the twenty-fifth chapter: Agur, Isaiah, and Ezra might have done the same. The Jewish writers affirm that Solomon wrote the Canticles, or song bearing his name, in his youth, the Proverbs in his riper years, and Ecclesiastes in his old age.

Michaelis has observed, that the book of Proverbs is frequently cited by the apostles, who considered it as a treasure of revealed morality, whence Christians were to derive their rules of conduct; and the canonical authority of no book of the Old Testament is so well ratified by the evidence of quotations as that of the Proverbs [1]: whence he justly infers that every commentator on the Greek Testament ought to be intimately acquainted with the Septuagint version of the book of Proverbs, and that every Christian divine should consider it as the chief source of scriptural morality. [2]

II. The SCOPE of this book is, "to instruct men in the deepest mysteries of true wisdom and understanding, the height and perfection of which is, the true knowledge of the divine will, and the sincere fear of the Lord. (Prov. i. 2—7. ix. 10.)" [3] To this end, the book is filled with the choicest sententious aphorisms, infinitely surpassing all the ethical sayings of the antient sages, and comprising in themselves distinct doctrines, duties, &c. of piety towards God, of equity and benevolence towards man, and of sobriety and temperance; together with precepts for the right education of children, and for the relative situations of subjects, magistrates, and sovereigns.

III. The book of Proverbs is divided by Moldenhawer and Heidegger (whose arrangement was followed in the former editions of this work) into five parts: but the late Dr. John Mason Good has divided it into four distinct books or parts, "each of which," he observes, "is distinguished both by an obvious introduction and a

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spake them. Hence Mr. Holden thinks it not improbable that the Hebrew monarch spoke them in assemblies collected for the purpose of hearing him discourse. Attempt to Illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes, p. xliv.

[1] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 207, 208.

[2] The following table of the quotations from the book of Proverbs in the New Testament is given from Moldenhawer (Introductio in Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. p. 93.) and from Carpzov. (Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Vet. Test. p. 184.)

Prov. i. 16.	cited in	Rom. iii. 10. 15.
Prov. iii. 7.		Rom. xii. 16.
Prov. iii. 11, 12.		Heb. xii. 5, 6. Rev. iii. 19.
Prov. iii. 34.		James iv. 6.
Prov. x. 12.		1 Pet. iv. 8.
Prov. xi. 31.		1 Pet. iv. 18.
Prov. xvii. 13.		Rom. xii. 17. 1 Thess. v. 15. 1 Pet. iii. 9.
Prov. xvii. 27.		James i. 19.
Prov. xx. 9.		1 John i. 8.
Prov. xx. 20.		Matt. xv. 4. Mark vii. 10.
Prov. xx. 22.		Rom. xii. 17.
Prov. xxv. 21.		Rom. xii. 20.
Prov. xxvi. 11.		2 Pet. ii. 22.

[3] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 600.

change of style and manner, though its real method and arrangement seem, hitherto, to have escaped the attention of our commentators and interpreters." [1]

PART I. *The Proem or Exordium.* (ch. i.—ix.)

In this part heavenly wisdom and the true knowledge of God are set forth with great copiousness and variety of expression, as the only source and foundation of true virtue and happiness. "It is chiefly confined to the conduct of juvenescence or early life, before a permanent condition is made choice of.... All the most formidable dangers to which this season of life is exposed, and the sins, which most easily beset it, are painted with the hand of a master. And, whilst the progress and issues of vice are exhibited under a variety of the most striking delineations and metaphors in their utmost deformity and horror, all the beauties of language, and all the force of eloquence, are poured forth in the diversified form of earnest expostulation, insinuating tenderness, captivating argument, picturesque description, daring personification and sublime allegory, to win the ingenuous youth to virtue and piety, and to fix him in the steady pursuit of his duties towards God and towards man. Virtue is pronounced in the very outset to be essential wisdom; and vice or wickedness, essential folly: and the personifications, thus forcibly struck out at the opening of the work, are continued to its close. The only wise man, therefore, is declared to be the truly good and virtuous, or he that fears God and reverences his law: whilst the man of vice or wickedness is a fool, a dolt, an infatuated sot, a stubborn, froward, or perverse wretch, and an abomination to Jehovah." [2] This portion of the book of Proverbs, says Bishop Lowth, is varied, elegant, sublime, and truly poetical: the order of the subject is, in general, excellently preserved, and the parts are very aptly connected. It is embellished with many beautiful descriptions and personifications; the diction is polished, and abounds with all the ornaments of poetry, so that it scarcely yields in elegance and splendour to any of the Sacred Writings. [3]

PART II. *To which is prefixed the Title of "The Proverbs of Solomon," comprises short sententious Declarations for the Use of Persons who have advanced from Youth to Manhood.* (ch. x.—xxii. 16.)

These sententious declarations are generally unconnected, although sometimes a connection with the preceding sentence may be discovered. They treat on the various duties of man towards God, and towards his fellow-men in every station of life. "The great object in each of the proverbs or axioms of the present part is, to enforce a moral principle in words so few, that they may be easily learnt, and so curiously selected and arranged, that they may strike and fix the attention instantaneously: whilst to prevent the mind from becoming fatigued by a long series of detached sentences, they are perpetually diversified by the most playful changes of style and figure." [4]

PART III. *Contains a Miscellaneous Collection of Proverbs, principally relating to Rich Men and Nobles.* (ch. xxii. 17.—xxiv.)

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[1] Dissertation on the Book of Proverbs, in Professor Gregory's Memoirs of Dr. Good, p. 292.

[2] Ibid. p. 294.

[3] Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, by Dr. Gregory, vol. ii. p. 164.

[4] Professor Gregory's Memoirs of Dr. Good, p. 298. In pp. 299—303. Dr. G. has admirably elucidated the beautiful changes of style in the third part of the book of Proverbs.

PART IV. "*Is a Posthumous Appendix, consisting of various Parabolic Compositions, written and communicated by Solomon on different occasions, but never published by himself in an arranged Form; yet altogether worthy of the Place they hold in the Sacred Scriptures.*"[1] (ch. xxv.—xxxi.)

SECT. 1. Comprises a collection of Solomon's Proverbs, which (as the title shows, xxv. 1.) was made by the learned under the reign of Hezekiah. (xxv.—xxix.) The proverbs in this section are unconnected, and some of them are repetitions of the moral aphorisms, which are delivered in the former part of the book.

SECT. 2. Is composed of the ethical precepts delivered by "Agur the son of Jakeh" to his friends Ithiel and Ucal.

That Agur, Jakeh, Ithiel, and Ucal, are proper names, admits of no contradiction, though it is impossible at this distance of time to ascertain who they were. Jerome mistook the proper name Agur for an appellative, and in the Latin Vulgate has translated the expression thus, without any meaning: — "Verba Congregantis, filii Vomentis," which, in the Anglo-Romish version from the Vulgate, is with equal unintelligibility rendered, "The Words of Gatherer, the son of Vomiter." Some critics are of opinion, that, by Jakeh, David is meant, and by Agur, Solomon; and some fanciful expositors think that Ithiel and Ucal mean Christ: but these hypotheses are examined and refuted by Mr. Holden.[2] The same close observation of nature, and sententious form, which characterise the precepts of Solomon, are to be found in the proverbs of Agur, whose admirable prayer (xxx. 7—9.) will ever be justly admired for its piety and for the contented spirit which it breathes. It exactly corresponds with the petition in the Lord's Prayer — *Give us this day* τον αρτον ημων τον επιουσιον, — not *our daily* bread, — but *bread or food sufficient for us.*[3]

SECT. 3. Contains the admonitions given to king Lemuel[4] by his mother a queen, when he was in the flower of youth and high expectation. (xxxi.)

These admonitory verses "are an inimitable production, as well in respect to their actual materials, as the delicacy with which they are selected. Instead of attempting to lay down rules concerning matters of state and political government, the illustrious writer confines herself, with the nicest and most becoming art, to a recommendation of the gentler virtues of temperance, benevolence, and mercy; and a minute and unparalleled delineation of the female character, which might bid fairest to promote the happiness of her son in connubial life. The description, though strictly in consonance with the domestic economy of the highest sphere of life, in the early period referred to, and especially in the East, is of universal application, and cannot be studied too closely."[5] In the exquisite description of a virtuous woman, in xxxi. 10—31., the initial letters of the verses follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet.

IV. The Proverbs of Solomon hold a conspicuous rank among the metrical books of the Old Testament. Not only are they admirably adapted to convey instruction by the treasures of practical wisdom which they open to us; but they also afford us a noble specimen of

[1] Gregory's Memoirs of Dr. Good, p. 305.

[2] Translation of the Book of Proverbs, pp. xvii.—xxv. 366, 367.

[3] Ibid. p. 372.

[4] Some critics have conjectured that Lemuel is another name for Solomon: but this hypothesis is satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Holden, in his Attempt towards an Improved Translation of the Book of Proverbs, "Preliminary Dissertation," pp. xviii.—xxv.

[5] Dr. Good's Dissertation on the Book of Proverbs, in Dr. Gregory's Memoirs of his Life, p. 305.

the didactic poetry of the Hebrews, the nature of which they enable us to understand by means of the antithetic parallels with which they abound.[1] Much, indeed, of the elegance, acuteness, and force, which are discernible in Solomon's wise sayings, is derived from the antithetic form, the opposition of diction and sentiment. Hence a careful attention to the parallelism of members (which topic has already been largely discussed[2]) will contribute to remove that obscurity in which some of the proverbs appear to be involved. Sometimes, also, one member or part of a proverb must be supplied from the other; or, as Glassius has expressed it in other words, sometimes one thing is expressed in one member, and another in the other, and yet both are to be understood in both members. Thus, in Prov. x. 14. we read,

> Wise men lay up knowledge:
> But the mouth of the foolish is near destruction.

The meaning of which is, that wise men communicate, for the benefit of others, the wisdom they have acquired and preserved; while fools, being destitute of that knowledge, soon exhaust their scanty stock, and utter not merely useless but even injurious things. Again,

> A wise son maketh a glad father:
> But a foolish son is the heaviness of his mother. Prov. x. 1.

Both the father and mother are to be understood in the two members of this passage, although in the first the father only is noticed, and in the second the mother only is mentioned. Lastly, many things which are spoken generally, are to be restrained to particular individuals and circumstances: as, however, this rule has already been illustrated at length, it will not be necessary to multiply additional examples.[3] The author, with much pleasure, refers his readers to the Rev. Mr. Holden's "Attempt towards an Improved Translation of the Proverbs of Solomon," with Notes, as the best critical help to an exact understanding of this fine compendium of ethics, that is extant in the English language.

SECTION IV.

ON THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

I. *Title, Author, and Canonical Authority.* — II. *Scope and Synopsis.* — III. *Observations.*

I. THE title of this book in our Bibles is derived from the Septuagint version, ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΗΣ signifying a *preacher*, or one who harangues a public congregation. In Hebrew it is termed, from the initial word קֹהֶלֶת (KOHELETH), "the Preacher;" by whom may be intended, either the person assembling the people, or he who addresses them when convened. Although

[1] On the Nature of the Scripture Proverbs, see Vol. II. pp. 412—414.
[2] See Vol. II. pp. 305—307. 422—430. [3] See Vol. II. pp. 482—488.

this book does not bear the name of Solomon, it is evident from several passages that he was the author of it. Compare ch. i. 12. 16. ii. 4—9. and xii. 9, 10. The celebrated Rabbi Kimchi, however, ascribes it to the prophet Isaiah; and the Talmudical writers to Hezekiah. Grotius, from some foreign expressions which he thinks are discoverable in it, conceives that it was composed by order of Zerubbabel for his son Abihud; Jahn, after some later German critics, for the same reason, thinks it was written after the Babylonish captivity; and Zirkel imagines that it was composed about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, from some traces of the notions of the Pharisees and Sadducees which he conceives he has discovered in this book, and against which he supposes it to be directed.[1] But it is not likely that those Jewish sects would permit a work levelled against themselves to be inserted in the sacred canon: and with regard to the foreign expressions alleged by Grotius, (supposing *all* of them to be really foreign expressions, which, however, is not the case[2],) their appearance may be accounted for by the circumstance of Solomon's having indulged in sinful intercourse "with strange women," (1 Kings xi. 1, 2.) whose language he probably acquired.

The beautiful descriptions which this book contains, of the phenomena in the natural world, and their causes, of the circulation of the blood (as the late Bishop Horsley thought[3]), and of the economy of the human frame, all show it to be the work of a philosopher. It is generally supposed to have been written by Solomon in his old age, after he had repented of his sinful practices, and when, having seen and observed much, as well as having enjoyed every thing that he could wish, he was fully convinced of the vanity of every thing except piety towards God. The Rabbinical writers inform us, and their account is corroborated by Jerome, that the Jews, who, after the captivity, collected the inspired writings into the canon, at first refused to admit this book into the sacred code, in consequence of some heresies and contradictions, which, from inattention to the author's scope and design, they imagined to exist in it. But, after considering the expressions it contains towards the close, relative to

[1] The opinions of these and of other writers are satisfactorily refuted by the Rev. Mr. Holden in his "Attempt to Illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes." (8vo. London, 1822.) Preliminary Discourse, pp. v.—xxviii.

[2] Of the four words which Grotius asserts to be foreign, viz. סִיר (SIR) a THORN, Eccl. vii. 6. אֲבִיוֹנָה (ABIONAH) *desire*, xii. 5., פָּשַׁר (PASHAR) to *interpret*, viii. 1., and גּוּמָץ (GUMATZ) *a pit*, x. 8., — two only can at all be considered as belonging to his argument: for the *first* occurs in Exod. xvi. 3. and 2 Kings iv. 39. (Heb.), and the second may be derived from the Hebrew root אָבָה (ABAH) *to wish*: and although the two last are at *present* only to be found in the Chaldee, it does not therefore necessarily follow that they are not Hebrew, for how many *other* words are there in the Hebrew language, the roots of which are now only to be found in the kindred Arabic or Chaldee dialect? And if they shall be deemed genuine Hebrew words, there surely is no reason why the two last words above cited should not equally be true and proper Hebrew. It is indeed wonderful, as Witsius has long ago remarked, to observe of what trifling pretexts learned men sometimes avail themselves, in order to support paradoxes. (Witsii, Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. p. 227. Alber, Interpretatio Scripturæ, tom. viii. p. 189.) But the philological speculations of Grotius are surpassed by those of the late Professor Eichhorn, which are satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Holden in his translation of Ecclesiastes, Prel. Diss. p. xiii.

[3] Bp. Horsley's Sermons, vol. iii. pp. 189, 190. Mr. Holden has refuted this hypothesis, Ecclesiastes, pp. 173, 174.

the fear of God and the observation of his laws, they concluded to receive it; and its canonical authority has been recognised ever since. There can, indeed, be no doubt of its title to admission: Solomon was eminently distinguished by the illumination of the divine Spirit, and had even twice witnessed the divine presence. (1 Kings iii. 5. ix. 2. xi. 9.) The tendency of the book is excellent when rightly understood: and Solomon speaks in it with great clearness of the revealed truths of a future life and of a future judgment.[1]

Bishop Lowth has classed this book among the didactic poetry of the Hebrews: but Mr. Des Voeux[2] considers it as a philosophical discourse written in a rhetorical style, and interspersed with verses, which are introduced as occasion served; whence it obtained a place among the poetical books. To this opinion Bishop Lowth subsequently declared his assent.

II. The SCOPE of this book is explicitly announced in ch. i. 2. and xiii. 13., viz. to demonstrate the vanity of all earthly objects, and to draw off men from the pursuit of them, as an *apparent* good, to the fear of God, and communion with him, as to the highest and only *permanent* good in this life, and to show that men must seek for happiness beyond the grave. We may therefore consider it as an inquiry into that most important and disputed question, — What is the *Sovereign Good* of man, — that which is ultimately good, and which in all its bearings and relations is conducive to the best interests of man? *What is that good for the sons of men, which they should do under the heaven all the days of their Life?* (ii. 3.) "This is the object of the preacher's inquiry; and, after discussing various erroneous opinions, he finally determines that it consists in TRUE WISDOM. The scope of the whole argument, therefore, is the praise and recommendation of WISDOM, as the supreme good to creatures responsible for their actions. In this wisdom is not included a single particle of that which is worldly and carnal, so frequently possessed by men addicted to vice, the minions of avarice, and the slaves of their passions; but that which is from above, that which is holy, spiritual, undefiled, and which, in the writings of Solomon, is but another word for Religion. Guided by this clue, we can easily traverse the intricate windings and mazes in which so many commentators upon the Ecclesiastes have been lost and bewildered. By keeping steadily in view the preacher's object, to eulogise Heavenly Wisdom, the whole admits of an easy and natural interpretation; light is diffused around its obscurities; connection is discovered in that which was before disjointed; the argument receives additional force, the sentiments new beauty; and every part of the discourse, when considered in reference to this object, tends to develope the nature of True Wisdom, to display its excellence, or to recommend its acquirement.

"Hence he commences with the declaration that *all is vanity*[3]:

[1] Carpzov, Introd. ad Libros. Vet. Test. part. ii. p. 222. Dr. Gray's Key, p. 292.

[2] In his "Philosophical and Critical Essay on the Book of Ecclesiastes," 4to. London, 1760.

[3] The finest commentary on this aphorism, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*, — was unin-

which is not to be understood as implying any censure upon the works of creation, for God does nothing in vain, every thing being properly adapted to its end, and excellently fitted to display the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Almighty. Yet when the things of this world are applied to improper purposes; when they are considered as the end, while they are only intended to be the means; and are rested in as the source of happiness which they were not designed to afford, vanity is discovered to be their character; that which is most excellent becomes useless, if not injurious, by the abuse; and the works of Omnipotence, however wise and good in themselves, are unprofitable to those who misuse and pervert them. It were a kind of blasphemy to vilify whatever has proceeded from Omniscient Power; and Solomon can only be supposed to pronounce all things here below vain, when they are applied to a wrong use, by the ignorance and wickedness of man. Nor does he so denominate all things universally and without any exception, but only all *earthly* things, as wealth, pleasure, pomp, luxury, power, and whatever is merely human and terrestrial. If these are placed in competition with divine and heavenly things, or are foolishly regarded as the means of real happiness, they become useless and unprofitable, because they are uncertain and transitory, never fully satisfying the desires of the soul, nor producing permanent felicity. If worldly things are vain in these respects, it would, nevertheless, be presumption and impiety to represent them as actually bad. They are good in themselves, and, when rightly used, tend only to good, since they contribute to the enjoyment of life, and, in an eminent degree, to the ultimate and real interest of man. But if they are pursued as the only 'portion in this life,' as constituting the happiness of beings formed for immortality, they are not estimated on right principles, and the result will be vexation and disappointment. Their vanity, then, arises from the folly and baseness of men, who, in forgetfulness of eternity, are too apt to regard this world as their sole and final abode, and to expect that satisfaction from them which they cannot give. Nor are they to be condemned on this account. That they are insufficient to render man happy is itself the ordination of Infinite Wisdom, and, consequently, best suited to a probationary state: wisely calculated for the trial of man's virtue, and, by weaning him from too fond attachment to things on earth, to stimulate his desires and exertions after the blessedness of another life.

"In prosecuting his inquiry into the Chief Good, Solomon has divided his work into two parts. The first, which extends to the tenth verse of the sixth chapter, is taken up in demonstrating the vanity of all earthly conditions, occupations, and pleasures; the second part, which includes the remainder of the book, is occupied in eulogising Wisdom, and in describing its nature, its excellence, its beneficial effects. This division, indeed, is not adhered to through-

tentionally furnished by the late celebrated Earl of Chesterfield, in one of his posthumous letters. See the passage at length in Bishop Horne's Works, vol. v. discourse xiii. pp. 185—187., where the frightful picture, exhibited by a dying man of the world, is admirably improved to the edification of the reader.

out with logical accuracy; some deviations from strict method are allowable in a popular discourse; and the author occasionally diverges to topics incidentally suggested; but, amidst these digressions, the distinctions of the two parts cannot escape the attentive reader. It is not the manner of the sacred writers to form their discourses in a regular series of deductions and concatenated arguments: they adopt a species of composition, less logical indeed, but better adapted to common capacities, in which the subject is still kept in view, though not handled according to the rules of dialectics. Even St. Paul, whose reasoning powers are unquestionable, frequently digresses from his subject, breaks off abruptly in the middle of his argument, and departs from the strictness of order and arrangement. In the same way has the royal preacher treated the subject; not with exact, philosophical method, but in a free and popular manner, giving an uncontrolled range to his capacious intellect, and suffering himself to be borne along by the exuberance of his thoughts and the vehemence of his feelings. But, though the methodical disposition of his ideas is occasionally interrupted, his plan is still discernible; and perhaps he never wanders more from his principal object than most of the other writers in the Sacred Volume."

For the preceding view of the scope of this admirably instructive book, the author is indebted to Mr. Holden's learned and elaborate Attempt to illustrate it.[1] The following Synopsis (which is also borrowed from Mr. Holden) will give the reader a clear view of its design.

PART I. THE VANITY OF ALL EARTHLY CONDITIONS, OCCUPATIONS, AND PLEASURES.

SECT. I. The vanity of all earthly things. (i. 2.)

SECT. II. The unprofitableness of human labour, and the transitoriness of human life. (i. 3—11.)

SECT. III. The vanity of laborious inquiries into the ways and works of man. (i. 12—18.)

SECT. IV. Luxury and pleasure are only vanity and vexation of spirit. (ii. 1—11.)

SECT. V. Though the wise excel fools, yet, as death happens to them both, human learning is but vanity. (ii. 12—17.)

SECT. VI. The vanity of human labour, in leaving it they know not to whom. (ii. 18—23.)

SECT. VII. The emptiness of sensual enjoyments. (ii. 24—26.)

SECT. VIII. Though there is a proper time for the execution of all human purposes, yet are they useless and vain; the Divine counsels, however, are immutable. (iii. 1—14.)

SECT. IX. The vanity of human pursuits proved from the wickedness prevailing in courts of justice, contrasted with the righteous judgment of God. (iii. 15—17.)

SECT. X. Though life, considered in itself, is vanity, for men die as well as beasts, yet, in the end, it will be very different with the spirit of man and that of beasts. (iii. 18—22.)

SECT. XI. Vanity is increased unto men by oppression. (iv. 1—3.)

SECT. XII. The vanity of prosperity. (iv. 4.)

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[1] Prelim. Diss. pp. lxv. lxviii.—lxxii.

SECT. XIII. The vanity of folly, or of preferring the world to True Wisdom. (iv. 5, 6.)
SECT. XIV. The vanity of covetousness. (iv. 7, 8.)
SECT. XV. Though society has its advantages, yet dominion and empire are but vanity. (iv. 9—16.)
SECT. XVI. Errors in the performance of Divine worship, which render it vain and unprofitable. (v. 1—7.)
SECT. XVII. The vanity of murmuring at injustice; for though the oppresion of the poor and the perversion of judgment greatly prevail, they do not escape the notice of the Almighty. (v. 8, 9.)
SECT. XVIII. The vanity of riches; with an admonition as to the moderate enjoyment of them. (v. 10—20.)
SECT. XIX. The vanity of avarice. (vi. 1—9.)

PART II. THE NATURE, EXCELLENCE, AND BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF WISDOM OR RELIGION.

SECT. XX. Since all human designs, labours, and enjoyments are vain, it is natural to inquire, What is good for man? What is his Supreme Good? (vi. 10—12.) The answer is contained in the remainder of the book.
SECT. XXI. The praise of character and reputation. (vii. 1.)
SECT. XXII. Affliction improves the heart, and exalts the character of the wise. (vii. 2—10.)
SECT. XXIII. The excellence of Wisdom. (vii. 11—14.)
SECT. XXIV. An objection, with the answer. (vii. 15. viii. 7.)
SECT. XXV. The evil of wickedness shows the advantage of True Wisdom. (viii. 8—13.)
SECT. XXVI. An objection, with the answer. (viii. 14. ix. 1.)
SECT. XXVII. An objection, with the answer. (ix. 2. x. 17.)
SECT. XXVIII. The banefulness of sloth. (x. 18.)
SECT. XXIX. The power of wealth. (x. 19.)
SECT. XXX. An exhortation against speaking evil of dignities. (x. 20.)
SECT. XXXI. Exhortation to charity and benevolence. (xi. 1—10.)
SECT. XXXII. An exhortation to the early cultivation of religious habits. (xii. 1—7.)
SECT XXXIII. The conclusion. (xii. 8—14.[1])

III. Bishop Lowth pronounces the style of this book to be singular; its language is generally low, frequently loose and unconnected, approaching to the incorrectness of conversation: and it possesses very little poetical character, even in the composition and structure of the periods: which peculiarity, he thinks, may be accounted for from the nature of the subject. Leusden says, that in his time (the close of the seventeenth century) the book of Ecclesiastes was read in the Jewish synagogues on the feast of tabernacles; because, as that feast commemorates the gladness and content with which their forefathers dwelt in tents, so this book, while it shows the vanity of all earthly things, inculcates on every one the duty of rejoicing and being content with such things as God in his providence thinks fit to bestow.

[1] Prelim. Diss. pp. cix. cx. Mr. Des Voeux, in his learned and ingenious work on Ecclesiastes, was of opinion that the royal author's design was to prove the immortality of the soul, or rather the necessity of another state after this life, by such arguments as may be deduced from reason and experience. But Mr. Holden has satisfactorily shown that this is *not* the primary design of the book in question; though it contains some strong proofs of this article of religious faith. See his Prelim. Diss. pp. xlvii.—lx.

SECTION V.

ON THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

I. *Author.* — II. *Canonical Authority.* — III. *Structure of the Poem.* — *Its Subject and Scope.* — *The Song of Solomon a sublime Mystical Allegory.*

FEW poems have excited more attention, or have found more translators and commentators, than the *Song of Songs*: but the learned are not yet agreed respecting its arrangement and design. The majority consider it as an inspired book, and certainly on the best evidence, while others affirm it to be merely a human composition: the former regard it as a sacred allegory; the latter, as a mere amatory effusion.

I. In addition to other divine compositions of Solomon, we are informed (1 Kings iv. 32.) that *his songs were a thousand and five*, of which the present book is supposed to be one. In the first verse it is called, by way of eminence and distinction, according to the Hebrew idiom שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים (SHIR HaSHIRIM) that is, a *Song of Songs*, or, *the most beautiful Song*. Of this antient poem the author is asserted, by the unanimous voice of antiquity, to have been Solomon: and this tradition is corroborated by many internal marks of authenticity.[1] In the very first verse it is ascribed to the Hebrew monarch by name: he is the subject of the piece, and the principal actor in the conduct of it. Allusions are made to the rich furniture of his palace (i. 5.); to the horses and chariots which he purchased of Pharaoh king of Egypt (i. 9. compared with 1 Kings x. 28, 29.); to Aminadab who was eminent for such chariots, and who married one of Solomon's daughters (vi. 12. with 1 Kings iv. 11.); to his building of the temple under the figure of a palanquin or coach for his bride (iii. 9, 10.); to the materials of which it was formed. In short, all the leading circumstances in Solomon's life, in a religious point of view, appear to be either alluded to or implied in this antient poem, and, therefore, render it probable that it was the production of some writer in his age, if it were not his own composition. From the occurrence, however, of a few Aramæan words, some latter critics have imagined that this book was written in the latter years of the Jewish monarchy, not long before the captivity; but this conjecture is repelled by the internal evidences above cited in favour of Solomon; and the occasional appearance of Aramæan words will be satisfactorily accounted for when we recollect the extensive commercial intercourse that existed between Solomon and the neighbouring nations. Dr. Kennicott was of opinion that this poem is many ages later than Solomon, from the uniform insertion of the *yod* in all copies, in spelling the name of David; but this remark is not conclusive, for the name of David occurs but once (iv. 4.): and, after it

[1] Calmet states that some of the rabbins ascribed this poem to Isaiah: but this opinion has long since been rejected. Dissert. tom. ii. p. 258.

had been written erroneously by a scribe in the time of Ezra, it might have been inadvertently copied by subsequent transcribers.[1]

II. If the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures was settled by Ezra (which we have already seen was most probably the case), there can be no doubt but that the Song of Solomon is a sacred book; for, to use the strong language of Bishop Warburton, "Ezra wrote, and we may believe acted, 'by the inspiration of the Most High,' amid the last blaze indeed, yet in the full lustre of expiring prophecy. And such a man would not have placed any book that was not sacred in the same volume with the law and the prophets."[2] In addition to this evidence, the following considerations will authorise us to infer, that the Song of Solomon was, from the most early period, deemed a sacred book, and ranked with the Hagiographa or Holy Writings of the Jews, and thence was received among the canonical books of the Old Testament.

A Greek translation of it is extant, which without contradiction is ascribed to the Jewish authors of the Septuagint, who flourished about two centuries before Christ, and which still forms a part of the Alexandrian version. With the same conviction of the sacred character of the work, it was rendered into Greek, in the second century of the Christian æra, by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Origen, who wrote early in the third century, on the authority of those learned Jews who were contemporary with him, and whom he was in the habit of consulting respecting the authority and literal import of their sacred books, inserted it in his Hexapla, and wrote some homilies upon it, explaining its mystical sense, which have in part been translated into Latin by Jerome. Further, that the antient Jews, without exception, considered it as a divinely inspired production, appears from the allegorical signification annexed to it in the Chaldee paraphrase. Josephus, in his answer to Apion, gives a catalogue of the Jewish books, and in the third class of such as related to moral instruction includes the Song of Songs.[3] From the Jewish synagogue this book was received into the Christian church without any doubt of its divine authority: it occurs in the catalogue of books of the Old Testament made by Melito Bishop of Sardis in Lydia, who is placed by Cave about the year 170, who travelled into Palestine on purpose

[1] Dr. Kennicott, Diss. i. pp. 20—22. Hewlett's Commentary on the Song of Solomon, Supplementary Observations, *in fine*. A writer of the present day (Mr. Bellamy), who has distinguished himself by his bold and paradoxical assertions, has stated *his* opinion to be, that it was a book of great antiquity in the time of the Hebrew king, and is the same which is referred to in the Psalms by the words "*dark sayings of old.*" He thinks it possible that Solomon collected and incorporated the materials of this book, as David did other sacred songs of prophecy and praise, which were in use in the church before his time; but affirms that the idea of Solomon being the author of this Song of Songs is founded on a mis-translation of the Hebrew word *Lishlomoh*, which occurs in the first verse. As Mr. B. refers to a work not yet published in support of his hypothesis, it is impossible to form a correct judgment respecting it: but we may be permitted to observe, that the internal evidences above noticed, which make so strongly against Dr. Kennicott, afford pretty strong corroboration of the universally received opinion, as well as of the uniform belief of the Jews, who surely were acquainted with their native tongue. See the Classical Journal, vol. xv. p. 190.

[2] Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse, vol. i. p. xxiii.

[3] Josephus cont. Apion, book i. c. 8. Eusebius, following the Jewish historian, makes the Song of Songs the fifteenth of the number of canonical books. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 25.

to learn the number of these books, and who made the first catalogue of the Hebrew Scriptures.[1] It is cited by Ignatius, who had been a disciple of the apostle Saint John about the beginning of the second century, as a book of authority in the church at Antioch. It is enumerated in the list of canonical books occurring in the synopsis attributed to Athanasius, who flourished in the third century, and in the catalogues of Jerome and Rufinus, towards the close of the fourth century, in which also we find it cited in the Apostolical Constitutions, and also in the Apostolical Canons[2]; since which time, the Song of Songs has maintained its place in the sacred canon.

But, though the Song of Songs has come down to us thus strongly recommended by the voice of antiquity, its divine authority has been questioned in modern days. Theodore, Bishop of Mopsuestia, a bold critic, and a determined foe to allegorical interpretations, in the fourth and fifth centuries, is *said* to have spoken in disrespectful terms of this poem, as well as of the book of Job: but, as those accounts appear among the charges and accusations of his enemies, Dr. Lardner doubts the accuracy of such representation.[3] In the early part of the last century, Simon and Le Clerc questioned its authenticity, but were refuted by the elder Carpzov; and, subsequently, the eccentric writer Whiston boldly affirmed it to be a dissolute love-song, composed by Solomon when advanced in years and dissolute in practice, and that, consequently, it ought to be excluded from the canon of the sacred books. This preposterous notion (for nothing like proof has been offered in its support) has, with some slight modification, been adopted by several later writers; and Semler, among others, declines taking any notice of it, as a work manifestly spurious.[4] These objections, however, are sufficiently counteracted by the strong internal evidences of the authenticity of the Canticles, as well as by the uninterrupted current of Jewish and Christian antiquity.

III. That this book is a poem, all critics and expositors are agreed; though they are by no means unanimous to what class of Hebrew poetry it is to be referred. Michaelis, to whose profound researches biblical students are so deeply indebted, is of opinion that the object of this poem was simply to inculcate the divine approbation of marriage; and Mendelsohn, a learned German Jew, considers it as a representation, by Solomon's son, of a trial of skill between a shepherd and shepherdess; but the ideas of Mr. Harmer[5] appear much more rational, who, though unwilling to give it the name of an epithalamium or nuptial dialogue, considers it to be a nuptial song, which will best be explained by compositions of a similar

[1] Eusebius has preserved this catalogue of Melito in his Eccl. Hist. lib. iv. c. 26.

[2] Constit. Apostol. lib. vi. cc. 13. 18. tom. i. pp. 345. 351. Edit. Amst. 1724. Canon. Apostol. No. lxxvi. Ibid. p. 458. Both these productions, though pretending to be of apostolical origin, are spurious compilations of the *fourth* century. See Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. iv. pp. 320—354. 8vo.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 421—441.

[3] Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 157. 2d edit. Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 509, 510.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 528.

Apparatus ad liberalem Vet. Test. Interpretationem, pp. 209—214.

[5] Outlines of a Commentary on Solomon's Song. (8vo. London, 1768, reprinted in 1775.)

nature in Eastern countries. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, is of opinion that this song is a regular drama, which is to be explained by the consideration that the Jews were wont to celebrate their nuptials for seven days together, distinguished by peculiar solemnities. He accordingly divides it in the following manner: —

DAY	1	CHAP. i.—ii. 6.
	2	ii. 7—17.
	3	iii.—v. 1.
	4	v. 2.—vi. 9.
	5	vi. 10.—vii. 11.
	6	vii. 12.—viii. 3.
	7	viii. 4—14.

Calmet[1], the late Bishop Percy[2], and Mr. Williams[3] agree with Bossuet. Bishop Lowth, indeed, who has devoted two of his learned and elegant lectures to an examination of this poem, adopts the opinion of Bossuet, not as absolute demonstration, but as a very ingenious and probable conjecture upon an extremely obscure subject. He therefore determines it to be a *sacred pastoral drama*, though deficient in some of the essential requisites of a *regular* dramatic composition.[4]

Bauer[5], however, affirms this poem to be an idyl; the same opinion is intimated by Jahn, who makes it consist of eight idyls[6]: but neither of these eminent critics assign any reasons for their opinion.

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[1] Calmet, Commentaire Littéral, tom. v. pp. 68, 69., or Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 260—262.

[2] In his "Song of Solomon, newly translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary and Annotations." 12mo. 1764.

[3] In "The Song of Songs, which is by Solomon; a new Translation, with a Commentary and Notes." 8vo. 1801.

[4] There is, however, one circumstance in which Bishop Lowth thinks the Song of Songs bears a very striking affinity to the Greek drama; the chorus of virgins seems in every respect congenial to the tragic chorus of the Greeks. They are constantly present, and prepared to fulfil all the duties of advice and consolation; they converse frequently with the principal characters; they are questioned by them, and they return answers to their inquiries; they take part in the whole business of the poem, and it does not appear that they quit the scene upon any occasion. Some of the learned have conjectured, that Theocritus, who was contemporary with the seventy Greek translators of the Scriptures, and lived with them in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, was not unacquainted with the beauties of this poem, and that he has almost literally introduced some passages from it into his elegant idyls. (Compare Cant. i. 9. vi. 10. with Theoc. xviii. 30. 26.; Cant. iv. 11. with Theoc. xx. 26.; Cant. viii. 6, 7. with Theoc. xxiii. 23—26.) It might also be suspected, that the Greek tragedians were indebted for their chorus to this poem of Solomon, were not the probabilities on the other side much greater, that the Greeks were made acquainted with it at too late a period; and were it not evident, that the chorus of the Greeks had a very different origin; were it not evident, indeed, that the chorus was not added to the fable, but the fable to the chorus. Prælect. xxx. *in fine*, or vol. ii. pp. 307, 308. of Dr. Gregory's translation.

[5] Herm. Sacr. p. 386.

[6] Introd. ad Libros Sacros Veteris Fœderis, pp. 506—508. Jahn divides the poem in the following manner: —

SONG	1	CHAP. i. 1.—ii. 7.
	2	ii. 8.—iii. 5.
	3	iii. 6.—v. 1.
	4	v. 2.—vi. 9.
	5	vi. 10.—viii. 3.
	6	viii. 4—7.
	7	viii. 8—12.
	8	viii. 13, 14.

Probably they derived it from Sir William Jones, who, having compared this poem with some of the *cassides* or idyls of the Arabian poets, concludes with expressing his judgment that this song ought to be classed among the Hebrew idyls.[1]

Supported by the high authority of this distinguised scholar, Dr. Good [2], after Signor Melesegenio (a learned Italian translator of this poem), considers the Song of Songs as forming, not one continued and individual poem, but a series of poems, each distinct and independent of the other. These he designates "*Sacred Idyls*," and makes them to be *twelve* in number; viz.

IDYL 1	CHAP. i. 1—8.
2	i. 9.—ii. 7.
3	ii. 8—17.
4	iii. 1—5.
5	iii. 6.—iv. 7.
6	iv. 8.—v. 1.
7	v. 2.—vi. 10.
8	vi. 11—13.
9	vii. 1—9.
10	vii. 10.—viii. 4.
11	viii. 5—7.
12	viii. 8—14.

In support of this mode of arrangement, Dr. Good remarks that the Song of Solomon cannot be one connected poem, since the transitions are too abrupt for the wildest flights of the Oriental muse, and evidently imply a variety of openings and conclusions; while, as a regular drama, it is deficient in almost every requisite that could give it such a classification; having neither dramatic fable nor action, involution nor catastrophe, and being without beginning, middle, or end.[3] But in opposition to these strictures it may be observed, that bold transitions are so much the character of Eastern poetry, that this circumstance alone cannot decide against the individuality of the poem.

Further, the subject of the poem *is the same from beginning to end;* the personages introduced as speakers are the same; and, though to a modern reader the transitions in many places may seem abrupt, and the thoughts unconnected, yet the conduct of the piece is not suspended, but is carried on under a fable regularly constructed, and terminating in a conclusion interesting and unexpected.

With the eminent critics above cited we concur in considering the Song of Solomon as a series of Hebrew idyls, like the cassides of the poets of Arabia. With regard to the fair bride in whose honour this collection of exquisite poems was primarily composed, Bossuet, Calmet, Harmer [4], Bishops Percy and Lowth, in short, we believe

[1] Poëseos Asiaticæ Commentarii, cap. iii. (Works, vol. iv. or vi. p. 71. 8vo. edit.)

[2] In his "Song of Songs, or Sacred Idyls, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes," 8vo. 1803. The Rev. Mr. Fry has adopted Dr. Good's arrangement of the Canticles into twelve idyls, in his translation of this book of the royal poet. London, 1811. 8vo.

[3] Good's Song of Songs. Preface, p. iv.

[4] On the supposition that Solomon married an Egyptian princes, this learned and ingenious writer considers the Song of Solomon as a lively emblem of the Messiah's admitting the Gentiles to equal privileges with the Jews. Outlines of a new Commentary pp. 74—84.

all modern commentators, have supposed the object of Solomon's attachment to be the royal daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. Dr. Good, however, contends, and we think successfully, that she was a native of Palestine, and espoused some years later: it is not easy to believe that so impassionate a composition as the Song of Songs should have resulted from a *state alliance.* "The matrimonial connection of the Hebrew monarch with the Egyptian princess," Dr. Good observes, "was probably, indeed, a connection of political interest alone; for we have no reason to conceive that it had been preceded by any personal intimacy or interchange of affection: the offer was proposed by him on his first accession to the throne, prior to his having received from Jehovah the gift of superior wisdom; at a time when, according to Archbishop Usher [1], he could not have been more than twenty years of age, when he was surrounded by a vast body of opponents and competitors, and when an alliance with the royal family of Egypt was likely to be of essential advantage to him: from which also, as a further proof of his political views in such an union, he received the city of Gezer as a dowry with the princess (1 Kings ix. 16.) — a city captured by Pharaoh from the Canaanites, and rased to the ground, probably from the obstinacy of its resistance; but afterwards re-built by Solomon, and converted into a place of considerable distinction. The matrimonial connection here celebrated, on the contrary, appears to have proceeded from reciprocal affection alone; and from the gentleness, modesty, and delicacy of mind, which are uniformly and perpetually attributed to this beautiful and accomplished fair one, she must have been well worthy of royal love. Instead of being of Egyptian origin, she herself informs us that she was a native of Sharon (Cant. ii. 1.), which was a canton of Palestine. Though not of royal blood, and it should seem from Cant. i. 6. of low extraction in comparison of her royal bridegroom, yet she must have been of noble birth; for she is addressed by her attendants under the appellation of princess or noble lady (Cant. vii. 1.): and though she could not augment by her dowry the dimensions of the national territory, she possessed for her marriage-portion a noble and fruitful estate in Baal-hammon (Cant. viii. 12.), ingeniously supposed by Mr. Harmer to have been situated in the delightful valley of Bocat in the immediate vicinity of Balbec [2], leased out to a variety of tenants, with whose number we are not acquainted, but every one of whom paid her a clear rental of a thousand shekels of silver, amounting to about 120*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* sterling. From the possession of this property it is natural to conceive that her father was deceased; more especially as the house in which she resided is repeatedly called the house of her mother (Cant. iii. 4. viii. 2.), as it was her mother who betrothed her to the enamoured monarch (Cant. viii. 5.), and as no notice of any kind is taken of the existence of her father. She appears to have possessed two distinct families, and, consequently, to have had two marriages: for in Cant. i. 6. the royal bride speaks of an offspring considerably

[1] An. Mund. 2971—2991.

[2] Outlines of a New Commentary, pp. 35, 36.

older than herself, whom she denominates not her father's but her *mother's children*, who seem to have taken an undue advantage of her infancy, and to have behaved with great unkindness towards her. For these she no where expresses any degree of affection; but for an *own* brother and sister, — the former an infant, and the latter considerably younger than herself, — she evinces the tenderest regard of the most affectionate bosom. (Cant. viii. 1. 8.)

"Of the age of this unrivalled beauty, at the time of her nuptials, we are no where informed. Being in possession of an estate bequeathed her by her father, or some collateral relation, she must, at least, have acquired her majority according to the Hebrew ritual; yet, from the circumstance of her brother's being an unweaned infant, she could not have exceeded the prime of life; and from the exquisite delineations of her person by her companions as well as by her lover, she must have been in the full flower of youth and beauty. As to the age of king Solomon, we may fairly calculate it, from collateral circumstances, to have been about twenty-five or twenty-six, and, consequently, that the nuptials were celebrated about the year 1010 before the birth of Christ. At the age of twenty, he contracted his marriage of political interest with the Egyptian princess; and if he had not at this period complied with the luxurious fashion of his age, and opened his harem for the reception of the most beautiful women who could be found, and would consent to live with him, it is obvious that this establishment commenced very shortly afterwards." [1]

Before we proceed to offer any further remarks on the style of this sacred poem, justice requires that we notice another view of it which has lately been given by a learned and ingenious, though anonymous, writer in Dr. Rees's New Cyclopædia, which appears to be a modification of the opinion entertained by Mr. Harmer, above noticed. He regards it as a parable, in the form of a drama; in which the bride is considered as representing true religion; the royal lover as the Jewish people; the younger sister as the Gospel dispensation. The gradual expansion of it, from its first dawn in the garden of Eden, to its meridian effulgence produced by the death and resurrection of Christ, is supposed to be pourtrayed in these beautiful words — "Who is he that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, bright as the sun, and serene as the starry host?" (See vi. 2.) The epilogue in chap. viii. respecting the younger brother and sister, he further conceives, demonstrates that its views terminate in the temple service: while, at the same time, the allusion at the close to the rise of the Gospel and the conversion of the Gentiles, which took place so many hundred years after Solomon, proves that the author wrote under divine inspiration. The metaphorical sense, thus capable of being put upon every part of the poem, the anonymous writer apprehends justifies the high appellation of the Song of Songs, which has been given to it; and also accounts for its being regarded, by Jews and Christians, as a sacred composition, and for its reception first into the Jewish and then into the Christian church. [2]

[1] Good's Song of Songs, pp. xi.—xvi.

[2] Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, vol. vi. article *Canticles*.

From this view of the subject, it is impossible to withhold the praise of learning, piety, and ingenuity; but we conceive the Song of Solomon to have a more extended meaning than this author admits; and we cannot accede to his arrangement and exposition of its argument, for the following reasons: —

It has been a question in all ages, whether the literal and obvious meaning of the Song of Solomon be the whole that was ever intended by the royal bard; or whether it does not, at the same time, afford the veil of a sublime and mystical allegory delineating the bridal union between Jehovah and his pure and uncorrupted church? Michaelis and most of the modern critics on the continent advocate the former opinion; in which they are followed by some eminent critics in our own country [1], but the latter opinion is adopted by most commentators, Jewish and Christian.

Among those who hold it to be allegorical, there is also much disagreement; some conceiving it to be no more than a simple allegory, while Bishop Lowth and others consider it as a mystical allegory [2]; and are of opinion that under the figure of a marriage is typified the intimate connection between God and his church, of which a more concise model was furnished in the forty-fifth psalm. That this view of the subject is correct, we think will appear from the following considerations, principally extracted from Bishop Lowth [3]: —

The narrowness and imbecility of the human mind, he observes, being such as scarcely to comprehend or attain a clear idea of any part of the divine nature by its utmost exertions; God has condescended, in a manner, to contract the infinity of his glory, and to exhibit it to our understandings under such imagery as our feeble optics are capable of contemplating. Thus the Almighty may be said to descend, as it were, in the Holy Scriptures, from the height of his majesty, to appear on earth in a human shape, with human senses and affections, in all respects resembling a mortal — "with human voice and human form." This kind of allegory is called anthropopathy, and occupies a considerable portion of theology, properly so called, — that is, as delivered in the Holy Scriptures. The principal part of this imagery is derived from the passions; nor, indeed, is there any one affection or emotion of the human soul which is not, with all its circumstances, ascribed in direct terms, without any qualification whatever, to the supreme God; not excepting those in which human frailty and imperfection is most evidently displayed, viz. anger and grief, hatred and revenge. That love, also, and that of the tenderest kind, should bear a part in this drama, is highly natural and perfectly consistent. Thus, not only the fondness of paternal affection is attributed to God, but also the force, the ardour, and the solicitude of conjugal attachment, with all the concomitant emotions, the anxiety, the tenderness, and the jealousy incidental to this passion.

After all, this figure is not in the least productive of obscurity; the nature of it is better understood than that of most others; and

[1] Among others by Mr. Hewlett in his valuable Commentary.
[2] On the nature of this species of allegory, see Vol. II. p. 393.
[3] Prælect. xxxi. vol. ii. pp. 312—321.

although it is exhibited in a variety of lights, it constantly preserves its native perspicuity. A peculiar people, of the posterity of Abraham, was selected by God from among the nations, and he ratified his choice by a solemn covenant. This covenant was founded upon reciprocal conditions; on the one part, love, protection, and support; on the other, faith, obedience, and worship pure and devout. This is that conjugal union between God and his church; that solemn compact so frequently celebrated by almost all the sacred writers under this image. It is, indeed, a remarkable instance of that species of metaphor which Aristotle calls analogical[1]; that is, when in a proposition consisting of four ideas, the first bears the same relation to the second as the third does to the fourth, and the corresponding words may occasionally change their places without any injury to the sense. Thus, in this form of expression, God is supposed to bear exactly the same relation to the church as a husband to a wife; God is represented as the spouse of the church, and the church as betrothed to God. Thus also, when the same figure is maintained with a different mode of expression, and connected with different circumstances, the relation is still the same: thus the piety of the people, their impiety, their idolatry, and rejection, stand in the same relation with respect to the sacred covenant; as chastity, modesty, immodesty, adultery, divorce, with respect to the marriage-contract. And this notion is so very familiar and well understood in Scripture, that the word adultery (or whoredom) is commonly used to denote idolatrous worship, and so appropriated does it appear to this metaphorical purpose, that it very seldom occurs in its proper and literal sense.

Of this mode of speaking, the sacred writers furnish us with abundance of examples. Thus the evangelical prophet, when treating of the reconciliation of the church to Jehovah, and her restoration to the divine favour, among many images of a similar nature, introduces the following: —

> For thy husband is thy Maker;
> Jehovah, God of Hosts, is his name:
> And thy Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel;
> The God of the whole earth shall he be called. Isa. liv. 5, 6.

And in another passage in the form of a comparison: —

> For as a young man weddeth a virgin,
> So shall thy Restorer wed thee:
> And as a bridegroom rejoiceth in his bride,
> So shall thy God rejoice in thee. Isa. lxii. 5.

The same image a little diversified, and with greater freedom of expression, as better adapted to the display of indignation, is introduced by Jeremiah (ii. 2. iii. 1, &c.), when he declaims against the defection of the Jews from the worship of the true God. Upon the same principle the former part of the prophecy of Hosea ought also to be explained; and whether that part of the prophecy be taken in the literal and historical sense, or whether it be esteemed altogether allegorical, still the nature and principles of this figure, which seems consecrated in some measure to this subject, will evidently appear.

[1] Poet. chap. xxii. and Rhet. iii. 3.

None of the prophets, however, have applied the image with so much boldness and freedom as Ezekiel, an author of a most fervid imagination, who is little studious of elegance, or cautious of offending. His great freedom in the use of this image is particularly displayed in two parables (xvi. and xvii.), in which he describes the ingratitude of the Jews and Israelites to their great Protector, and their defection from the true worship, under imagery assumed from the character of an adulterous wife, and the meretricious loves of two unchaste women. If these parables (which are put into the mouth of God himself with a direct allegorical application, and in which, it must be confessed, that delicacy does not appear to be particularly studied, according to *our* refined notions of delicacy [1],) be well considered, we are persuaded that the Song of Solomon (which is in every part chaste and elegant) will not appear unworthy of the divine sense in which it is usually taken, either in matter or style, or in any degree inferior either in gravity or purity to the other remains of the sacred poets. To these instances we may add the forty-fifth psalm, which is a sacred epithalamium, of the allegorical application of which to the union between God and the church no doubt has hitherto been entertained; though many suspect it, and not without good reason, to have been produced upon the same occasion, and with the same relation to a real fact as the Song of Solomon. Neither ought we to omit, that the writers of the New Testament have freely admitted the same image in the same allegorical sense with their predecessors, and have finally consecrated it by their authority.

Thus John the Baptist beautifully represents Christ as the bridegroom; himself, as his friend or bridesman, and the church as his spouse. [2] (John iii. 28.) Our Lord also adopts the title of Bridegroom in Matt. ix. 15.; and likewise in the parable of the virgins or brides' maids attendant upon the marriage. (Matt. xxv. 1.) "The Lamb's wife" also, the church [3], is represented as a "bride adorned for her husband" (Rev. xxi. 2—9.), who ought to be "without spot" (Eph. v. 27.), as the Shulamite is represented to be. (Song iv. 7.) And, surely, if this most beautiful pastoral poem had not been understood in a spiritual sense, it would not have been admitted into the sacred canon by the antient Jewish church. [4] Nor is this inconsistent with the opinions of the antient Jews, who, as well as

[1] On the alleged immorality of the language of Scripture, see Vol. I. pp. 432—434.

[2] "In the prophetical book of the Song of Solomon," says Bishop Horsley, "the union of Christ and his church is described in images taken entirely from the mutual passion and early love of Solomon and his bride. Read the Song of Solomon, you will find the Hebrew king, if you know any thing of his history, produced, indeed, as the emblem of a greater personage; but you will find *Him* in every page." Sermons, vol. i. p. 73. 2d edit.

[3] Commentators in communion with the Romish church, not content with considering the Song of Solomon as adumbrating the union of Christ and his church, extend it also to the union of Christ with the Virgin Mary. Such is the notion of the elegant Italian translator, Melesigenio. (Good's Song of Solomon, Pref. p. xxxiv.) In the short preface prefixed to this book in the Dublin edition of the Anglo-Romish Bible (1825, page 596.) it is affirmed, that "the spouse of Christ is the church, more especially as to the happiest part of it, viz. *perfect* souls, every one of which is his beloved; but, above all others, the immaculate and ever-blessed *virgin-mother!*"

[4] Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. p. 400.

Saint Paul and other Christian writers, found the Messiah almost everywhere in the Scriptures. Indeed, they always believed their economy to be peculiarly under the protection of the Messiah, in some one or other of his characters, as the Great Angel of the covenant, the King of Israel, or the Son of God. In particular, they applied to him the forty-fifth psalm (which, of all Scripture, most resembles the Song of Songs): for the Chaldee paraphrase on the second verse expressly says, — "Thy fairness, *O King Messiah!* exceedeth the sons of men." In the same manner they applied the seventy-second, hundred and tenth, and various other psalms, as well as many passages of the prophets.

Bishop Lowth restricts this sublime allegory to the universal church, and conceives that it has no reference whatever to the spiritual state of individuals; than which he conceives nothing can be more inconsistent with the nature and ground-work of the allegory itself, as well as with the general practice of the Hebrew poets. With regard to the Psalms, Bishop Horne (we think) has demonstrated their spiritual application not only to the church generally, but also to believers who compose the individual members of that church; and that the Song of Solomon is to be legitimately and *soberly* interpreted in the same way, it is apprehended, will satisfactorily appear from the following additional observations: —

The church is to be considered as composed of individual believers: and, that there is an analogy between the conduct of God towards his church in general, and his conduct towards individuals, is plainly indicated in many parts of the New Testament. Thus, sometimes the sacred writers compare the whole body of believers to a temple, in which they form living stones, being built on the only foundation, Christ Jesus; at other times, they consider individual believers as temples of the Holy Spirit. (1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. Eph. ii. 20—22.) So also, they sometimes speak of the church as one, — the bride the Lamb's wife; and at other times, of distinct churches or individual believers, as severally married to the Lord. (Rev. xxi. 9. 2 Cor. xi. 2.) In this manner, Saint Paul allegorises the history of Hagar and her mistress, referring to the two dispensations, while at the same time he makes a practical application of it to the consciences of the Galatians. (Gal. iv. 22—31.)

Further, we consider the allegory as designed for the purposes of piety and devotion, which cannot be so well answered without such an application. Though this argument may, at first view, appear weak, it will be strengthened when we recollect the doctrine of the New Testament, that, "whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning;" and that their grand design is, "to make us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus." This shows both the propriety and importance of a particular application of scriptural truths to the circumstances and experience of individuals. Religion is a personal thing; and that professor is a hypocrite, the feelings of whose heart are not influenced by it, as well as the actions of his life.[1]

[1] Williams's translation of the Song of Songs, pp. 113—115. In further confirm-

The fact is, that much of the language of this poem has been misunderstood by expositors, some of whom, not entering into the spirit and meaning of Oriental poesy, have caused particular passages to be considered as coarse and indelicate, which, in the original, are altogether the reverse; while others (as the learned Dr. Gill for instance) have so confounded the literal and allegorical senses as to give neither, distinctly or completely; at the same time, they have applied the figures to such a variety of objects, as to leave the reader still to seek the right, and, by their minute dissection of the allegory, they have not only destroyed its consistency and beauty, but have also exposed the poem to the unmerited ridicule of profane minds.[1] Much, unquestionably, has been done, by later writers, towards elucidating the language and allusions of the Song of Songs by the aid of Oriental literature and manners; but, after all the labours of learned men, there will perhaps be found many expressions which are very difficult to us, both as to the literal meaning, and the spiritual instruction intended to be conveyed by them; and some descriptions must not be judged by *modern* notions of delicacy. But the grand outlines, *soberly interpreted*, in the obvious meaning of the allegory, so accord with the affections and experience of the sincere Christian, "that he will hardly ever read and meditate upon them, in a spirit of humble devotion, without feeling a conviction that no other poem of the same kind, extant in the world, could, without most manifest violence, be so explained as to describe the state of his heart at different times, and to excite admiring, adoring, grateful love to God our Saviour, as this does."[2]

With regard to the style, says Bishop Lowth, this poem is of the

ation of the preceding view of the spiritual design of this sacred Oriental poem, we may observe, that this allegoric mode of describing the sacred union between mankind at large, or an individual and pious soul, and the great Creator, is common to almost all Eastern poets from the earliest down to the present age. Without such an esoteric or spiritual interpretation, it is impossible to understand many passages of the Persian poets Sadi and Hafiz: and the Turkish commentators on them have uniformly thus interpreted them; though in many instances they have pursued their mystic meaning to an undue length. A similar emblematic mysticism is equally conspicuous in the bards of India: and the Vedantis or Hindoo commentators have in like manner attributed a double, that is, a literal and spiritual meaning to their compositions. This is particularly the case with the Gitágovindá, or Songs of Jayadéva, the subject of which is the loves of Chrishna and Radha, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the soul of man; and the style and imagery of which, like those of the royal Hebrew poet, are in the highest degree flowery and amatory. Good's Song of Songs, p. xxii. Kistemaker, Canticum Canticorum illustratum ex Hierographia Orientalium, pp. 23—40. Sir William Jones has given several examples of the mystical or allegorical language of the celebrated Persian poet, Hafiz, in his Dissertation on the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindoos. (Works, vol. iv. p. 227. 8vo.)

[1] The chief error of all the translators of this book, Dr. Good observes with great truth, "results from their having given *verbal* renderings of the Hebrew terms and idioms, which ought merely to have been translated *equivalently;* a method, by which any language in the world, when interpreted into another, may not only occasionally convey a meaning altogether different from what the author intended, but convert a term or phrase of perfect purity and delicacy, in its original import, into one altogether indelicate and unchaste." Song of Songs, p. xxvi. Dr. Good illustrates this remark by some well-chosen examples, which want of room compels us to omit; but the result of its application, we may be permitted to observe, was his very elegant and delicate version, in which, though he adheres solely to the literal meaning, yet he decidedly expresses himself (p. xviii.) in favour of the mystical meaning of the poem.

[2] Scott, Pref. to Sol. Song.

pastoral kind, since the two principal personages are represented in the character of shepherds. The circumstance is by no means incongruous to the manners of the Hebrews, whose principal occupation consisted in the care of cattle (Gen. xlvi. 32—34.); nor did they consider this employment as beneath the dignity of the highest characters. Least of all, could it be supposed to be inconsistent with the character of Solomon, whose father was raised from the sheep-fold to the throne of Israel. The pastoral life is not only most delightful in itself, but, from the particular circumstances and manners of the Hebrews, is possessed of a kind of dignity. In this poem it is adorned with all the choicest colouring of language, with all the elegance and variety of the most select imagery. "Every part of the Canticles," says the learned and eloquent Bossuet, "abounds in poetical beauties; the objects, which present themselves on every side, are the choicest plants, the most beautiful flowers, the most delicious fruits, the bloom and vigour of spring, the sweet verdure of the fields, flourishing and well-watered gardens, pleasant streams, and perennial fountains. The other senses are represented as regaled with the most precious odours natural and artificial: with the sweet singing of birds, and the soft voice of the turtle; with milk and honey, and the choicest of wine. To these enchantments are added all that is beautiful and graceful in the human form, the endearments, the caresses, the delicacy of love; if any object be introduced which seems not to harmonise with this delightful scene, such as the awful prospect of tremendous precipices, the wildness of the mountains, or the haunts of lions, its effect is only to heighten by the contrast the beauty of the other objects, and to add the charms of variety to those of grace and elegance."[1]

The Chaldee paraphrase of this book is a long and tiresome application of it throughout to the circumstances of the history of the Jews. The Greek version of it is tolerably exact; and Bos, in the Frankfort edition of the Septuagint (1709), ascribes it to Symmachus.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PROPHETS.

SECTION I.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROPHETS AND THEIR WRITINGS.

I. *The Prophetical Books, why so called.* — II. *Different Kinds of Prophets mentioned in the Scriptures.* — III. *Situation of the Prophets, and their Manner of Living.* — IV. *Mosaic Statutes concerning Prophets.* — *Evidences of a Divine Mission.* — V. *Qualifications of the Prophets.*

[1] Bossuet, Præf. in Canticum Canticorum, Oeuvres, tom. i. p. 467. 4to. edit.

— VI. *Nature of the Prophetic Inspiration.* — VII. *Antiquity and Succession of the Prophets.* — VIII. *Collection of their Writings, and Mode of announcing their Predictions.* — IX. *Number and Order of the Prophetic Books.*

I. WE now enter on the fourth or prophetical part of the Old Testament, according to the division which is generally adopted, but which forms the second division, according to the Jewish classification of the sacred volume. This portion of the Scriptures is termed PROPHETICAL, because it chiefly consists of predictions of future events; though many historical passages are interspersed through the writings of the prophets, as there also are many predictions of future events scattered through those books, which are more strictly historical. But these books also contain very many passages which relate to other subjects, such as the nature and attributes of God; the religious and moral duties of man; reproofs of idolatry and other sins; exhortations to the practice of true religion and virtue; together with advices and warnings respecting the political state of the country, and the administration of affairs, which in the theocratical form of government were sent to the kings and princes of the Hebrews by the prophets as ambassadors of their supreme monarch, Jehovah. The authors of these books are, by way of eminence, termed *Prophets*, that is, divinely inspired persons, who were raised up among the Israelites to be the ministers of God's dispensations. Jehovah, *at sundry times and in divers manners, spake unto the fathers by the prophets: for prophecy came not of old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.* (Heb. i. 1. 2 Pet. i. 21.)

II. To these messengers of heaven, frequent reference is made in various parts of the Sacred Writings. The term PROPHET, indeed, is of general signification. It was applied by the heathens to all persons who were supposed to be conversant with divine things; and, in conformity to this notion, Saint Paul, in his Epistle to Titus (i. 12.), when citing a passage from a profane poet, calls him a prophet, because the heathens supposed their poets to be inspired. In the historical books of the Old Testament we meet with frequent notice of the *schools of the prophets*, that is, of seminaries, where religious truths, or the divine laws, were particularly taught[1]: for the pupils in these schools were not, strictly speaking, all of them prophets; though God bestowed upon *some* of them the spirit of prophecy, or of predicting future events. (2 Kings ii. 3.) Further, in the Old Testament, the prophets are spoken of, as "*holy men of God*," as "*seers*," and as "*prophets*," in the most exalted sense of the term. The first denomination seems to have been sometimes applied to men of exemplary piety, who assiduously studied the divine law, as communicated by their legislator Moses; who firmly believed in the predictions of good and evil that should attend the Israelites according to the tenor of their conduct; who were observant of the character of the times in which they lived; and who

[1] See an account of these schools in Vol. III. p. 481.

might be able to discern the natural and inevitable consequences of particular actions, without the necessity of immediate inspiration. These men of God, however, received peculiar communications upon certain emergencies. They were divinely appointed to execute some important commissions, and to predict events which were not in the ordinary course of things, but far beyond the reach of human penetration. It was this which sometimes gave them the title of seers. The higher class of prophets were those who foretold important events that were to take place at distant periods; which no human sagacity could foresee, and which were most opposite to the natural conceptions or general expectations of mankind: as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the minor prophets.[1]

III. The prophets, according to Augustine[2], were the philosophers, divines, instructors, and guides of the Hebrews in piety and virtue. These holy men were the bulwarks of religion against the impiety of princes, the wickedness of individuals, and every kind of immorality. Their lives, persons, and discourses were alike instructive and prophetical. Raised up by God to be witnesses of his presence, and living monuments of his will, the events that frequently happened to them were predictions of what was about to befall the Hebrew nation. Although the prophets possessed great authority in Israel, and were highly esteemed by pious sovereigns, who undertook no important affairs without consulting them, yet their way of life was exceedingly laborious, and they were very poor, and greatly exposed to persecution and ill treatment. They generally lived retired, in some country place, and in colleges or communities, where they and their disciples were employed in prayer, in manual labour, and in study. Their labour, however, was not such as required intense application, or was inconsistent with that freedom from secular cares which their office required. Thus, Elisha quitted his plough, when Elijah called him to the prophetic office (1 Kings xix. 19, 20.); and Amos (vii. 14.) tells us that he *was no prophet, neither a prophet's son, but a herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit.* The pupils or sons of the prophets, who lived under the direction of Elijah and Elisha, erected their own dwellings, for which they cut down the timber that was requisite. (2 Kings vi. 1—4.)

The apparel of the prophets was in unison with the simplicity of their private life. Elijah was clothed with skins, and wore a leather girdle round his loins. (2 Kings i. 8.) Isaiah wore sackcloth (xx. 2.), which was the ordinary habit of the prophets. Zechariah, speaking of the false prophets who imitated externally the true prophets of the Lord, says that they should not wear a *rough garment* (Heb. *a garment of hair*) to deceive. (Zech. xiii. 4.) Their poverty was conspicuous in their whole life. The presents they received were only bread, fruits, and honey; and the first fruits of the earth were given them, as being persons who possessed nothing themselves. (2 Kings iv. 42.) The woman of Shunem, who entertained Elisha, put into

[1] Dr. Cogan's Theological Disquisitions, p. 275. *et seq.* Dr. Gregory Sharpe's Second Argument in Defence of Christianity from Prophecy, pp. 1—20.

[2] De Civitate Dei, lib. xviii. c. 41.

the prophet's chamber only what was plain and absolutely necessary. (2 Kings iv. 10.) The same prophet refused the costly presents of Naaman (2 Kings v. 16.), and pronounced a severe sentence upon his servant Gehazi, who had clandestinely obtained a part of them. (20—27.) Their frugality appears throughout their history; — for instance, the wild gourds, which one of the prophets ordered to be prepared for his disciples. (2 Kings iv. 38—41.) The angel gave Elijah only bread and water for a long journey (1 Kings xix. 6—8.); and Obadiah, the pious governor of Ahab's household, gave the same food to the prophets whose lives he saved in a cave. (1 Kings xviii. 4. 13.) Their recluse, abstemious mode of living, and mean apparel, sometimes exposed them to contempt among the gay and courtly: it was, probably, the singular dress and appearance of Elisha which occasioned the impious scoffs of the young men at Bethel. (2 Kings ii. 23.) But, in general, the prophets were regarded with high esteem and veneration by the wise and good, and even by persons of the first rank in the state. (1 Kings xviii. 7.) It does not appear that the prophets were bound by any vow of celibacy; for Samuel had children, and the Scriptures mention the wives of Isaiah (viii. 3.) and Hosea. (i. 2.) But the prophets maintained a very guarded intercourse with the female sex, as is evident in the conduct of Elisha towards his benevolent hostess. (2 Kings iv. 27.)

But, however they might be respected by pious monarchs, the prophets were frequently exposed to cruel treatment from wicked princes, whose impiety they reprehended, and to insults and jeers from the people, whose immoral practices they censured and condemned; and many of them were even put to violent deaths. (Heb. xi. 35—38.) Yet, amid all these persecutions and this injurious treatment, they despised dangers, torments, and death, and with wonderful intrepidity attacked whatever was contrary to the law and worship of Jehovah, contemning secular honours, riches, and favours, with astonishing disinterestedness. [1]

IV. "Prophecy being necessary in the early ages for the preservation of the knowledge of God, in the Hebrew commonwealth prophets were not merely tolerated, as some have supposed, but they were also promised, lest the Hebrews should have recourse to soothsayers who were idolaters, and would seduce them into idolatry. (Deut. xviii. 9—22.) But, that advantage might not be taken of this institution by false prophets, Moses decreed, that impostors should suffer capital punishment; and furnished the judges with two distinguishing marks, by which a false prophet might be known.

1. The prophet, who should endeavour to introduce the worship of other gods beside Jehovah, was to be considered as an impostor; and, as a rebel against their king, to be capitally punished. (Deut. xiii. 2—6.)

2. Whoever should predict any thing which was not accomplished by the event, although he should do it in the name of Jehovah, was to be condemned to death, as an impostor who had presumed to

[1] Calmet, Preface Générale sur les Prophètes, Art. 3. sur la Manière de Vie des Prophètes, &c. Dissert. tom. ii. pp. 308—311.

counterfeit the seal of their king. (Deut. xviii. 20—22.) Hence, it is plain, that the prophets were not sagacious men, whose perspicacity enabled them to foresee future events: for an error committed by such, and unaccompanied by guilt, would never have received from Moses so severe a punishment."

In consequence of these laws, "a prophet ran a great risk in undertaking a divine mission, unless he knew, by infallible proofs, that he had really received the commands of the Deity, and was not deluded by his own imagination. Of the nature of these proofs we are not informed, although some circumstances are recorded, which show that the prophets were certainly possessed of them. For instance, it is mentioned (1 Sam. iii. 7.), that, at first, Samuel did not know the voice of God; and Jeremiah (xxxii. 6—9.) confesses, that it was the correspondence of the event, which assured him that the direction to buy the field of his relative had come to him from God. (Compare also Jer. xxviii. 9.) The proofs, by which Moses was satisfied respecting his divine commission, are recorded at length in Exod. iii. 1.—iv. 17. That the prophets had other means of distinguishing divine revelations from their own thoughts, appears from 1 Sam. xvi. 6, 7. 2 Sam vii. 1—17. 1 Chron. xvii. 1—16. Isa. xxxviii. 1—8. 2 Kings xx. 1—11. Occasionally, the impression made by the revelation was so strong, that it was impossible to doubt of its origin; so that they confess themselves unable to refrain from speaking, as in Jer. xx. 7—10. The means indeed, by which they distinguished their own thoughts from divine revelations, they could not express in words; just as it is impossible to explain to one unacquainted with the subject, how we know the painter of a picture, or the author of a composition, solely by his style. To the hearers and first readers of the prophets their divine mission was proved, either by miracles predicted, and accordingly performed; or, if such were not granted, by the event corresponding with the prophecies: for the prophecies were of a two-fold description, some relating to proximate, others to remote events. Those of the former kind, which were clear, and contained various circumstances of the predicted events, which must necessarily be beyond the reach of human foresight, afforded by their completion a proof to the contemporaries of the prophet, that he was a messenger of God, and that his predictions concerning remote events, coming from the same source with those which they had seen fulfilled, were worthy of equal credit.[1] The accomplishment of these would afford to posterity the proof of his divine mission. This consequence was so evident, that not a few even of the heathens, among whom Cyrus may be mentioned as a most remarkable instance, were convinced by it, and acknowledged that the author of these prophecies must be the one true God.[2] It was necessary, therefore, that the prophets should

[1] Compare 1 Sam. iii. 19—21. where the general knowledge of the fact, that Samuel was a divinely commissioned prophet, is stated as a consequence of God's *letting none* of his words fall to the ground; that is, of the regular fulfilment of his predictions.

[2] The prophets themselves occasionally refer to this evidence of their divine mission, and draw plainly the distinction between the proximate events, by predicting which they obtain credence for their other prophecies, and those more remote which it was their prin-

secure the credence of their contemporaries in that portion of their prophecies which related to remote events by some predictions respecting events of speedy occurrence. This accounts for the fact, that the prophets sometimes predicted proximate events of little moment with as much care as others of far more importance.[1] Compare 2 Sam. xii. 14. xxiv. 11—14. 1 Kings xi. 31—39. xiii. 1—5. xiv. 6, 12. Isa. vii. 4—16.[2] xxxviii. 4—8. Jer. xxviii. 16, 17. xxxvii. 1. xxxviii. 28."[3]

V. In considering the circumstances relative to the Hebrew prophets, the QUALIFICATIONS which were requisite for the prophetic office claim distinctly to be considered: they were two in number, viz.

1. *The first and leading qualification was,* A HOLY CHARACTER.

"As this is the uniform sentiment of Jewish writers, so it is confirmed by the history and lives of the antient prophets, and by the express testimony of St. Peter, that *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* (2 Pet. i. 21.) Though we meet with some instances of wicked men, to whom God, on special occasions, imparted his secret counsels, such as the covetous Balaam, and the idolatrous kings, Pharaoh, Abimelech, and Nebuchadnezzar[4]; yet we may presume, that none but good men were statedly honoured with these divine communications; and especially that none but such were employed as penmen of the Sacred Writings. The declaration, therefore, of Peter, will, doubtless, apply to all the prophetic writers

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cipal object to foretell. Compare Isa. xli. 22. xlii. 9. xliv. 7, 8. Jer. xxviii. 9. — For an enumeration of prophecies of proximate events, and their accomplishment, see Allix's Reflections upon the Books of the Old Testament, ch. 3. in Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. i. pp. 358—361.

[1] The subject of the evidence of the divine mission of the prophets is copiously discussed by Witsius in his Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. c. 15. de notis veræ prophetiæ et veri prophetæ, pp. 132—159.

[2] See an illustration of this prediction of a proximate event and its fulfilment, supra, Vol. I. p. 305.

[3] Professor Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn's Introduction, pp. 313, 315.

[4] The transient vouchsafement of this spirit to bad men, while it answered some special purpose of divine wisdom, admirably displayed the sovereignty of God in using the most unlikely and wicked instruments to serve his own designs, in constraining even his enemies to utter those truths and predictions, which promoted his honour and interest, and sealed their own condemnation and ruin. It magnified his unsearchable wisdom, holiness, and power in compelling the most unhallowed lips to pronounce his pure messages without the least adulteration, yea, with astonishing energy and sublimity. It enforced in the most striking manner the essential distinction between splendid and even miraculous gifts, and sanctifying grace; between the occasional effusions of a prophetic spirit, and the genuine workings of human depravity. These lessons are forcibly taught by the history of Balaam. This noted magician had been allured by Balak, king of Moab, to come to him, with a view to curse Israel, who then lay encamped on his borders. The heathen nations believed that prophets or diviners could, by religious charms or ceremonies, decoy from their enemies their tutelar deities, engage the celestial powers against them, and thus insure their destruction. Thus Homer represents the capture of Troy as depending on the removal from that city of the sacred image of Minerva. The pagans, previously to a military engagement, usually employed a priest to pronounce, at the head of the army, a solemn imprecation against the adverse power. But though Balaam was invited and fully inclined to perform this office against Israel, infinite goodness, power, and wisdom turned the curse into a blessing, by forcing this malignant enemy of his people to announce, in the most lofty strains, their present and future glory, the triumphs of their divine Leader and future Messiah, and the signal destruction of his and their adversaries. We see, in this and similar instances, the singular beauty of the divine conduct; which, by thus inspiring and controlling the minds of sinful men, turned their counsels into foolishness, and made their wrath and wickedness subservient to his praise.

of the Old Testament. They were all men of real and exemplary holiness. The importance of personal piety and virtue in the extraordinary ministers of Jehovah will account for his withdrawing the spirit of prophecy from the Hebrew nation in the latter stages of their polity, that is, from Malachi to Christ; because during this period their religious and moral state was universally corrupt."

2. *The mind of the prophet must be in* A SERENE AND COMPOSED FRAME, *in order to receive the spirit of inspiration.*

"The Jewish doctors tell us, that a mind loaded with fresh guilt, oppressed with sorrow, or disturbed with passion, could not duly receive and exercise this heavenly gift. Accordingly, when David, in his penitential psalm, after the affair of Uriah, prays that the *holy spirit might be restored to him*, that God would give him *joy and gladness and a free spirit*; the Hebrew commentators understand by these expressions, that prophetic spirit, which his guilt and distress of mind had banished, and that peaceful and cheerful frame, which would invite its return. To prove that passion unfitted the mind for the prophetic impulse, they plead the story of Elisha; who being requested by the three kings, of Judah, Israel, and Edom, to inquire of God for them in their distress for water during a military expedition, was transported with pious indignation against the wicked king of Israel; but being willing to oblige the good king of Judah, called for a minstrel or musician, for the apparent purpose of calming his passion, and thus preparing him for the spirit of inspiration. Accordingly, while the minstrel played, we are told, *the hand of the Lord came upon him.* This intimates one important reason why the prophets and their pupils cultivated sacred music; and also why those who composed and sung divine hymns are sometimes styled prophets; viz. because in many cases this heavenly art was not only assisted by, but wonderfully fitted persons for celestial communications." [1]

3. Though prophecy was a perfectly gratuitous gift of God, and independent on human industry, yet it did not exclude APPLICATION AND STUDY, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of a prophecy.

Thus, Daniel prayed and fasted in order that he might know the mystery of the seventy weeks which had been predicted by Jeremiah. (Dan. ix. 2.) Zechariah applied himself seriously to the study of prophecy (2 Chron. xxvi. 5.); and St. Peter states, that this was the employment of the antient prophets. (1 Pet. i. 10, 11.)

VI. Great diversity of opinion has prevailed respecting the nature, extent, permanency, and different degrees of inspiration which the prophets possessed. Not to enter into a useless discussion of conflicting sentiments, we may remark, that the communication between God and man is by prayer, by the word of God, and by his works: in old times it was also by the prophets, and before them by the angel of the Lord, and the proper symbols of the divine presence. Mankind, at first, consulted God by prayers and sacrifices at his altars. After the promulgation of the law from Mount Sinai, and

[1] Tappan's Lectures on Jewish Antiquities, pp. 191—193.

the establishment of the priesthood, we find three modes of communicating the divine will mentioned in the Old Testament:—1. The *Shechinah*:—2. The *Urim and Thummim*; and,—3. Revelation by *Dreams*, *Visions*, by *Inspiration*, or by immediate *Conversation* with the Deity. When these kinds of prophecy ceased under the second temple, according to the Talmudists, they were succeeded, 4. By the *Bath Kol*, or voice from heaven.

1. The SHECHINAH was the sitting or dwelling of God between the cherubim on the mercy-seat, or cover of the ark (Psal. lxxx. 1. and xcix. 1.); whence He delivered His answers in an articulate voice. (Exod. xxv. 22. xxix. 42. Numb. vii. 89.)

2. The URIM AND THUMMIM, which was on the high-priest's breastplate (Exod. xxviii. 30.), was another standing oracle, to be consulted on all great occasions (Numb. xxvii. 21. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6. xxiii. 9. xxx. 7. Ezra ii. 63.); and the answers were returned by a visible signification of the divine will. This oracle was not only venerable among the Jews, but was also celebrated among the Greeks, as Josephus informs us[1], for its infallible answers.

3. Another mode of revealing the divine will was by *Dreams* and *Visions*, by *Inspiration*, or a *Conversation with* THE DEITY.

(1.) DREAMS, or (to adopt the elegant expressions of the Temanite) *Thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on man* (Job iv. 16.), are frequently mentioned in the Scriptures as channels by which the divine will was communicated to mankind. Abimelech was reproved and admonished in a dream concerning Sarah (Gen. xx. 3.); and, to Abraham, by a prophetic dream, were announced the bondage of his posterity in Egypt, and their deliverance, accompanied with the promise of long life to himself before he should be gathered to his fathers. (Gen. xv. 12—16.) The dreams of Joseph, and of Pharaoh and his servants, were divine (Gen. xxxvii. 5. xl. 5. xli. 1.); as also was that of Nebuchadnezzar concerning the fate of many kingdoms. (Dan. ii. 1.) All these were worthy of the divine interposition, and carried the evidence of their divine original by the revelations they made, and the strong impressions they left upon the mind.[2]

(2.) VISIONS were revelations made in a trance or ecstasy, during which ideas and symbolic representations were presented to the imagination of the prophet, when awake, or the future was exhibited as it were in distant prospect. Thus, Isaiah beheld the LORD sitting upon a lofty throne, his train filling the temple, above which stood seraphim, who alternately proclaimed his praises. (Isa. vi. 2, 3.) While Ezekiel was among the captives by the river Chebar, the heavens were opened, and he beheld the visions of God, which he has described. (ch. i.) To this class of divine manifestations is supposed to belong the revelation made to Jeremiah, concerning the girdle which he was commanded to conceal near the river Euphrates, and to resume it after it had become decayed. (Jer. xiii. 1—9.) Indeed,

[1] Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 8. (al. 9.) § 9.

[2] Sharpe's Second Argument in Defence of Christianity from Prophecy, pp. 20—28. Jahn, Introductio ad Vet. Fœd. § 86. III. Witsii Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. c. 5.

it is not credible, that the prophet should have been sent twice upon a journey of such considerable length and difficulty (for the Euphrates is computed to have been eighteen or twenty days distant from Jerusalem), to a very great loss of his time, when every purpose would have been answered altogether as well, if the transaction had been represented in vision. The same supposition of a vision must be admitted in other cases also, particularly in Jer. xxv. 15—29.; for it would be absurd to believe, that Jeremiah actually went round with a cup in his hand to all the kings and nations enumerated in that chapter, and made them drink of its contents. Micaiah, in vision, beheld the LORD sitting upon his throne, surrounded by the celestial host, and all Israel scattered upon the hills. (1 Kings xxii. 17—19.) Other instances of revelations by visions may be seen in Numb. xxiv. 15. Ezek. iii. 1. iv. 5. 12. 15. viii. 1. et seq. Dan. vii. Acts x. 9, 10. 2 Cor. xii. 1—3. Many of the scenes represented in the Apocalypse were in vision.[1] In Job iv. 13—16. there is a description of a vision by Eliphaz the Temanite, which, for sublimity, is unrivalled by any production of antient or of modern poetry. "Midnight, solitude, the deep sleep of all around, the dreadful chill and erection of the hair over the whole body,—the shivering, not of the muscles only, but of the bones themselves,—the gliding approach of the spectre,—the abruptness of his pause,—his undefined and indescribable form, are all powerful and original characters, which have never been given with equal effect by any other writer."[2]

(3.) INSPIRATION was a third mode by which the divine designs were manifested to the prophets; by which term we are to understand "a suggestion of ideas to the understanding, without such representations to the fancy, as the former methods imply. Maimonides, one of the most rational and learned of the Jewish doctors, explains this inspiration to be a divine impulse, enabling and urging the subject of it to utter psalms and hymns, or useful moral precepts, or matters civil, sacred, and divine; and that, while he is awake, and has the ordinary use and vigor of his senses. Such was the inspiration of Zacharias and Elizabeth, who on a very interesting occasion are said to have '*been filled with the Holy Ghost*,' and to have uttered the most sublime acknowledgments or predictions. (Luke i. 41, 42. 67—79.) Such, too, was the inspiration of the antient prophets in general, who '*spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*' This sacred impulse was of a calm and gentle nature, and thus was clearly distinguished from the fanatical inspiration of heathen diviners.[3] But the prophets of the true God were only 'moved,' that is, calmly influenced by his inspiring spirit. This influence, far from suspending, added vigor and elevation to their own reason and prudence."[4]

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[1] Witsii Miscellanea Sacra, lib. i. c. 3. § ix. pp. 19, 20. Dr. Blayney, on Jer. xiii. 4.

[2] Dr. Good's Translation of Job, p. 51.

[3] Virgil in his sixth Æneid represents the sibyl, when the prophetic spirit seized her, as perfectly frantic, as struggling in vain to shake off the deity that inspired her, and as irresistibly forced to utter his dictates. (Æn. vi. 47. et seq. 77. et seq.) Lucan describes the Pythian prophetess in the same manner. (Lib. v. v. 142—218.)

[4] Tappan's Lectures on Jewish Antiquities, p. 199.

(4.) But the most eminent of all the modes of communicating the divine will to man was, a direct CONVERSATION WITH GOD. It is especially recorded of Moses, that there arose no prophet subsequently, *like unto him, whom the Lord knew face to face.* (Deut. xxxiv. 10.) This has been termed the *Mosaical Inspiration:* it was the highest degree, and was characterised by the following circumstances, which distinguished it from the revelations made to the rest of the prophets. 1. Moses was made partaker of these divine revelations, while he was awake (Numb. xii. 6—8.), whereas God manifested himself to all the other prophets in a dream or vision.—2. Moses prophesied without the mediation of any angelic power, by an influence derived immediately from God, while in all other prophecies some angel appeared to the prophet.—3. All the other prophets were afraid, and troubled and fainted; but Moses was not so. To him *the* LORD *spake, face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend* (Exod. xxxiii. 11.), that is, freely and familiarly, without fear and trembling.—4. Not one of the other prophets could utter predictions at their pleasure; but Moses, on whom the spirit of prophecy rested at all times, was free to prophesy, and might have recourse at any time to the sacred oracle in the tabernacle, which spake from between the cherubim.[1]

"In all the cases here described, the prophets could not, without doubting the clearest and most palpable evidence, distrust the truth of the revelations which they received; and, with respect to us, we have ample reason, from a collective consideration of their writings, to be convinced that their inspiration was accompanied with sufficient characters to distinguish it from the dreams of enthusiasm, or the visions of fancy."[2] Though their bodily strength was sometimes overpowered by the magnitude of their revelations, and their eyes were dazzled with the splendour of the visionary light, as in the instances of Daniel (x. 5—9.) and the apostle John (Rev. i. 17.), yet they retained full possession of their understanding, and the free exercise of their reason. The prophetical spirit, seating itself in the rational powers, as well as in the imagination, never alienated the mind, but informed and enlightened it; and those who were actuated by it always maintained a clearness and consistency of reason, with strength and solidity of judgment. For God did not employ idiots or fools for the purpose of revealing his will, but those whose intellects were entire and perfect; and he imprinted so clear a copy of his truth upon them, that it became their own sense, being digested fully into their understandings, so that they were able to represent it to others as truly as any person can express his own thoughts.[3] And if at any time they did not clearly understand the prophetic revelation communicated to them, they asked for an explanation: such was the conduct of Daniel (Dan. ix. 18—23. x. 1. et seq.), and of Zechariah. (i. 9. iv. 4. vi. 4, 5.)

When the various kinds of prophecy above enumerated ceased

[1] Smith's Select Discourses on Prophecy, ch. xi. Witsii Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. c. 7.
[2] Dr. Gray's Key, p. 325.
[3] Smith's Select Discourses, p. 190. et seq.

under the second temple, they were succeeded, according to the Talmudist, by

4. The BATH KOL, *voice from heaven*, or the aërial regions, *daughter-voice*, or *daughter of a voice*; because, on the cessation of the divine oracle, this came in its place as its daughter or successor. Some expositors have imagined, that this voice is alluded to in John xii. 28., but there appears to be no foundation for such a conjecture. Dr. Prideaux, however, has shown, that the Bath Kol was no such celestial voice as the Talmudists pretend, but only a fantastical way of divination of their own invention, like the *Sortes Virgilianæ* among the heathens: for as, with them, the words of the poet, upon which they first dipped, were the oracle whereby they prognosticated those future events, concerning which they were desirous of information; so, among the Jews, when they appealed to Bath Kol, the next words which they heard from any one were regarded as the desired divine oracle.[1]

Some of the adversaries of the Bible have represented the Hebrew prophets as public incendiaries, who perpetually denounced, and frequently brought calamities upon their country, merely on account of religious opinions. For such charge there is no other ground but this, viz. that the prophets constantly testified against idolatry, equally among rulers and people. It will be recollected, that idolatry in the Hebrew nation was high treason against their own constitution and Jehovah their king. Idolatry directly forfeited their territory and privileges: it was an inlet to every abomination; it defeated the great end for which that people was selected; and in their fundamental laws the most destructive calamities were denounced against it. Consequently, the prophets, in boldly arresting this evil, even at the hazard of their own lives, showed themselves to be, not the malignant disturbers, but the truest and most disinterested friends of their country: especially as by this conduct they executed the benevolent commission with which Jehovah had entrusted them;—a commission intended not to destroy, but, if possible, to save that people, by checking those crimes which were pregnant with ruin.[2]

VII. ANTIQUITY AND SUCCESSION OF THE PROPHETS.

Prophecy is one of the most striking proofs of the true religion; and as religion has existed in every age, prophecy equally subsisted from the commencement of the world.

The Jews[3] reckon forty-eight prophets, and seven prophetesses; Clement of Alexandria[4] enumerates thirty-five prophets who flourished subsequently to Moses; and Epiphanius, sixty-three prophets and twelve prophetesses. Witsius, and some other modern critics, divide the series of prophets into three periods, during which *God at sundry times and in divers manners spake unto the fathers* of the

[1] Prideaux's Connection, part ii. book 5. sub anno 107. vol. ii. pp. 328, 329. The Christians, after Christianity began to be corrupted, learnt from the heathen the same mode of divination, and used the Bible in the same manner as the heathen had employed the poems of Virgil. In pp. 329, 330. Dr. Prideaux has given some remarkable instances of this absurd mode of penetrating into futurity. See also Smith's Select Discourses: on Prophecy, ch. 10.

[2] Tappan's Lectures, p. 205. [3] Megillah, c. 1. [4] Stromata, l. 1.

Jewish nation (Heb. i. 1.); viz. 1. Prophets who flourished before the giving of the Law of Moses;—2. Prophets who flourished under the Law; — and, 3. Prophets who flourished under the period comprised in the New Testament.

I. *Prophets who flourished before the giving of the Law of Moses* were, Adam, Enoch, Lamech (Gen. v. 29.), Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Job, and his friends, and Balaam. The prophetesses in this period were Sarah, Hagar, and Rebecca.

II. *Prophets who flourished under the Law*, of whom there are four series.

1. *Prophets in the Desert:* — Moses, Aaron, the prophetess Miriam, the seventy elders. (Numb. xi. 16, 17. 24—30.)
2. *Prophets in the land of Canaan:* — Joshua; an anonymous prophet (Judg. vi. 8—10.), another anonymous prophet who denounced the divine judgments to Eli (1 Sam. ii. 27—36.); the prophetesses Deborah and Hannah; Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, David, Solomon, Ahijah the Shilonite (1 Kings xi. 29. xiv.), Shemaiah (2 Chron. xi. 2. xii. 5. 16.), Iddo (2 Chron. xii. 15. xiii. 22.), the man of God who went from Judah and prophesied against the altar erected by Jeroboam at Bethel, and the old prophet who dwelt at Bethel (2 Kings xiii. 19.), Azariah the son of Oded (2 Chron. xv. 1.), Oded (2 Chron. xv. 8.), who, perhaps, is the same with Iddo above mentioned, Hananiah the seer (2 Chron. xvi. 7.), Jehu the son of Hananiah (2 Kings xvi. 1. 2 Chron. xix. 1.), Elijah, Micaiah the son of Imlah (2 Kings xxii. 25.), an anonymous prophet who rebuked Ahab for suffering Benhadad king of Syria to escape (1 Kings xx. 35—43.), Jahaziel the son of Zachariah (2 Chron. xx. 14.), Eliezer the son of Dodavah (2 Chron. xx. 37.), Elisha, Zachariah the son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21.), an anonymous prophet who dissuaded Amaziah the son of Joash from undertaking an expedition against the Edomites, with an auxiliary army of Israelites (2 Chron. xxv. 7.), Oded (2 Chron. xxviii. 9.), Urijah the son of Shemaiah, of Kirjath-Jearim (Jer. xxvi. 20.), Jonah, Hosea, Amos, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and the prophetess Huldah. (2 Kings xxii. 14.)
3. *Prophets during the Babylonish Captivity:* — Ezekiel and Daniel.
4. *Prophets after the return of the Jews from the Captivity:* — Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who was the last of the prophets as it respects the prophetic office, but not as respects the gift of prophecy, if we may credit what Josephus relates of the high priest Jaddus or Jaddua, and the relation of the author of the second book of Maccabees concerning Judas Maccabæus. (2 Macc. xv. 12.)

III. *Prophets who flourished under the Period comprised in the New Testament:* — Zacharias, Simeon, and John the Baptist, until Christ; and after his ascension, Agabus (Acts xi. 28. xxi. 11.), the apostles Paul, and John the author of the Apocalypse, besides

other prophets who are mentioned in 1 Cor. xii. 28. xiv. 29—32. Eph. ii. 20. iii. 5. and iv. 11., of whom it is not necessary to treat in this part of the present volume, which is appropriated to the consideration of the writings of those prophets who flourished under the Old Testament dispensation, which have been transmitted to us.[1]

VIII. The early prophets committed nothing to writing; their predictions being only, or chiefly, of a temporary nature, are inserted in the historical books, together with their fulfilment. Such appears to have been the case with Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, and others; but those who were gifted with the spirit of prophecy in its most exalted sense, and were commissioned to utter predictions, the accomplishment of which was as yet far distant, were directed to write them, or cause them to be written, in a book. (Compare Isa. viii. 1. xxx. 8. Jer. xxx. 2. xxxvi. 2. 28. Ezek. xliii. 11. Hab. ii. 2, &c.) The predictions, thus committed to writing, were carefully preserved, under a conviction that they contained important truths, thereafter to be more fully revealed, which were to receive their accomplishment at the appointed periods. It was also the office of the prophets to commit to writing the history of the Jews[2]; and it is on this account that, in the Jewish classification of the books of the Old Testament, we find several historical writings arranged among the prophets. Throughout their prophetic and historical books, the utmost plainness and sincerity prevail. They record the idolatries of the nation, and foretell the judgments of God which were to befall the Jews in consequence of their forsaking his worship and service; and they have transmitted a relation of the crimes and misconduct of their best princes. David, Solomon, and others, — who were types of the Messiah, and who expected that he would descend from their race, regarding the glories of their several reigns as presages of His, — are described not only without flattery, but also without any reserve or extenuation. They write like men who had no regard to any thing but truth and the glory of God.

The *manner* in which the prophets announced their predictions varied according to circumstances. Sometimes they uttered them aloud in a public place; and it is in allusion to this practice that Isaiah is commanded to "cry aloud, spare not, lift up his voice like a trumpet, and show the people of God their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins." (Isa. lviii. 1.) Sometimes their predictions were affixed to the gates of the temple, where they might be generally read (Jer. vii. 2.); but, upon important occasions, "when it was necessary to rouse the fears of a disobedient people, and to recall them to repentance, the prophets, as objects of universal atten-

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[1] Calmet, Preface Générale sur les Prophètes, Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 305—307. Witsii Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. cc. 16—21. pp. 162—323. Carpzovii Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. Pars iii. pp. 68, 69.

[2] 1 Chron. xxix. 29. 2 Chron. xii. 15. xiii. 22. xx. 34. xxvi. 22. xxxii. 32. In addition to the information thus communicated in the sacred volume, we are informed by Josephus, that, from the death of Moses until the reign of Artaxerxes king of Persia, the prophets who were after Moses committed to writing the transactions of their own times. Josephus cont. Apion. lib. i. c. 8.

tion, appear to have walked about publicly in sackcloth, and with every external mark of humiliation and sorrow. They then adopted extraordinary modes of expressing their convictions of impending wrath, and endeavoured to awaken the apprehensions of their countrymen, by the most striking illustrations of threatened punishment. Thus Jeremiah made bonds and yokes, and put them on his neck (Jer. xxvii.), strongly to intimate the subjection that God would bring on the nations whom Nebuchadnezzar should subdue. Isaiah likewise walked naked, that is, without the rough garment of the prophet, and barefoot (Isa. xx.), as a sign of the distress that awaited the Egyptians. So, Jeremiah broke the potter's vessel (xix.); and Ezekiel publicly removed his household goods from the city, more forcibly to represent, by these actions, some correspondent calamities ready to fall on nations obnoxious to God's wrath [1]; this mode of expressing important circumstances by action being customary and familiar among all eastern nations." [2]

Sometimes the prophets were commanded to seal and shut up their prophecies, that the originals might be preserved until they were accomplished, and then compared with the event. (Isa. viii. 16. Jer. xxxii. 14. Dan. viii. 26. and xii. 4.) For, when the prophecies were not to be fulfilled till after many years, and in some cases not till after several ages, it was requisite that the original writings should be kept with the utmost care; but when the time was so near at hand, that the prophecies must be fresh in every person's recollection, or that the originals could not be suspected or supposed to be lost, the same care was not required. (Rev. xxii. 10.) It seems to have been customary for the prophets to deposit their writings in the tabernacle, or lay them up before the Lord. (1 Sam. x. 25.) [3] And there is a tradition [4], that all the canonical books, as well as the law, were put into the side of the ark.

It is certain that the writings of the antient prophets were carefully preserved during the captivity, and they were frequently referred to, and cited by the later prophets. Thus, the prophecy of Micah is quoted in Jer. xxvi. 18. a short time before the captivity; and, under it, the prophecy of Jeremiah is cited in Dan. ix. 2., and the prophets, generally, in ix. 6. Zechariah not only quotes the former prophets (i. 4.), but supposes their writings to be well known to the people. (vii. 7.) The prophet Amos is cited in the apocryphal book of Tobit (ii. 6.), as Jonah and the prophets in general are in xiv. 4, 5. 8. It is evident that Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Zechariah, and the other prophets, who flourished during the captivity, carefully preserved the writings of their inspired predecessors; for they very frequently cited and appealed to them, and expected deliverance from their captivity by the accomplishment of their predictions.

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1 Ezek. xii. 7. compared with 2 Kings xxv. 4, 5. where the accomplishment of this typical prophecy is related. Vide also Ezek. xxxvii. 16—20.

2 Dr. Gray's Key, pp. 333—335.

3 Josephus confirms the statement of the sacred historian. Ant. Jud. lib. iv. c. 4. § 6.

4 Epiphanius, de Ponderibus et Mensuris, c. 4. Damascenus de Fide Orthodoxâ, lib. iv. c. 17.

Although some parts of the writings of the prophets are clearly in prose, instances of which occur in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Jonah, and Daniel, yet the other books, constituting by far the larger portion of the prophetic writings, are classed by Bishop Lowth among the poetical productions of the Jews; and (with the exception of certain passages in Isaiah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel, which appear to constitute complete poems of different kinds, odes as well as elegies,) form a particular species of poesy, which he distinguishes by the appellation of PROPHETIC. On the nature of which see Vol. II. pp. 441, 442.: and for some Observations on the Interpretation and Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies, see Part II. Chap. IV. pp. 462—475. of the same volume.

IX. The prophetical books of the Old Testament are sixteen in number (the Lamentations of Jeremiah being usually considered as an appendix to his predictions); and in all modern editions of the Bible they are usually divided into two classes, viz. 1. The *Greater Prophets*, comprising the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; who were thus designated from the size of their books, not because they possessed greater authority than the others.[1] 2. The *Minor Prophets*, comprising the writings of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. These books were antiently written in one volume by the Jews, lest any of them should be lost, some of their writings being very short. The order, in which the books of the minor prophets are placed, is not the same in the Alexandrian or Septuagint version as in the Hebrew. According to the latter, they stand as in our translation; but in the Greek, the series is altered to the following arrangement: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. But this change is of no consequence, since neither in the original, nor in the Septuagint, are they placed with exact regard to the time when their sacred authors respectively flourished.

The writings of the twelve minor prophets are particularly valuable, not only because they have preserved a great number of predictions relating to the advent, life, death, and resurrection of the Messiah, the calling of the Gentiles, the rejection of the Jews, the ruin of Jerusalem, and the abrogation of the ceremonies of the Mosaic law; but especially they have recorded numerous events concerning the history of the kingdoms of Judah, Israel, Babylon, Idumæa, Egypt, Moab, and Ammon. These memorials of events are the more valuable, as very few of them are noticed in the sacred history, and profane history is almost totally wanting for the periods which they comprise. The writings of the minor prophets, therefore, may be regarded as a kind of supplement for the history of their own times and the age immediately following.[2]

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[1] Qui propterea dicuntur *Minores*, quia sermones eorum sunt breves, in eorum comparatione qui *Majores* ideo vocantur, quia prolixa volumina condiderunt. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 29.

[2] Calmet, Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 372—374.

Much of the obscurity, which hangs over the prophetic writings, may be removed by perusing them in the order of time in which they were probably written. Different schemes of arrangement have been proposed by various biblical critics. Van Til, whose order was adopted by Professor Franck, divides them into the four following periods; viz.

I. *Prophets who delivered their Predictions during the Continuance of the Jewish Polity.*

1. In JUDAH and ISRAEL, under *Uzziah*, — Hosea, Amos, Isaiah (ch. i. —vi.); — under *Jotham* and *Ahaz*, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah (vii.—xii.); — under *Hezekiah*, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah. (xviii.—xxii.)
2. Prophets, who delivered predictions against OTHER NATIONS: — against *Nineveh*, under Pul, Jonah; — against *Palestine*, towards the commencement of Hezekiah's reign, Isaiah (xiv. 28. xxxii.); — against *Moab* (xv. xvi.); — against *Damascus* (xvii.), and *Egypt*. (xix. xx.)

II. *Prophets who delivered their Predictions between the carrying of the Israelites into Captivity by the Assyrians, and the first Expedition of Nebuchadnezzar.*

1. In JUDAH, under *Hezekiah*, Hosea and Isaiah (xxiv. lvi.); — under *Manasseh*, Joel, and Habakkuk; — under *Josiah*, Zephaniah and Jeremiah.
2. Prophets who delivered predictions against OTHER NATIONS: — against *Nineveh* under Hezekiah, Nahum; — against *Edom*, Obadiah; — against *Arabia*, Isaiah (xxi.), and Tyre. (xxxiii.)

III. *Prophets during the Babylonish Captivity who delivered their Predictions.*

1. *Concerning* THE JEWS, in Judæa, Jeremiah; in Babylon, Daniel; in Chaldæa, Ezekiel; in Egypt, Jeremiah.
2. Against the ENEMIES OF THE JEWS, viz. against *Babylon*, Jeremiah (l. li.); *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, Jeremiah (xlvi.); and Ezekiel (xxvi.— xxviii.); — *Moab*, Jeremiah (xlviii.), and Ammon (xlix.); — *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, and the *Philistines*, Ezekiel. (xxv.)

IV. *Prophets who delivered Predictions in Judæa after the Captivity.* Under *Darius*, Zechariah and Haggai; — *afterwards*, Malachi. [1]

Although the preceding arrangement has its advantages as exhibiting the order of the prophets, and the kingdoms or nations concerning whom they prophesied, yet it cannot be conveniently adopted for the purpose of analysing the writings of each prophet. The annexed table of Bishop Gray commodiously exhibits the prophets in their supposed order of time according to the tables of Archbishop Newcome and Mr. Blair, with a few variations [2]; and, though the *precise* time, in which some of them delivered their predictions, cannot, perhaps, be traced in every instance, yet it is hoped that this table will be found sufficiently correct for ascertaining the chronology of their several prophecies.

[1] Franckii Introductio ad Lectionem Prophetarum, pp. 39—42.
[2] Bishop Gray's Key, p. 420.

	Before Christ.	*Kings of Judah.*	*Kings of Israel.*
Jonah,	Between 856 and 784.		Jehu, and Jehoahaz, according to Bp. Lloyd; but Jeroboam II. according to Blair. (2 Kings xiv. 25.)
Amos,	Between 810 and 785.	Uzziah, ch. i. 1.	Jeroboam II. ch. i. 1.
Hosea,	Between 810 and 725.	Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, the third year of Hezekiah.	Jeroboam II. ch. i. 1.
Isaiah,	Between 810 and 698.	Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, chap. i. 1. and perhaps Manasseh.	
Joel,	Between 810 and 660, or later.	Uzziah, or possibly Manasseh.	
Micah,	Between 758 and 699.	Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, ch. i. 1.	Pekah and Hosea.
Nahum,	Between 720 and 698.	Probably towards the close of Hezekiah's reign.	
Zephaniah,	Between 640 and 609.	In the reign of Josiah, ch. i. 1.	
Jeremiah,	Between 628 and 586.	In the thirteenth year of Josiah.	
Habakkuk,	Between 612 and 598.	Probably in the reign of Jehoiakim.	
Daniel,	Between 606 and 534.	During all the captivity.	
Obadiah,	Between 588 and 583.	Between the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the destruction of the Edomites by him.	
Ezekiel,	Between 595 and 536.	During part of the captivity.	
Haggai,	About 520 to 518.	After the return from Babylon.	
Zechariah,	From 520 to 518, or longer.		
Malachi,	Between 436 and 420.		

According to this table, the times when the prophets flourished may be referred to three periods[1], viz. 1. Before the Babylonian Captivity; — 2. Near to and during that event; — and, 3. After the return of the Jews from Babylon. And if, in these three periods, we parallel the prophetical writings with the historical books written

[1] Professor Jahn and Dr. Ackermann divide the prophets into four periods; viz. 1. Those who prophesied under Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah; — 2. Prophets whose age has not been recorded; — 3. Prophets, from the age of Josiah to the end of the captivity; and, 4. Prophets who lived after the captivity. The arrangement above given is preferably adopted, as being more simple and comprehensive.

during the same times, they will materially illustrate each other. The second volume of Mr. Townsend's Harmony of the Old Testament will be found of considerable service in studying the writings of the prophets.

For a sketch of the profane history of the East, from the time of Solomon to the Babylonian captivity, illustrative of the Prophetic Writings, see the articles Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Media, and Persia, in the Historical and Geographical Index in Volume III.

SECTION II.

OF THE PROPHETS WHO FLOURISHED BEFORE THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

§ 1. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JONAH.

I. *Title and Author.*—II. *Occasion of the Prophecy of Jonah.*—III. *Scope.*—IV. *Synopsis of its Contents.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 856—784.

I. THIS book is, by the Hebrews, called ספר יונה (SEPHER JONAH), or the Book of Jonah, from its author Jonah, the son of Amittai, who was a native of Gath-Hepher in Galilee. (Jon. i. 1. with Josh. xix. 13. and 2 Kings xiv. 25.) He is supposed to have prophesied to the ten tribes, according to Bishop Lloyd, towards the close of Jehu's reign, or in the beginning of Jehoahaz's reign: though Witsius, Blair, and Bishop Newcome, Jahn, and others, place him under Jeroboam II. about forty years later. With the exception of his sublime ode in the second chapter, the book of Jonah is a simple narrative.

II. It is very probable, that, at the time Jonah promised the restoring and enlarging of the *coasts of Israel* in the days of Jeroboam II., (2 Kings xiv. 25.) when both the king and people were exceedingly wicked, he also invited them to repentance and reformation. But the Israelites still continuing impenitent and obdurate, God took occasion to send him to Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrian empire, to denounce the impending divine judgments against its abandoned inhabitants. Jonah, declining the commission, was cast into the sea from the vessel in which he was sailing to Tarshish, and was swallowed by a large fish; not, says Irenæus[1], that he might be swallowed up, but that, by his miraculous deliverance (preparing Jonah to preach more dutifully, and the Ninevites to hear more effectually,) the people of Israel might be provoked to repent by the repentance of Nineveh.[2] The time of Jonah's continuance in the belly of the fish was a type of our Lord's continuance in the grave. (Luke xi. 30.) The fame of the prophet's miraculous preservation was so widely propagated as to reach even Greece; whence, as Grotius, Huet, Bochart, and other learned men have remarked, the story was derived of Hercules having escaped alive out of the fish's belly.

[1] Adversus Hæres. lib. iii. c. 22. [2] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. [illegible].
[3] See Grotius de Veritate, lib. i. c. 16. in notis. Huet, Demonstr. Evan[illegible],

III. The SCOPE of this book is to show, by the very striking example of the Ninevites, the divine forbearance and long-suffering towards sinners, who were spared on their sincere repentance. From the conduct of the Ninevites, Jesus Christ takes occasion to reprove the perfidiousness of the Jews. (Matt. xii. 41.) The evidence offered by Jonah was sufficient to convince and lead the former to repentance; while the Jews, who had the greater evidence of miracles, and the more convincing evidence of our Saviour's doctrine, continued obstinately impenitent. Some critics have imagined that the prophecy of Jonah is a parabolic history; but from the manner in which the sacred historians and Jesus Christ speak of him (2 Kings xiv. 25. Matt. xii. 39. 41. xvi. 4. and Luke xi. 29.) it is evident that this book is a true narrative of a real person, and that Jonah was a prophet of considerable eminence.[1]

IV. The book of Jonah consists of two parts; viz.

PART I. His first mission to Nineveh, and his attempt to flee to Tarshish, and its frustration, together with his delivery from the stomach of the great fish which had swallowed him. (ch. i. ii.)

PART II. His second mission, and its happy result to the Ninevites, who, in consequence of the prophet's preaching, repented in dust and ashes (iii.); and the discontent of Jonah, who, dreading lest his veracity as a prophet should be questioned in consequence of God's merciful change of purpose, repined at the sparing of the Ninevites whose destruction he seems to have expected. (iv.) No reproof can be more gentle than that given by God to the murmuring prophet (10, 11.) or present a more endearing picture of Him "whose tender mercies are over all his works."

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§ 2. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET AMOS.

I. *Author.*—II. *Occasion of his Prophecy.*—III. *Its Scope.*—IV. *Synopsis of its Contents.*—V. *Observations on its Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 810—785.

I. AMOS is the third of the minor prophets, according to the order adopted in our modern Bibles: he is supposed to have been a native of Tekoah, a small town in the kingdom of Judah, situate about four leagues to the south of Jerusalem. There is, however, no proof of his being a native of this place, except his retiring thither when driven from Bethel by Amaziah, the high priest of Bethel. (Amos vii. 10. 13.) Calmet thinks he was born in the territories of Israel. We have more certain information of his rank and condition in life; for he himself tells us that he was "no prophet, neither a prophet's

prop. iv. vol. i. p. 433. 8vo. edit. Bocharti Opera, tom. iii. p. 742. et seq. Pfeiffer in Difficiliora Loca Scripturæ, Centuria 4. Locus lxxxvi. (Opp. tom. i. pp. 447, 448.)

[1] The reality of the history and prophecy of Jonah is fully proved against the modern neologians by Alber, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ, Vet. Test. tom. iii. pp. 399—407.

son:" in other words, that he was not educated in the schools of the prophets, but was called to the prophetic office from being a herdsman and a gatherer (or cultivator) of sycamore fruit. That he prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah king of Judah, and of Jeroboam II. the son of Joash, we are not only informed from the first verse of his predictions, but we also have internal evidence of it, from the argument or subject-matter of his book. For the prophet describes the state of the kingdom of Israel, particularly in chap. vi. 12—14., to be precisely such as is recorded in 2 Kings xiv. 23. et seq. We further learn from Amos i. 1., that he began to prophesy in the second year before the earthquake, in the reign of Uzziah; which is, by Josephus and most commentators, referred to that prince's usurpation of the sacerdotal office when he attempted to offer incense. Consequently Amos was contemporary with Hosea (though he is supposed not to have lived so long as the last-mentioned prophet), with Jonah, and probably also with Joel.

II. The Occasion on which Amos delivered his predictions, was the oppression of the Jews and Israelites by the neighbouring nations, and the state of the two kingdoms under Uzziah and Jeroboam II. (Amos i. compared with 2 Kings xiv. 25—27. and 2 Chron. xxvi. 6—15.) But as the inhabitants of those kingdoms, especially the Israelites, abandoned themselves to idolatry, effeminacy, avarice, and cruelty to the poor, contrary to the divine command, the prophet takes occasion thence to reprove them with the utmost severity for their wickedness.

III. The Scope of the book is, to certify to the twelve tribes the destruction of the neighbouring nations; to alarm those who "were at large in Zion," living in a state of carnal security, by the denunciation of imminent punishment, to lead them to repentance; and to cheer those who were truly penitent with the promise of deliverance from future captivity, and of the greater prosperity of the Messiah's kingdom, of which we have a particular prediction in ch. ix. 11.

IV. The book of Amos contains nine chapters or discourses, of which Calmet thinks that the seventh is first in order of time: it may be divided into three parts; viz.

Part I. *The Judgments of God denounced against the Neighbouring Gentile Nations:* as the Syrians (ch. i. 1—5.), which see fulfilled in 2 Kings xvi. 9.; the Philistines (i. 6—8.), recorded as accomplished in 2 Kings xviii. 8. Jer. xlvii. 1. 5. and 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.; the Tyrians (i. 9, 10.); the Edomites (i. 11, 12. compared with Jer. xxv. 9. 21. xxvii. 3. 6. and 1 Macc. v. 3.); the Ammonites (13—15.); and the Moabites. (ii. 1—3.)

Part II. *The Divine Judgments denounced against Judah and Israel.* (ii. 4. ix. 1—10.); and herein we have,

Sect. 1. The divine judgments against Judah (ii. 4, 5.) which were literally executed about two hundred years afterwards.

Sect. 2. Against Israel, to whom the prophet's mission was chiefly directed, and to whom we have four distinct sermons delivered by him; viz.

Discourse I. A general reproof and aggravation of their various sins against God. (ii. 6—16.)

DISCOURSE II. A denunciation of the divine judgments, with a particular enumeration of their several causes. (iii.)

DISCOURSE III. A reproof of the Israelites for their luxury and oppression. (iv.)

DISCOURSE IV. A lamentation over the house of Israel, with an earnest exhortation to them to repent, and to seek the Lord; and to abandon their idolatry, luxurious ease, and sinful alliances with their idolatrous neighbours. (v. vi.) In ch. v. 6. the carrying of the Israelites into captivity, beyond Damascus into Assyria, is explicitly announced: see its fulfilment in 2 Kings xv. 29. and xvii. 5—23. The certainty, nearness, and severity of the judgments thus denounced are confirmed by several prophetic visions, contained in chapters vii. viii.[1] and ix. 1—10.

PART III. *Consolatory or Evangelical Promises describing the Restoration of the Church by the Messiah*, first, under the type of raising up the fallen tabernacle of David (ix. 11, 12.); and, secondly, announcing magnificent temporal blessings; viz. great abundance, return from captivity, and re-establishment in their own land, all of which were prophetic of the blessings to be bestowed under the reign of the Messiah. (ix. 13—15.)

In order to illustrate the supernatural character of the predictions contained in this book, they ought to be compared with the history of the times; from which it appears, that, when they were made, the kingdoms of Israel and Judah were in a very flourishing condition. See 2 Kings xiv. 1—17. xvi. 1—7. 2 Chron. xxv. xxvi.; also 2 Kings xiii. 1—9. 23. 10—20. 25. 2 Chron. xxv. 17—24. and 2 Kings xiv. 23—28.[2]

V. Jerome calls Amos "rude in speech, but not in knowledge[3]," applying to him what St. Paul modestly professes of himself. (2 Cor. xi. 6.)

Calmet and many others have followed the authority of Jerome, in speaking of this prophet as if he were indeed quite rude, ineloquent, and destitute of all the embellishments of composition. The matter, however, as Bishop Lowth has remarked, is far otherwise: "Let any person who has candour and perspicuity enough to judge, not from the man, but from his writings, open the volume of his predictions, and he will, I think, agree that our shepherd 'is not a whit behind the very chief of the prophets.' (2 Cor. xi. 5.) He will agree, that as, in sublimity and magnificence, he is almost equal to the greatest, so, in splendour of diction, and elegance of expression, he is scarcely inferior to any. The same celestial spirit, indeed, actuated Isaiah and Daniel in the court, and Amos in the sheep-folds: constantly selecting such interpreters of the divine will as were best adapted to the occasion, and sometimes 'from the mouth of babes and sucklings perfecting praise,'—constantly employing the natural eloquence of some, and occasionally making others eloquent."[4]

[1] An eminent commentator is of opinion that the prophet Amos in viii. 9, 10. foretells that, during their solemn festivals, the sun should be darkened by an eclipse, which in those days was accounted *ominous*, and should turn their joy into mourning. According to Archbishop Usher (A. M. 3213), about eleven years after Amos prophesied, there were two great eclipses of the sun, one at the feast of tabernacles, the other at the time of the passover. This prophecy, therefore, may be considered as one of those numerous predictions which we have already shown have a double meaning, and apply to more than one event. See Lowth's Commentary on the Prophets, p. 453. 4th edit.

[2] Professor Turner's translation of Jahn's Introduction, p. 325.

[3] Hieronymi Præf. Comment. in Amos.

[4] Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. lect. xxi. p. 98.

Many of the most elegant images employed by Amos are drawn from objects in rural life, with which he was, from his avocations, most intimately conversant.

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§. 3. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HOSEA.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Occasion and Scope of the Prophecy.* — III. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — IV. *Observations on its Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 810—725.

I. CONCERNING the family of Hosea, we have no certain information, except what is furnished to us by the first verse of his prophecy, which states that he was the son of Beeri, whom some Jewish commentators confound with Beerah, a prince of the Reubenites, who was carried into captivity with the ten tribes, by Tiglath-pilezer king of Assyria. He prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, and Ahaz, and in the third year of Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and during the reign of Jeroboam II. king of Israel; and it is most probable that he was an Israelite, and lived in the kingdom of Samaria or of the ten tribes, as his predictions are chiefly directed against their wickedness and idolatry. But, with the severest denunciations of vengeance, he blends promises of mercy; and the transitions from the one to the other are frequently sudden and unexpected. Rosenmüller and Jahn, after Calmet, are of opinion that the title of this book is a subsequent addition, and that Hosea did not prophesy longer than from forty to sixty years, and that he died, or at least wrote his predictions, before the year 725 before the Christian æra. His writings unquestionably were, originally, in a metrical form, although that arrangement is now, perhaps, irrecoverably lost.

II. The ten tribes (whom this prophet often collectively terms Ephraim, Israel, and Samaria,) having revolted from Rehoboam the son of Solomon to Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who set up the two idol calves at Dan and Bethel, consequently deprived themselves of the pure worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, and speedily fell into the grossest idolatry.[1] Jeroboam II. the son of Joash, was equally wicked with the first sovereign of that name; and the Israelites were but too prone to follow the bad examples of their wicked kings, especially if their affairs were prosperous, as we learn those of Jeroboam II. were. (Compare 2 Kings xiv. 25—27.) In his days, therefore, Jehovah raised up the prophet Hosea, to convince them of their apostasy, and recover them to the worship of the true God. Bishop Horsley, however, is of opinion that Hosea's principal subject is that, which is the principal subject of all the prophets, viz. "the guilt of the Jewish nation in general, their disobedient refractory spirit, the heavy judgments that awaited them, their final conversion to God, their re-establishment in the land of promise, and

[1] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 656.

their restoration to God's favour, and to a condition of the greatest national prosperity, and of high pre-eminence among the nations of the earth, under the immediate protection of the Messiah, in the latter ages of the world. He confines himself more closely to this single subject, than any other prophet. He seems, indeed, of all the prophets, if I may so express my conception of his peculiar character, to have been the most of a Jew. Comparatively, he seems to care but little about other people. He wanders not, like Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, into the collateral history of the surrounding heathen nations. He meddles not, like Daniel, with the revolutions of the great empires of the world. His own country seems to engross his whole attention; her privileges, her crimes, her punishment, her pardon. He predicts, indeed, in the strongest and clearest terms, the ingrafting of the Gentiles into the church of God. But he mentions it only generally: he enters not, like Isaiah, into a minute detail of the progress of the business. Nor does he describe, in any detail, the previous contest with the apostate faction in the latter ages. He makes no explicit mention of the share which the converted Gentiles are to have in the re-establishment of the natural Israel in their antient seats: subjects which make so striking a part of the prophecies of Isaiah, Daniel, Zechariah, Haggai, and, occasionally, of the other prophets. He alludes to the calling of our Lord from Egypt: to the resurrection on the third day: he touches, but only in general terms, upon the final overthrow of the Antichristian army in Palestine, by the immediate interposition of Jehovah; and he celebrates, in the loftiest strains of triumph and exultation, the Saviour's final victory over death and hell. But yet, of all the prophets, he certainly enters the least into the detail of the mysteries of redemption. We have nothing in him descriptive of the events of the interval between the two advents of our Lord. Nothing diffuse and circumstantial, upon the great and interesting mysteries of the incarnation, and the atonement. His country and his kindred is the subject next his heart. Their crimes excite his indignation; their sufferings interest his pity; their future exaltation is the object on which his imagination fixes with delight. It is a remarkable dispensation of Providence, that clear notices, though in general terms, of the universal redemption, should be found in a writer so strongly possessed with national partialities. This Judaism seems to make the particular character of Hosea as a prophet. Not that the ten tribes are exclusively his subject. His country is indeed his particular and constant subject; but his country generally, in both its branches, not in either taken by itself."[1]

According to this view of the subject, the general argument of Hosea's prophecy "appears to be the fortunes of the whole Jewish nation in its two great branches; not the particular concerns (and least of all the particular temporal concerns) of either branch exclusively. And to this grand opening the whole sequel of the prophecy corresponds. In setting forth the vices of the people, the

[1] Bishop Horsley's Hosea, Preface, pp. vii. viii.

picture is chiefly taken, as might naturally be expected, from the manners of the prophet's own times; in part of which the corruption, in either kingdom, was at the greatest height; after the death of Jeroboam, in the kingdom of Israel; in the reign of Ahaz, in the kingdom of Judah. And there is occasionally much allusion, sometimes predictive allusion, to the principal events of the prophet's times. And much more to the events in the kingdom of Israel, than to those in Judah. Perhaps, because the danger being more immediately imminent in the former kingdom, the state of things in that was more alarming, and the occurrences, for that reason, more interesting. Still the history of his own times in detail in either kingdom, is not the prophet's subject. It furnishes similes and allusions, but it makes no considerable part, indeed it makes no part at all, of the action (if I may so call it) of the poem. The action lies in events beyond the prophet's times: the commencement, indeed, within them; but the termination, in times yet future; and although we may hope the contrary, for aught we know with certainty, remote. The deposition of Jehu's family, by the murder of Zedekiah, the son and successor of Jeroboam, was the commencement; the termination will be the restoration of the whole Jewish nation under one head, in the latter days, in the great day of Jezräel; and the intermediate parts of the action are the judgments which were to fall, and accordingly have fallen, upon the two distinct kingdoms of Israel and Judah, typified by Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi."[1]

The SCOPE of this prophet's prediction is, 1. Partly to detect, reprove, and convince the Jewish nation generally, and the Israelites in particular, of their many and heinous sins, especially of their gross idolatry; the corrupt state of the kingdom is also incidentally noticed; — 2. Partly to denounce the imminent and utter rejection, final captivity, and destruction of the Israelites by the Assyrians (if the former persisted in their wicked career), notwithstanding all their vain confidence in the assistance to be afforded them by Egypt; — and, 3. Partly to invite them to repentance with promises of mercy, and evangelical predictions of the future restoration of the Israelites and Jews, and their ultimate conversion to Christianity.[2]

III. The prophecy of Hosea contains fourteen chapters, which may be divided into five sections or discourses, exclusive of the title in ch. i. 1.; viz.

DISCOURSE 1. Under the figure of the supposed[3] infidelity of the prophet's wife is represented the spiritual infidelity of the Israelites, a remnant of whom, it is promised, shall be saved (i. 2—11.), and they are exhorted to forsake idolatry. (ii. 1—11.) Promises are then introduced, on the general conversion of the *twelve* tribes to Christianity; and the gracious purposes of Jehovah towards the *ten* tribes, or the kingdom of Israel in particular, are represented under the figure of the prophet taking back his wife on her amendment. (ii. 11—23. iii.)

[1] Bishop Horsley's Hosea, Preface, p. xxvi. [2] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 656.
[3] Bishop Horsley contends at great length, contrary to most interpreters, that the prophet's marriage was a real transaction, and a type of the whole Jewish nation, distinct parts of which were typified by the three children, Jezräel, Lo-ruhamah, and Lo-ammi. See the Preface to his version of Hosea, pp. viii.—xxv. Witsius, however, has shown that the whole was a figurative representation. Miscell. Sacr. lib. i. pp. 90—92.

DISCOURSE 2. The prophet, in direct terms, inveighs against the bloodshed and idolatry of the Israelites (iv. 1—14. 17—19.), against which the inhabitants of Judah are exhorted to take warning. (15, 16.) In chap. v. 1—14. the divine judgments are denounced against the priests, the people, and the princes of Israel, to whom are held out promises of pardon in v. 15. which are continued through verses 1—3. of chap. vi. The metaphors used by the prophet on this occasion are remarkably strong and beautiful. The resurrection, the morning, and the refreshing showers, in their season, supply them; in a more immediate sense they denote a speedy and gracious deliverance, but in a remote sense they refer to the resurrection of Christ (compare Hosea vi. 2. with 1 Cor. xv. 4.) and the blessings of the Gospel.

DISCOURSE 3. The prophet's exhortations to repentance proving ineffectual, God complains by him of their obstinate iniquity and idolatry (vi. 4—11. vii. 1—10.), and denounces that Israel will be carried into captivity into Assyria by Sennacherib, notwithstanding their reliance on Egypt for assistance. (vii. 11—16. viii.)

DISCOURSE 4. The captivity and dispersion of Israel is further threatened (ix. x.); the Israelites are reproved for their idolatry, yet they shall not be utterly destroyed, and their return to their own country is foretold (xi.)[1] Renewed denunciations are made on account of their idolatry. (xii. xiii. 1—8.)

DISCOURSE 5. After a terrible denunciation of divine punishment, intermixed with promises of restoration from captivity (xiii. 9—16.), the prophet exhorts the Israelites to repentance, and furnishes them with a beautiful form of prayer adapted to their situation (xiv. 1—3.); and fortells their reformation from idolatry, together with the subsequent restoration of *all* the tribes from their dispersed state, and their conversion to the Gospel. (4—9.)

IV. The style of Hosea, Bishop Lowth remarks, exhibits the appearance of very remote antiquity; it is pointed, energetic, and concise. It bears a distinguished mark of poetical composition, in that pristine brevity and condensation which is observable in the sentences, and which later writers have in some measure neglected. This peculiarity has not escaped the observation of Jerome, who remarks that this prophet is altogether laconic and sententious.[2] "But this very circumstance, which antiently was supposed to impart uncommon force and elegance, in the present state of Hebrew literature, is productive of so much obscurity, that although the general subject of this writer is sufficiently obvious, he is the most difficult and perplexed of all the prophets. There is, however, another reason for the obscurity of his style. Hosea, we have seen, prophesied during the reigns of the four kings of Judah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah: the duration of his ministry, therefore, in whatever manner we calculate it, must include a very considerable space of time. We have now only a small volume of his remaining,

[1] The prediction in Hosea xi. 10, 11. respecting the return of the Israelites to their own country, was partly fulfilled in consequence of Cyrus's decree (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Ezra i. 1—4.); but, in its fullest extent, it remains to be accomplished in the future restoration of the Jews to their own land. This is one instance, among many, in which the language of the prophets is adapted to two or more events. We have the authority of an inspired writer to extend this remark to another part of the same chapter. (Compare xi. 1. with Matt. ii. 15.) Smith's Summary View of the Prophets, p. 177.

[2] Præf. in xii. Proph.

which, it seems, contains his principal prophecies; and these are extant in a continued series, with no marks of distinction as to the times when they were published, or of which they treat. It is, therefore, no wonder if, in perusing the prophecies of Hosea, we sometimes find ourselves in a similar predicament with those who consulted the scattered leaves of the sibyl." [1]

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§ 4. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Genuineness of Isaiah's Prophecies.* — III. *Scope.* — IV. *Analysis of the Contents of this Book.* — V. *Observations on its Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST 810—698.

THOUGH fifth in the order of time, the writings of the prophet Isaiah are placed first in order of the prophetical books, principally on account of the sublimity and importance of his predictions, and partly also because the book, which bears his name, is larger than all the twelve minor prophets put together.

I. Concerning his family and descent, nothing certain has been recorded, except what he himself tells us (i. 1.), viz. that he was the son of Amos, and discharged the prophetic office *in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah,* who successively flourished between A. M. 3194 and 3305. There is a current tradition that he was of the blood-royal; and some writers have affirmed that his father Amoz or Amos was the son of Joash, and, consequently, brother of Uzziah king of Judah. Jerome, on the authority of some rabbinical writers, says, that the prophet gave his daughter in marriage to Manasseh king of Judah; but this opinion is scarcely credible, because Manasseh did not commence his reign until about sixty years after Isaiah had begun to discharge his prophetic functions. He must, indeed, have exercised the office of a prophet, during a long period of time, if he lived in the reign of Manasseh; for the lowest computation, beginning from the year in which Uzziah died, when he is by some supposed to have received his first appointment to that office, brings it to sixty-one years. But the tradition of the Jews, which has been adopted by most Christian commentators, that he was put to death by Manasseh, is very uncertain; and Aben Ezra, one of the most celebrated Jewish writers, is rather of opinion that he died before Hezekiah; which Bishop Lowth thinks most probable. It is, however, certain, that he lived at least to the fifteenth or sixteenth year of Hezekiah; which makes the least possible term of the duration of his prophetic office to be about forty-eight years.

[1] Lowth's Prælect. xxi. vol. ii. p. 96. Bishop Horsley differs in opinion from Bishop Lowth, as to the cause of the obscurity which is observable in the prophecies of Hosea. Bishop Horsley ascribes it, not to the great antiquity of the composition, nor to any thing peculiar to the language of the author's age, but to his peculiar idioms, frequent changes of person, his use of the nominative case absolute, his anomalies of number and gender, and the ambiguity of pronouns. See the Preface to his version of Hosea, pp. xxix.—xliii.

The name of Isaiah, as Vitringa has remarked after several preceding commentators, is in some measure descriptive of his high character, since it signifies the *Salvation-of-Jehovah;* and was given with singular propriety to him who foretold the advent of the Messiah, through *whom all flesh shall see the salvation of God.* (Compare Isa. xl. 5. with Luke iii. 6. and Acts iv. 12.) Isaiah was contemporary with the prophets Amos, Hosea, Joel, and Micah.

Isaiah is uniformly spoken of in the Scriptures as a prophet of the highest dignity; Bishop Lowth calls him the prince of all the prophets, and pronounces the whole of his book to be poetical, with the exception of a few detached passages. It is remarkable, that his wife is styled a *prophetess* in viii. 3., whence the rabbinical writers have concluded that she possessed the spirit of prophecy: but it is very probable that the prophets' wives were called prophetesses, as the priests' wives were termed priestesses, only from the quality of their husbands. Although nothing further is recorded in the Scriptures concerning the wife of Isaiah, we find two of his sons mentioned in his prophecy, who were types or figurative pledges of God's assurance; and their names and actions were intended to awaken a religious attention in the persons whom they were commissioned to address and to instruct.[1] Thus, Shearjashub (vii. 3.) signifies "*a remnant shall return,*" and showed that the captives, who should be carried to Babylon, should return thence after a certain time; and Maher-shalal-hashbaz (viii. 1. 3.), which denotes "*make speed* (or, *run swiftly*), *to the spoil,*" implied that the kingdoms of Israel and Syria would in a short time be ravaged.

Besides the volume of prophecies, which we are now to consider, it appears from 2 Chron. xxvi. 22. that Isaiah wrote an account of *the Acts of Uzziah* king of Judah: this has perished with some other writings of the prophets, which, as probably not written by inspiration, were never admitted into the canon of Scripture.[2] There are also two apocryphal books ascribed to him, viz. "*The Ascension of Isaiah,*" and "*The Apocalypse of Isaiah;* but these are evidently forgeries of a later date; and the *Apocalypse* has long since perished.[3]

II. In the course of the last thirty years the genuineness of many of Isaiah's predictions has been attacked by numerous writers. All those which were delivered against the Gentiles, but especially the last twenty-seven chapters, have been denied to belong to this prophet, and arguments of very considerable weight have been adduced by Doederlein, Eichhorn, Bauer, Rosenmüller, and others, in order to show that the chapters in question first originated during the Babylonian captivity. These arguments have been copiously examined and refuted by Professor Jahn, whose observations may be arranged under the following heads: viz. 1. Proofs that all the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah are really his productions; — 2. An examination and refutation, in detail, of objections against particular predictions;—

1 Gray's Key, p. 365.

2 Ibid. p. 372.

3 Ascensio enim Isaiæ et Apocalypsis Isaiæ hoc habent testimonium. Jerom. Comment. on Isaiah, ch. lxiv. (Op. tom. iii. p. 473.) See also tom. iv. p. 344. The *anabatieon* or ascension of Isaiah is mentioned by Epiphanius, among the books received by Hierax, founder of the sect of the Hieracites, in the fourth century. Hæres. 67. Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. iii. p. 402. For a further account of this apocryphal production, see Vol. II. Appendix, pp. 126, 127.

and, 3. An examination of the question whether Isaiah was the author of chapters xxxvi.—xxxix.

1. PROOFS THAT ALL THE PREDICTIONS ASCRIBED TO ISAIAH ARE REALLY HIS PRODUCTIONS.

i. "The STYLE differs scarcely any in the different prophecies. We find every where the same descriptions of particular objects, and the same images, taken from trees, especially cedars, firs, and oaks; from the pains of childbirth, from history, and from the golden age. The beginning of the prophecy constantly enters into the midst of the subject, and every where poetical passages are inserted; as v. 1—6. xii. 1—6. xiv. 4—20. xxv. 1—5.; so, exactly in the same manner, xlii. 10—13. lii. 9. s. lxi. 10. lxiii. 7. lxiv. 11. Every where the same clearness and obscurity, the same repetitions, and the same euphony of language, are observable. The visions are similar; comp. ch. xxi. and ch. xl. with ch. vi. Even the same phrases occur repeatedly: e. g. קדוש ישראל occurs in the first part *seventeen* times, in the second *twelve* times. תורה, which occurs in all the rest of the Bible only *nine* times, is found in the first part of Isaiah *four* times, in the second, *six*. צאצאים, which is elsewhere only to be met with *four* times in the book of Job, is found here *twice* in the first part, and *five* times in the second. שרון is used in lxv. 10. just as in xxxiii. 9. xxv. 2.: יאמר יהוה, in xl. 1. xli. 7. 21. lxvi. 9. just as in i. 11. 18. xxxiii. 10., instead of which the other prophets say יהוה אמר, or ויאמר. The expressions applied to the Sabæans, נמישך, *stretched out*, or *tall*, xviii. 2. 7., and אנשי מדה, *men of measure*, or *tall men*, are peculiar to our prophet, as well as many others, which we have not room here to specify.—*The sublimity of the style* does not vary more throughout all the prophecies, than is usual in poems which are written by the same author at different times, as, for example, the different Psalms of David; and the style in all, is such as could by no means be expected from writers of the age of the Babylonian captivity. It is granted that style does not depend entirely upon the age, but in some measure upon the cultivated genius of the writer; yet it does not, therefore, become probable that such poems should be composed in the age of the Babylonian captivity, so that we may assert this without any historical testimony or tradition: more especially as we find nothing similar in the writings of Jeremiah or Ezekiel, who wanted neither genius nor polish.—The *language* itself is not the same as that observable in Jeremiah and Ezekiel: it is not probable that any one could have cultivated the knowledge of the Hebrew during the captivity more thoroughly than they, nor is such a state of the language discernible in Zechariah, who is usually cited as an instance of it.—Lastly, *the arrangement* and *method of treating the subject*, are the same in all these prophecies. Chap. vii. contains a prophecy interwoven with a history, which is followed, ch. viii.—xii. by prophecies without titles; so also in ch. xxxix. the prophecy is woven into the history, and prophecies without a title follow. As in the first part there are several prophecies concerning Sennacherib; so also in the second, there are several concerning the overthrow of

the Chaldæan monarchy, and the return of the Hebrews from captivity. As in the vision in ch. vi. we read that the prophet's efforts should not be accompanied by a happy result; so the prophet, ch. xlii. 16. 23. xliii. 8. xlv. 4., and especially xlix. 4. lix. 6., complains that his endeavours had been unsuccessful.

ii. " What is said in ch. lxvi. 1—6. of the temple, does not suit the latter part of the period of exile, in which Haggai and Zechariah speak altogether differently on the same subject. Much less could any one during the captivity write, as in xlviii. 4—8., that the ruin and utter destruction of the city of Babylon had not yet been foretold, when Jeremiah l. li. had plainly predicted it; or speak, as in lii. 4., of the Egyptians and Assyrians as the only enemies of the Hebrews, and pass over the Chaldæans. — The severe reproofs, lvi. 9. — lix. 20. lxv. 11—16.; especially those denounced against the shepherds, i. e. the kings, lvi. 11, &c.; the reproaches not only on account of idolatry, but also of the immolation of children, lvii. 1—13., and of enormous corruption of morals, lviii. 6—9. lix. 1—8., are entirely at variance with the times of the captivity. Then, we might rather expect mention to be made of the prophecies of Jeremiah, as in Dan. ix. 2. and that more should be said respecting the Magians or worshippers of Ormuzd, than that one allusion to the two principles of things, xlv. 7., which certainly were maintained by very many in an age older than that of the captivity.

iii. " Jeremiah shows that he had read these prophecies, seven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, Jer. li. 49—64.; for the connection of the prophecy of Jeremiah contained in Jer. l. li., with the predictions of Isaiah is evident: nor can it be said, that the author of the controverted prophecies of Isaiah, living toward the end of the captivity, had read the book of Jeremiah; for he is an original and independent author, drawing entirely from his own resources, and never imitating others; while, on the contrary, it is well known that Jeremiah had read the older prophets, and borrowed much from them, especially in his prophecies against foreign nations. Some passages have been observed in other prophets also, which have been taken from the controverted prophecies of Isaiah: as, Zeph. ii. 14, &c. from Isa. xiii. 21, &c.; Ezek. xxxiv. from Isa. lvii. 10, &c.; Ezek. xxvi. 20. xxxi. 14—17. xxxii. 18—33. from Isa. xiv. 8—28.; Ezek. xxvi. 13. from Isa. xxiii. 25.; Ezek. xxxviii. xxxix. from Isa. lxvi. 6—9. 24. That Habakkuk is indebted to Isaiah, has been long since observed: compare Hab. i. 6. with Isa. xxiii. 13.

iv. " Cyrus, in his written proclamation (Ezra i. 2.), says, that the God of heaven had given him all kingdoms of the earth, and had charged him to build to Him a temple at Jerusalem. — These words, as well as the acts of Cyrus, namely, his dismission of the Jews to their own country, his grant of a sum of money for the building of the temple, and his restitution of the valuable holy vessels, can only be explained on the supposition that he had seen the prophecies of Isaiah concerning him as Josephus states, and was induced by their

manifestly divine origin, to confer such great benefits upon the Jews. Nor was Cyrus the man to suffer recent prophecies scarcely yet published to be palmed upon him for antient; not to mention that there were many who would have been glad to discover to him the fraud, if any had existed. Neither would Cyrus the Magian, who built nothing but pyres to Ormuzd, have been so easily led to construct a magnificent temple to the God of the Jews.

"It may, indeed, seem strange that the prophet should say so much concerning the return from Babylon, and yet make no express mention of the carrying away. But he certainly does say something concerning this subject, as xxxix. 4—7. vi. 11—13. v. 5—9. xi. 11—16.; and Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, speaks clearly of this carrying away, and of the overthrow of Jerusalem; so that it would seem probable that Isaiah had said more on this subject, which has not been preserved to us. If this were the case, the prophet who sings the glad return, would no more contradict himself by predicting the carrying away, than Jeremiah does, who has predicted both events.[1] — To all this, analogy is said to be opposed, according to which, it is thought, prophets do not foretell such remote events as those concerning the Chaldæans, the Medes and Persians, Cyrus, and the return of the Hebrews, which Isaiah has predicted. But this analogy is by no means universal. Besides, in this objection it is supposed that the Chaldæans, Medes, and Persians, were in the age of Isaiah obscure nations, or entirely unknown; whereas, in fact, the Medes, almost 100 years before Isaiah and Hezekiah, (826 before Christ, 149 after the division,) had, under their king Arbaces, joined an alliance with Belesis the governor of Babylon, and overthrown the first Assyrian monarchy. It is true that the Median anarchy of seventy-nine years followed, but in the tenth of Hezekiah, (728 before Christ, 257 after the division,) they elected Dejoces king, who founded Ecbatana, and whose son Phraortes, (665—643 before Christ, 310—332 after the division,) attacking the new kingdom of the Assyrians, was slain while besieging Nineveh: and under Cyaxares I. Zoroaster found the kingdom of the Medes again flourishing.[2] — Elam was a celebrated kingdom even in the most antient times, Gen. ch. xiv., and it is always by the antient name עילם, Gen. x. 22. xiv. 1. that Isaiah mentions it, and never by the modern appellation פרס, which is given it, Dan. vi. 28. Ezra i. 1, 2. iv. 5. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22. s. The Elamites are mentioned as a part of the army of the Assyrians, Isa. xxii. 6., which prophecy is certainly Isaiah's, as appears from v. 8—11. compared with 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5. Esarhaddon sent some Elamites among his other colonists to Samaria. (Ezra iv. 9. s.) At a later period Jeremiah, ch. xxv. 25. xlix. 24, &c.

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[1] Prophets are not, like historians, confined to the order of chronology in announcing future events. This is plain from their writings, which always give perspective views. Zechariah predicted a kingdom for the high priest, without noticing the destruction of the Persian monarchy and the division of the Greek power. Isaiah foretold the return of the Israelites from the Assyrian captivity, without saying any thing of the intervening revolutions by the Chaldæans, Medes, and Persians. In prophecy the more remote events are often introduced, while the intermediate are unnoticed.

[2] Comp. Prideaux, Conn. Part I. Book I.

mentions Elam among the powerful kingdoms which should be conquered by the Chaldæans, and Ezekiel, ch. xxxii. 24. beholds Elam overthrown. — It is only by a long succession of time and victories, that nations are enabled to conquer the surrounding people, and spread themselves so widely as to obtain sufficient celebrity to intitle them to an eminent place in history. It was not, therefore, in a short space of time that the Chaldæans, Medes, and Elamites or Persians, emerged from their obscurity into so great a light, as to become conspicuous to the world when before they had been utterly unknown. If, then, Isaiah foretells the overthrow of the Chaldæans by the Medes and Elamites, his prophecy in that age would have been neither more nor less obscure than Zechariah's (ix. 13.) concerning the wars of the Jews against the Greeks in Syria. Isaiah might easily have used the name *Cyrus*, כורש (or Koresh), xliv. 28. xlv. 1., since it means nothing more than *king*; for in the language of the the Parsees KHOR means the *sun*, and SCHID, *splendour*, whence is compounded KORSCHID, *the splendour of the sun*, and with the addition of the word PAE or PAI, *habitation*, KORSCHIDPAI, *the habitation of the splendour of the sun*, which was a customary appellation of the kings of Persia. This appellation corrupted into כורש, (Koresh), might become known to the Hebrews by means of merchants travelling between Judæa and Persia; and Isaiah, who did not hesitate to call Cyrus *the anointed*, משיח, may have called him by the appellative of the kings of Persia, which became afterwards the proper name of that particular king." [1]

2. EXAMINATION AND REFUTATION OF OBJECTIONS AGAINST PARTICULAR PREDICTIONS OF ISAIAH.

These may be referred to three heads; viz. i. Prophecies against the Egyptians, Elamites, Idumæans, &c.; — ii. The prophecies against Tyre; — and, iii. The prophecy concerning the subversion of the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, and the return of the Hebrews from captivity.

i. *Prophecies against the Egyptians, Elamites, Idumæans, &c.*

(1.) " Some have said that the passage in Isa. ii. 2—4. is inserted by mistake by the person whom they suppose to have collected the several prophecies into this one book, about the end of the Babylonish captivity; but others have already remarked that this passage may have been taken by Isaiah from Micah iv. 1—8., or by Micah from Isaiah, or by both from some more antient prophecy.

(2.) " Chapters xi. and xii. have been supposed not to belong to Isaiah, because in ch. xi. 11—16., the very distant event of the return of the Israelites from Assyria and Egypt and other regions, is predicted. But this return was predicted also by Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, by Hosea, and by Amos.

(3.) " The prophecy chapters xv. xvi. is thought to have been written three years before the devastation of Moab by Nebuchadnezzar, xiv. 13, &c., because Zephaniah ii. 8, &c. and Jeremiah ch. xlviii. threaten the Moabites with the same calamity. But who can show

[1] Prof. Turner's and Mr. Whittingham's translation of Jahn's Introduction, pp. 346—350.

that Isaiah did not speak of another calamity to be inflicted upon them by the Assyrians? or who would suppose that the Assyrians spared the Moabites? Their country was devastated, therefore, as Isaiah foretold, by the Assyrians, and then *again* by the Chaldæans, of whom Zephaniah and Jeremiah prophesied. That this prophecy of Isaiah was much older than the time of Jeremiah, is certain; for Jeremiah, ch. xlviii. borrows many ideas from it, as must be evident to every one who compares the two. That it is the production of Isaiah himself, is shown by the time of its fulfilment being stated, which is according to Isaiah's usual practice. See vii. 14—17. viii. 4.

(4.) "No other reason is brought to prove that the passage ch. xix. 18—25. is not Isaiah's, than this, that in the same chapter, ver. 1—15., a prophecy of the calamity of Egypt had preceded, whereas ver. 18—25. predict prosperity. But this is nothing more than is common with the prophets—to promise better fortune after predicting calamity. As the Egyptians are called, ver. 25., the people of JEHOVAH, and the Assyrians, the work of the hands of JEHOVAH, the prophecy must necessarily have been the production of a Hebrew, and it is much more probable that Isaiah should have written it, than any more modern author.

(5.) "Isa. xxii. 1—14. is rejected as spurious because the Elamites are mentioned, ver. 6.; but from a comparison of ver. 8—11. with 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5. and Isa. vii., it appears that the subject is the irruption of Sennacherib: the mention of the Elamites, therefore, must be at least as old as the time of Isaiah: why, then, seek for any other author than Isaiah, who is mentioned in the title of the prophecy?

(6.) "They who contend that it is not natural that Isaiah should have uttered so many prophecies concerning the irruption of Sennacherib alone, do not consider that this event was one of great importance, and contributed very much to confirm the Hebrews in their religion, so that it well deserved a multitude of prophetic notices. The style and construction, too, confirm the opinion that they are productions of Isaiah, since they do not differ more from each other in this respect, than do the various Conferences of Hariri, or the different Psalms of David.

(7.) "The prophecy, Isa. xxiv.—xxvii., is referred to a more recent date, on account of the frequent occurrence of paronomasiæ. Now we know that these are considered singular beauties in the Oriental style, and that Micah, the contemporary of Isaiah, makes frequent use of them, so that they are no proof of a recent date. Besides, Isaiah himself elsewhere frequently uses paronomasiæ. See Isa. i. 7. 23. iii. 1. 5. vii. 7, 8. 22. s. xxix. 16.; compare Hos. i. 4. s. v. 1. and Mic. i. 14. s. iii. 12. iv. 10.

(8.) "The xxxivth chapter of Isaiah, in which the devastation of Idumæa is predicted, is thought to be of later origin, because the same devastation is predicted by Jeremiah xlix. 7. ss., and by Ezekiel xxv. 12. ss., and after a long time was first effected by Nebuchadnezzar, which is thought to be too distant from the time of the prophet. But it has not been disproved that Isaiah is speaking, ch. xxxiv., of another calamity, to be inflicted on Idumæa by the Assyrians, of which Amos, ch. i. 11—15., had spoken before him.

(9.) "The xxxvth chapter of Isaiah is entirely destitute of any thing which could give countenance to the supposition of a more recent origin, and ver. 8. compared with 2 Kings xvii. 25. proves it to belong to the age of Hezekiah."[1]

ii. *The Prophecy against Tyre.* Isa. xxiii.

"The prophecy concerning the destruction of Tyre by the Chaldæans, Isa. xxiii., points out its own age in ver. 13., where the Chaldæans are said to be a recent nation, to whom a district of country lying on the Euphrates had been assigned by the Assyrians, who must, consequently, have been at that time the prevailing power. For as Habakkuk also, who lived under Manasseh, asserts (i. 6.) that the Chaldæans were a late people, who were endeavouring to possess themselves of the territories of others, it is plain that the time of the delivery of the prophecy in Isa. xxiii. could not have been far distant from that of Habakkuk. It is, indeed, uncertain whether Isaiah lived till the reign of Manasseh; but as the Chaldæans made frequent irruptions out of their own settlements in the eastern and northern parts of Armenia into the more southern territories, during a long period of time, without doubt these incursions had begun as early as the latter years of the reign of Hezekiah, since the kingdom of Assyria was at that time so much weakened by the assassination of Sennacherib and the intestine tumults which followed that event, as to afford a sufficient inducement for such expeditions. — Without sufficient reason also is it asserted that the 70 years mentioned Isa. xxiii. 10. are a prophetic number taken from Jeremiah xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10., and that therefore the whole prophecy must be later than the time of Jeremiah. If either of the prophets borrowed this number from the other, it is certainly more reasonable to conclude that Jeremiah, who, we know, has borrowed from prophets more antient than himself, took it from the prophecy of Isaiah, than that the author of this prophecy, who every where else appears to rely solely upon his own resources, was indebted for it to Jeremiah. What confirms this conclusion is, that particular specifications of time are altogether in character with Isaiah's manner. The distance of the event predicted is no objection; for Amos had, before the time of Isaiah, denounced the destruction of Tyre. — The Chaldaisms, Isa. xxiii. 11. לְשַׁמֵּד מְעֻזֶּיהָ, will disappear, if we point the words לְשַׁמֵּד מְעַזְּנֶיהָ, *to destroy her weakened* or *expelled ones.*"[2]

iii. *Prophecies concerning the Subversion of the Chaldæo-Babylonian Empire, and the Return of the Hebrews from Captivity.* (Isa. xiii. 1—14. 23. xxi. and xl.—lxvi.)

These predictions, it has been affirmed, must have been written in the time of the Babylonish captivity, for the following reasons; viz.

(1.) "*The difference of style:* for in the last twenty-seven chapters, the better part of the people is distinguished as *the servant* or *worshipper of* JEHOVAH, xli. 8, 9. xlii. 1, &c. xliv. 1. xlviii. 12. 20. xlix. 7. lii. 13., which is not the case in the former part of the book. — Idolatry is exposed to derision and contempt, xl. 19, 20. xliv. 9—17. xlvi. 5—7.,

[1] Jahn's Introduction by Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham, pp. 352, 353.
[2] Ibid. p. 354.

an exhibition not to be found in those passages of the former part; e. g. ii. 19., wherein idolatry is reprehended. — The accomplishment of former prophecies is frequently noticed, xli. 21—24. 26—29. xliv. 6. s. xlv. 21. xlviii. 5., which argues a modern author, and is not to be found in the first part. — Lastly, words and phrases of frequent occurrence in the first part are not discoverable in the second."

To this objection Professor Jahn replies, that "the language, style, and composition are certainly not such as *must necessarily* be referred to the time of the captivity, and *could not* have been produced by Isaiah. On the contrary, the purity of the language, the sublimity of the style, and the elegance of the composition, are such as could not be expected from the leaden age of Hebrew literature; but show their origin to have been in the silver age. The difference of style in the two parts is not greater than the difference of Micah i.—v. from vi. vii., and is less than that which may be observed in Hosea i. iii. compared with ii. iv.—xiv., or in Amos i.—vi. compared with vii. viii., or in the different psalms of David. The occurrence of some words or phrases not to be found in the other writings of the age of Isaiah, proves nothing: for it is not to be expected that in the small remains of Hebrew literature, all the words and phrases of any particular age should repeatedly occur. Yet there are in the writings in question exceedingly few words or phrases of this kind.[1] — On the contrary, the accustomed vehemence of Isaiah, the same dismemberment of objects, and the same antithesis between Jacob and Israel, are observable in both parts of these prophecies. All the difference is, that the prophet in the first part was censuring wickedness, in the latter endeavours rather to teach and console, as the nature of his subject required: yet even here he sometimes inveighs against different vices, lvi. 9.—lvii. 12. lviii. 1—7. lix. 1—8. lxv. 11—14. If Isaiah wrote these prophecies in the latter years of his life, it is easy to conceive that the prophet, now old, (in the time of Manasseh, as appears from every part of these prophecies,) filled with consolatory prospects, chose rather to teach than to rebuke: but it was peculiarly proper for a teacher to address the people as the servant of God, to distinguish the better part of the nation, and to illustrate the madness of idolatry; which last, however, he had done in the first part, not only ch. ii. 18. s., but also ii. 8. viii. 19. 21., although with more brevity than in the latter part. The notice of the fulfilment of former prophecies was especially adapted to convey instruction, whether the author refers to the carrying away of the ten tribes, or to the deliverance of the Jews from the Assyrians, or to some other more ancient predictions: this, therefore, is no proof a modern date. Such remarks do not occur in the first part of the book, because there the prophet neither teaches nor consoles, but reproves. — The occurrence of certain phrases in one part which are not to be found in the other might prove a differ-

[1] In his larger German Introduction, Prof. Jahn "declares that after repeated perusals, he can find only two such words: צִיָּה, ch. lvi. 14. lxiii. 1. which occurs elsewhere only in Jer. ii. 20. x viii. 12. but yet is not Aramæan; and סִגְנִים, which is found in Isa. xli. 25. and elsewhere only in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, but which cannot be a very modern word, as it was in use among the Assyrians. See Ezek. xxiii. 6. 12. 23. — Einleit. S. 485." *Note of Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham.*

ence of authors, if the genius of Isaiah were dry and barren; but not otherwise."

(2.) "*The particularity of the prophecies, and the distance of the events from the time of their prediction.*

"In the age of Isaiah there was no Chaldæan monarchy, nor were the Medes and Elamites, who are predicted to be the destroyers of the Chaldæan monarchy, nations of any celebrity. From the fourteenth year of Hezekiah to the founding of that monarchy was ninety years: it was one hundred and fifteen to the birth of Cyrus, who was appointed general of the Median army in the one hundred and fifty-fifth year after Hezekiah, and it was not until the one hundred and seventy-sixth year that he overthrew the Chaldæan monarchy. Yet our prophet so long before sees Judæa and Jerusalem devastated by the Chaldæans, xlv. 26—28.; discerns the kingdom which had brought such destruction upon Judæa verging to its ruin, and its enemies already rushing from the north, xlii. 14. xli. 2. 25.: and even designates Cyrus twice by his very name as the deliverer of the Hebrews, xliv. 28. xlv. 1."

In answer to this objection, it is urged by Jahn, that "the particularity of the predictions to be accomplished at a period so distant is indeed extraordinary: but the prophet frequently recommends this very circumstance to the attention of the reader as something remarkable; whence it appears that even in his age it seemed incredible to many, and therefore the fact that the remoteness of the fulfilment is noticed in these prophecies, is a proof of the antiquity of their author. —It has already been shown that the Chaldæans, Medes and Persians, or Elamites, were not in the time of Isaiah such obscure nations as that the prophet, when speaking of them, could not have been understood as far as was necessary. That the prophets have sometimes spoken of very remote events has been already proved by several examples, some of which were even afforded by Isaiah himself: to these may be added, that in this same second part, Jesus the Messiah is predicted, ch. lii. 13.—liii. 12., a passage so clear that all attempts to explain it of any other are perfectly vain and fruitless. Compare also ch. lv. 1—5. Indeed, in his very first vision, ch. vi., the prophet foresees the entire devastation of Judæa, and the subsequent restoration. Lastly, the propagation of religion, predicted in the same second part, was itself exceedingly distant from the end of the Babylonian captivity; so that even allowing, for argument's sake, the hypothesis concerning the recent origin of these prophecies to be correct, there will yet remain a prophecy verified in a remote posterity, the Hebrew people, and more particularly the better part of that people, being pointed out as the instruments of its completion. — It is certainly true that the prophet discerns the hostile kingdom of the Chaldæo-Babylonians, the cities of Judæa overthrown, the ruins of Jerusalem, and the downfall of the Chaldæan monarchy, and names not only the Medes and Elamites, but even Cyrus himself. But that Isaiah, receiving such revelations in the time of Hezekiah or Manasseh, might so totally have lost himself in the contemplation of a very distant period, as to forget the present and write only of the future,

will not be denied by any one who has observed that Micah, Joel, Habakkuk, and Nahum are altogether conversant with far distant ages. And Isaiah himself warns his reader of this, ch. xl. 1. xli. 7. 21. lxvi. 9., by the expression יאמר יהוה, *the* LORD WILL *say*. Compare Isa. xliv. 5."

(3.) "*The prophecies of events as far as the time of Cyrus are clear and perspicuous; but those which refer to later times are obscure; hence it may be concluded that the author was contemporary with Cyrus.* — For if it had pleased God to grant such very clear prophecies in times so far remote, and even to reveal the name of Cyrus; why is it said, ch. xlv. 14., that the Hebrews, after their return to their country, should participate in the commerce of the Cushites and Sabæans, when, as is evident from Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi, the event was not so? Nor were the great promises made, ch. lx. 6—10., ever fulfilled. The contemporaries of Isaiah certainly never could have been able to discern that those things which were prophesied concerning Cyrus should be literally fulfilled, but the others only in part, and figuratively."

To this objection Jahn answers, "That the prophecies relating to times anterior to Cyrus should be the more perspicuous, but those referring to more distant periods the more obscure, is not to be wondered at; for in visions, as in prospects, the more distant objects appear the more indistinctly marked. — That the Cushites and Sabæans formerly carried on a considerable commerce and brought merchandize to the Hebrews even after the captivity, cannot be doubted: nor were the Hebrews of that time so universally poor as is pretended; for, Hag. i., they built ceiled houses, and supplied funds for the building of the temple, and, in the time of Nehemiah, even for the fortifications of Jerusalem. Besides, these passages relate not so much to commercial intercourse with these people, as to their conversion to the worship of the true God. That not a few of them did embrace Judaism, and visit the temple of Jerusalem, as is predicted ch. lx. 6—10., is certain from Acts ii. 10, 11. and viii. 27." [1]

3. EXAMINATION OF THE QUESTION WHETHER ISAIAH WAS THE AUTHOR OF CHAPTERS xxxvi.—xxxix.?

These "chapters agree verbally in most respects with 2 Kings xviii. 13.—xx. 19.; yet in some they differ. Thus the song of Hezekiah, Isaiah xxxviii. 9—20. is wanting in 2 Kings: on the contrary, the reconciliation of Hezekiah with Sennacherib, 2 Kings xviii. 14—16., is wanting in Isaiah. What we read, 2 Kings xx. 7. s., concerning the lump of figs to be placed upon the boil of Hezekiah, is, in Isa. xxxviii., introduced where it does not belong: its natural place would have been after ver. 6. There are also some other discrepancies of less moment, which it is unnecessary to adduce. From all this it appears that the text of these two passages is so different and yet so similar, that both would seem to have been taken from one common source, namely, from the history of Hezekiah, which Isaiah wrote, 2 Chron. xxxii. 32. The speeches of the ambassadors of Sennacherib, of Hezekiah, and of Isaiah, and the attention paid to minute

[1] Jahn's Introduction by Prof. Turner and Mr. Whittingham, pp. 355—358.

circumstances, show that the narration was written by a contemporary witness who was himself concerned, as it is certain that Isaiah was, in the transactions which he has recorded. The words פחת and יהודית, which occur in the narration, are not more recent than the time of Isaiah, and even if פחת were of Aramæan origin, that would not be a proof of a modern date, since some exotic words had already been introduced into the Hebrew language, in the time of Isaiah, as may be observed in the writings of Hosea and Amos. The word יהודית has not in this place the signification which it acquired after the captivity, but designates the Hebrew language, which at that time flourished only in the kingdom of Judah."[1]

III. The Scope of Isaiah's predictions is three-fold; viz.

1. *To detect, reprove, and condemn the sins of the Jewish people especially*, and also the iniquities of the ten tribes of Israel, and the abominations of many Gentile nations and countries; denouncing the severest judgments against all sorts and degrees of persons, whether Jews or Gentiles.

2. *To invite persons of every rank and condition*, both Jews and Gentiles, to repentance and reformation, by numerous promises of pardon and mercy. It is worthy of remark that no such promises are intermingled with the denunciations of divine vengeance against Babylon, although they occur in the threatenings against every other people.

3. *To comfort all the truly pious* (in the midst of all the calamities and judgments denounced against the wicked) with prophetic promises of the true Messiah.[2] These predictions "seem almost to anticipate the Gospel history, so clearly do they foreshow the divine character of Christ (ch. vii. 14. compared with Matt. i. 18—23. and Luke i. 27—35.; vi. ix. 6. xxxv. 4. xl. 5. 9, 10. xlii. 6—8. lxi. 1. compared with Luke iv. 18. lxii. 11. lxiii. 1—4.); his miracles (ch. xxxv. 5, 6.); his peculiar qualities and virtues (ch. ix. 2, 3. xl. 11. xliii. 1—3.); his rejection (ch. vi. 9—12. viii. 14, 15. liii. 3.); and sufferings for our sins (ch. l. 6. liii. 4—11.)[3]; his death, burial (ch. liii. 8, 9.), and victory over death (ch. xxv. 8. liii. 10—12.); and, lastly, his final glory (ch. xlix. 7. 22, 23. lii. 13—15. liii. 4, 5.), and the establishment, increase (ch. ii. 2—4. ix. 7. xlii. 4. xlvi. 13.), and perfection (ch. ix. 2. 7. xi. 4—10. xvi. 5. xxix. 18—24. xxxii. 1. xl. 4, 5. xlix. 9—13. li. 3—6. lii. 6—10. lv. 1—3. lix. 16—21. lx. lxi. 1—5. lxv. 25.) of his kingdom; each specifically pointed out, and

[1] Jahn's Introduction, p. 359. Bishop Lowth considers the narrative-chapters in Isaiah as a different copy of the relation in the second book of Kings, the account of Hezekiah's sickness only excepted. The difference of the two copies, he is of opinion, is little more than what has manifestly arisen from the mistakes of transcribers: they mutually correct each other; and most of the mistakes may be perfectly rectified by a collation of the two copies with the assistance of the antient versions. Some few sentences, or members of sentences, are omitted in this copy of Isaiah, which are found in the other copy of the book of Kings; but he doubts whether these omissions were made by design or by mistake. Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 237.

[2] The scope of Isaiah's prophecies above given, is abridged from Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 616.

[3] The Ethiopian eunuch appears to have been made a proselyte by Saint Philip's explication of this chapter. Vide Acts viii. 32. The whole of it is so minutely descriptive of Christ's passion, that a famous Rabbi, likewise, on reading it, was converted from Judaism. — Who, indeed, can resist its evidence?

pourtrayed with the most striking and discriminating characters. It is impossible, indeed, to reflect on these, and on the whole chain of his illustrious prophecies, and not to be sensible that they furnish the most incontestable evidence in support of Christianity."[1]

IV. The predictions of Isaiah are contained in sixty-six chapters; of which the five first are generally supposed to have been delivered in the reign of Uzziah; the sixth in the reign of Jotham; the seventh to the fifteenth in the reign of Ahaz; and the remainder in that of Hezekiah. Various modes of classifying them have been proposed, in order to present them in the most useful and lucid arrangement; some commentators and critics dividing them into three parts: — 1. *Evangelico-Legal*, which contain denunciations of the divine vengeance, intermixed with evangelical promises; — 2. *Historical*, comprising the narrative part; — and, 3. *Evangelical*, comprising prophecies and promises relative to the deliverance of the Jews from captivity, and the yet greater deliverance of mankind from the bondage of sin, by the Messiah. By other writers, the book of the prophet Isaiah is divided into, — 1. *Reprehensory*, including sharp reproofs and threatenings of the Jews for their sins, in which are mingled promises to the penitent; — 2. *Minatory*, containing threatenings against the enemies of the Jewish church, and also against the Jews themselves; — 3. *Narrative* or *Historical*; and, 4. *Consolatory* and evangelical promises concerning Messiah and the church. Other classifications have been proposed, which it is not necessary to specify; but, without adopting any of them, we apprehend that the following synopsis will be found to exhibit a clear view of the various topics discussed by the royal prophet. The predictions of Isaiah, then, may be divided into SIX parts, each containing a number of discourses, delivered by the prophet to the various nations or people whom he was commissioned to address.[2]

PART I. *contains a general Description of the Estate and Condition of the Jews, in the several Periods of their History; the Promulgation and Success of the Gospel, and the Coming of Messiah to Judgment.* (ch. i.—v.) —*The Predictions in this Section were delivered during the Reign of Uzziah King of Judah.*

DISCOURSE 1. (ch. i. throughout.) The prophecy contained in this first chapter[3] stands single and unconnected, constituting an entire piece

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[1] Gray's Key, pp. 369, 370.

[2] These general divisions of the prophecy are according to the scheme proposed by Vitringa (Comment. in Esaiam, tom. i. p. 24.) and Bishop Tomline. (Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 107.) In the analyses of the various discourses, or prophetic sermons comprised under each section, we have principally followed Bishop Lowth, in his admirable translation of, and notes upon, the prophet Isaiah.

[3] Commentators are divided in opinion, whether the title in verse 1. *the vision of Isaiah*) belongs to the whole book, or only to the prophecy contained in this chapter. The former part of the title seems properly to belong to this particular prophecy; the latter part, which enumerates the kings of Judah, under whom Isaiah exercised his prophetic office, seems to extend it to the entire collection of prophecies delivered in the course of his ministry. Vitringa (with whom Bishop Lowth agrees) has solved this doubt very judiciously. He supposes that the former part of the title was originally prefixed to this single prophecy; and that, when the collection of all Isaiah's prophecies was made, the enumeration of the kings of Judah was added, to make it at the same time a proper title to the whole book. As such it is plainly taken in 2 Chron. xxxii. 32. where the book of Isaiah

of itself. If, as we suppose to have been the case, it was delivered in the reign of Uzziah, the desolation which it describes may refer to the calamities which were occasioned before that time by Jehoash king of Israel (compare 2 Kings xiv. 12—14.); or, the prophet may describe scenes yet future, as already passing before his eyes, to denote their certainty. As, however, the portrait, which it presents of the desolate and distressed state of the land of Judah, agrees much better with the wicked and afflicted reign of the apostate Ahaz, than with the flourishing circumstances in the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham, (who were both, in the main, good princes): on this account the learned Dr. John Taylor thinks it probable that the prediction in this chapter was uttered in the reign of Ahaz, and intends the invasion of Judah by Rezin and Pekah, kings of Syria and Israel.[1] But whichever of these conjectures may be preferred, the chapter contains a severe remonstrance against the inclinations to idolatry, want of inward piety, and other corruptions, prevailing among the Jews of that time, intermixed with powerful exhortations to repentance, grievous threatenings to the impenitent, and gracious promises of better times, when the nation shall have been reformed by the just judgments of God. The whole of this discourse affords a beautiful example of the prophet's elegant and impressive manner of writing.

DISCOURSE 2. (ch. ii. iii. iv.) contains the following particulars: —

1. The kingdom of Messiah, the conversion of the Gentiles, and their admission into it. (ii. 1—5.)
2. A prediction of the punishment of the unbelieving Jews, for their idolatrous practices, for their confidence in their own strength, and distrust of God's protection; and likewise the destruction of idolatry, in consequence of the establishment of Messiah's kingdom. (ii. 6—20.)
3. A prophecy of calamities of the Babylonian invasion (perhaps also of the invasion by the Romans), with a particular amplification of the distress of the proud and luxurious daughters of Sion. (iii. 1—26.[2] iv. 1.)
4. A promise to the remnant that should escape this severe purgation, of a restoration to the favour and protection of God. (iv. 2—6.)

This prophetic sermon was probably delivered in the time of Jotham, or perhaps in the reign of Uzziah.

DISCOURSE 3. ch. v. This chapter likewise stands single and alone, unconnected with the preceding or following: its subject is nearly the same with that of ch. i., but it exceeds that chapter in force, in severity, in variety, and elegance. It is a general reproof of the Jews for their wickedness, which is represented in the parable of the vineyard (verses 1—5.); and it adds a more express declaration of vengeance by the Babylonian invasion. (verses 6—30.)

PART II. *comprises the Predictions delivered in the Reigns of Jotham and Ahaz.* (ch. vi.—xii.)

DISCOURSE 1. The vision and prophecy of Isaiah in the reign of Jotham. (ch. vi.)[3] As this vision seems to contain a solemn designation of Isaiah to the prophetical office, it is supposed by many interpreters to be the first in order of his prophecies. Bishop Lowth, however, conjectures that this may not be the case, because Isaiah is said, in the general title of his predictions, to have prophesied in the time of Uzziah;

is cited by the title of "The Vision of Isaiah the Prophet, the Son of Amos." Vitringa, tom. i. pp. 25—29. Bishop Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 4.

[1] Scheme of Scripture Divinity, chap. xxxiv. in vol. i. of Bishop Watson's Collection of Tracts, pp. 143, 144.

[2] See a striking medallic illustration of Isa. iii. 26. in Vol. I. p. 216.

[3] For a particular elucidation of this sublime vision, see Bp. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. pp. 72—77. and Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. 436. et seq.

and is of opinion, that it is a new designation, to introduce, with the greater solemnity, a general declaration of the whole course of God's dispensations towards his people, and the fates of the nation, — events which are still depending, and will not be fully accomplished until the final restoration of Israel.

DISCOURSE 2. (ch. vii.—ix. 7.) commences with an historical account of the occasion of the prophecy (vii. 1—3.), and then follows a prediction of the ill success of the designs of the Israelites and Syrians against Judah (vii. 1—16.); to this succeeds a denunciation of the calamities that were to be brought upon the king and people of Judah by the Assyrians, whom they had now hired to assist them. (vii. 17—25.) These predictions are repeated and confirmed in ch. viii. the ninth and tenth verses of which give a repeated general assurance that all the designs of the enemies of God's people shall ultimately be frustrated; and the discourse concludes, after various admonitions and threatenings (viii. 11—22. ix. 1.), with an illustrious prophecy (ix. 2—7.), in the first instance, perhaps, of the restoration of prosperity under Hezekiah, but principally of the manifestation of the Messiah, the transcendent dignity of his character, and the universality and eternal duration of his kingdom.

DISCOURSE 3. (ch. ix. 8.—x. 4.) contains a distinct prophecy and a just poem, remarkable for the regularity of its disposition and the elegance of its plan. It has no relation to the preceding or to the following prophecy, but is exclusively addressed to the kingdom of Israel, and its subject is a denunciation of vengeance awaiting their enemies.

DISCOURSE 4. (ch. x. 5.—xii.) foretells the invasion of Sennacherib, and the destruction of his army (x. 5—34. xi.); and, according to Isaiah's usual method, he takes occasion, from the mention of a great temporal deliverance by the destruction of the Assyrian host, to launch forth into a display of the spiritual deliverance of God's people by the Messiah, to whom this prophecy relates; for that this prophecy relates to the Messiah we have the express authority of St. Paul in Rom. xv. 12. The hymn in ch. xii. seems, by its whole tenor, as well as by many of its expressions, much better calculated for the use of the Christian than for the Jewish church under any circumstances, or at any time that can be assigned; and the Jews themselves seem to have applied it to the times of the Messiah. See an illustration of xii. 3. in Vol. III. p. 319.

PART III. *contains various Predictions against the Babylonians, Assyrians, Philistines, and other Nations with whom the Jews had any Intercourse* (ch. xiii.—xxii.); *these Predictions are contained in nine Prophetic Poems or Discourses.*

DISCOURSE 1. (ch. xiii. xiv. 1—28.) contains one entire prophecy, foretelling the destruction of Babylon by the Medes and Persians: it was probably delivered in the reign of Ahaz, about two hundred years before its completion. The captivity itself of the Jews at Babylon (which the prophet does not expressly foretell, but supposes in the spirit of prophecy as what was actually to be effected,) did not take place till about one hundred and thirty years after this prediction was delivered. And the Medes, who (in xiii. 7.) are expressly mentioned as the principal agents in subverting this great monarchy, and releasing the Jews from that captivity, were at this time an inconsiderable people, having been in a state of anarchy ever since the fall of the great Assyrian empire, of which they had made a part under Sardanapalus; and did not become a kingdom under Deioces, until about the seven-

teenth year of Hezekiah's reign. The former part of this prophecy, Bishop Lowth remarks, is one of the most beautiful examples that can be given of elegance of composition, variety of imagery, and sublimity of sentiment and diction in the prophetic style; and the latter part consists of a triumphal ode, which, for beauty of disposition, strength of colour, grandeur of sentiment, brevity, perspicuity, and force of expression, stands unrivalled among all the monuments of antiquity. The exact accomplishment of this prophecy is recorded in Dan. v. Jerome (in loc.) says, that, in his time, Babylon was quite in ruins; and all modern travellers unanimously attest that Babylon is so utterly annihilated, that even the place, where this wonder of the world once stood, cannot now be determined with any certainty. On the subject of this prophecy, see Vol. I. pp. 317, 318.

DISCOURSE 2. (ch. xiv. 29—32.) contains severe prophetic denunciations against the Philistines, the accomplishment of which is recorded in 2 Kings xviii. 8.

DISCOURSE 3. (ch. xv. xvi.) is a prophecy against the Moabites: it was delivered soon after the preceding, in the first year of Hezekiah, and it was accomplished in his fourth year when Shalmaneser invaded the kingdom of Israel. He might, probably, march through Moab; and, to secure every thing behind him, possess himself of their whole country, by taking their principal strong places. Jeremiah, says Bishop Lowth, has happily introduced much of this prophecy of Isaiah into his own larger prophecy against the same people in his forty-eighth chapter; denouncing God's judgments on Moab subsequent to the calamity here foretold, and to be executed by Nebuchadnezzar, by which means several mistakes in the text of both prophets may be rectified.

DISCOURSE 4. (ch. xvii.) is a prophecy chiefly directed against Damascus or the kingdom of Syria, with whose sovereign the king of Samaria (or Israel) had confederated against the kingdom of Judah. Bishop Lowth conjectures that it was delivered, soon after the prophecies of the seventh and eighth chapters, in the commencement of Ahab's reign. It was fulfilled by Tiglath-Pileser's taking Damascus (2 Kings xvi. 9.), overrunning a very considerable part of the kingdom of Israel, and carrying a great number of the Israelites also captives into Assyria: and still more fully in regard to Israel, by the conquest of the kingdom, and the captivity of the people, effected a few years after by Shalmaneser. The three last verses of this chapter seem to have no relation to the prophecy to which they are joined: they contain a noble description of the formidable invasion and sudden overthrow of Sennacherib, which is intimated in the strongest terms and most expressive images, exactly suitable to the event.

DISCOURSE 5. (ch. xviii.) contains one of the most obscure prophecies in the whole book of Isaiah. Vitringa considers it as directed against the Assyrians; Bishop Lowth refers it to the Egyptians; and Rosenmüller, and others, to the Ethiopians.

DISCOURSE 6. (ch. xix. xx.) is a prophecy against Egypt, the conversion of whose inhabitants to the true religion is intimated in verses 18—25. of ch. xix.

DISCOURSE 7. (ch. xxi. 1—10.) contains a prediction of the taking of Babylon [1] by the Medes and Persians. "It is a passage singular in its

[1] Bishop Newton has collected and illustrated the various predictions of Isaiah and other prophets against Babylon. See his Dissertation on the Prophecies, vol. i. diss. ix. See also Vol. I. pp. 317, 318. supra.

kind for its brevity and force, for the variety and rapidity of the movements, and for the strength and energy of colouring with which the action and event are painted." The eleventh and twelfth verses of this chapter contain a prophecy concerning Dumah or Idumæa, the land of the Edomites, Mount Seir; which, from the uncertainty of the occasion on which it was delivered, as well as from the brevity of the expression, is very obscure. The five last verses comprise a prophecy respecting Arabia, which was fulfilled within a year after its delivery.

DISCOURSE 8. (ch. xxii.) is a prophecy concerning the capture of the Valley of Vision, or Jerusalem (verses 1—14.), the captivity of Shebna (15—19.), and the promotion of Eliakim. (20—24.) The invasion of Jerusalem here announced is either that by the Assyrians under Sennacherib; or by the Chaldæans under Nebuchadnezzar. Vitringa is of opinion that the prophet had *both* in view; viz. the invasion of the Chaldæans in verses 1—5. and that of the Assyrians in verses 8—11. Compare 2 Kings xxv. 4, 5. and 2 Chron. xxxii. 2—5.

DISCOURSE 9. (ch. xxiii.) denounces the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar[1] (1—17.), the restoration of its prosperity, and the conversion of the Tyrians. Accordingly a Christian church was early formed at Tyre, which became a kind of mother-church to several others, which were connected with it. See Acts xxi. 1—6.[2]

PART IV. *contains a Prophecy of the great Calamities that should befall the People of God, His merciful Preservation of a Remnant of them, and of their Restoration to their Country, of their Conversion to the Gospel, and the Destruction of Antichrist.* (ch. xxiv.—xxxv.)

DISCOURSE 1. (ch. xxiv. xxv. xxvi.) was probably delivered before the destruction of Moab by Shalmaneser, in the beginning of Hezekiah's reign; but interpreters are not agreed whether the desolation announced in ch. xxiv. was that caused by the invasion of Shalmaneser, the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, or the destruction of the city and nation by the Romans. Vitringa is singular in referring it to the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes; and Bishop Lowth thinks it may have a view to all the three great desolations of the country, especially to the last. In verses 21—23. it is announced, that God shall at length revisit and restore his people in the last age; and then the kingdom of God shall be established in such perfection as wholly to obscure and eclipse the glory of the temporary, typical, preparatory kingdom now subsisting. On a review of this extensive scene of God's providence in all its parts, the prophet breaks out into a sublime and beautiful song of praise, in which his mind seems to be more possessed by the prospect of future mercies than by the recollection of past events (xxv.); this is followed by another hymn in ch. xxvi. In verse 19. the deliverance of the people of God from a state of the lowest misery is explained by images plainly taken from the resurrection of the dead.

DISCOURSE 2. (ch. xxvii.) treats on the nature, measure, and design of God's dealings with his people.

DISCOURSE 3. (ch. xxviii.) contains a prophecy directed both to the Israelites and to the Jews. The destruction of the former by Shalmaneser is manifestly denounced in verses 1—5.; and the prophecy "then turns to the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, the remnant of God's

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[1] On the accomplishment of the various prophecies against Tyre, see Bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. i. diss. xi. See also Vol. I. pp. 313—315.

[2] Scott, on Isa. xxiii. 18.

people, who were to continue a kingdom after the final captivity of the Israelites. It commences with a favourable prognostication of their affairs under Hezekiah; but soon changes to reproofs and threatenings for their disobedience and profaneness."[1] In verses 23—29. the wisdom of Providence is illustrated by the discretion of the husbandman.

DISCOURSE 4. (ch. xxix.—xxxiii.) predicts the invasion of Sennacherib, the great distress of the Jews while it continued (xxix. 1—4.), and their sudden and immediate deliverance by God's interposition in their favour; and the subsequent prosperous state of the kingdom under Hezekiah; interspersed with severe reproofs and threats of punishment for their hypocrisy, stupidity, infidelity, their want of trust in God, and their vain reliance on assistance from Egypt; and with promises of better times both immediately to succeed and to be expected in the future age. (18—24. xxx.—xxxiii.)

DISCOURSE 5. (ch. xxxiv. xxxv.) makes one distinct prophecy, an entire, regular, and beautiful poem, consisting of two parts; the first containing a denunciation of the divine vengeance against the enemies of the people or church of God; the second part describing the flourishing state of the church of God consequent upon the execution of those judgments. It is plain from every part of it, that this chapter is to be understood of Gospel times. The fifth and sixth verses of ch. xxxv. were literally accomplished by our Saviour and his apostles[2] In a secondary sense, Bishop Lowth remarks, they may have a further view; and, running parallel with the former part of the prophecy, may relate to the future advent of Christ, to the conversion of the Jews, and their restoration to their own land; and to the extension and purification of the Christian faith;—events predicted in the Holy Scriptures as preparatory to it.

PART V. *comprises the Historical Part of the Prophecy of Isaiah.*

Ch. xxxvi. relates the history of the invasion of Sennacherib, and of the miraculous destruction of his army, as a proper introduction to ch. xxxvii., which contains the answer of God to Hezekiah's prayer, that could not be properly understood without it. On the subject of these chapters, see pp. 181, 182. supra.

PART VI. (ch. xl.—lxvi.) *comprises a Series of Prophecies, delivered, in all probability, towards the Close of Hezekiah's Reign.*

This portion of Isaiah's predictions constitutes the most elegant part of the sacred writings of the Old Testament. "The chief subject is the restoration of the church. This is pursued with the greatest regularity; containing the deliverance of the Jews from captivity—the vanity and destruction of idols—the vindication of the divine power and truth—consolations and invitations to the Jews—denunciations against them for their infidelity and impiety—their rejection, and the calling of the Gentiles—the happiness of the righteous, and the final destruction of the wicked. But, as the subject of this very beautiful series of prophecies is chiefly of the consolatory kind, they are introduced with a promise of the restoration of the kingdom, and the return from the Babylonian captivity, through the merciful interposition of God. At the same time, this redemption from Babylon is employed as an image to shadow out a redemption of an infinitely higher and more

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[1] Smith's Summary View of the Prophets, p. 56.

[2] Compare Matt. xi. 5. xv. 30. xxi. 14. John v. 8, 9. Acts iii. 2. viii. 7. xiv. 8—10.

important nature."[1] The prophet, Bishop Lowth remarks, connects these two events together, scarcely ever treating of the former without throwing in some intimations of the latter; and sometimes he is so fully possessed with the glories of the future more remote kingdom of the Messiah, that he seems to leave the immediate subject of his commission almost out of the question. This part consists of twelve prophetic poems or discourses.

DISCOURSE 1. (ch. xl. xli.) contains a promise of comfort to the people of God, interspersed with declarations of the omnipotence and omniscience of Jehovah, and a prediction of the restoration of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity by Cyrus.

DISCOURSE 2. The advent and office of the Messiah are foretold (xlii. 1—17.); for rejecting whom the incredulity of the Jews is reproved. (18—25.) A remnant of them, however, it is promised, shall be preserved, and ultimately restored to their own land. (xliii. 1—13.) The destruction of Babylon and the restoration of the Jews are again foretold, as also (perhaps) their return after the Roman dispersion (14—20.); and they are admonished to repent of those sins which would otherwise bring the severest judgments of God upon them. (21—28.)

DISCOURSE 3. contains promises of the pourings out of the Holy Spirit, intermingled with an exposure of the folly of idolatry (xliv. 1—20.), which, in force of argument, energy of expression, and elegance of composition, far surpasses any thing that was ever written upon the subject. The prophet then announces by name the instrument of their deliverance, Cyrus, (21—28. xlv. 1—5.)[2]; and, after adverting, in splendid imagery, to the happy state of the people of God, restored to their country, and flourishing in peace and plenty, in piety and virtue, he proceeds to answer or prevent the objections and cavils of the unbelieving Jews, disposed to murmur against God, and to arraign the wisdom and justice of his dispensations in regard to them; in permitting them to be oppressed by their enemies, and in promising them deliverance instead of preventing their captivity. (6—25.) St. Paul has borrowed the prophet's imagery, and has applied it to the like purpose with equal force and elegance in Rom. ix. 20, 21.

DISCOURSE 4. foretells the carrying away of the idols of Babylon (xlvi. 1—5.); the folly of worshipping them is then strikingly contrasted with the attributes and perfections of Jehovah (6—13.); and the divine judgments upon Babylon and Chaldæa are further denounced. (xlvii.)

DISCOURSE 5. contains an earnest reproof of the Jews for their infidelity and idolatry (xlviii. 1—19. 21, 22.); and foretells their deliverance from the Babylonian captivity. (20.)

DISCOURSE 6. The Messiah (whose character and office had been generally exhibited in ch. xlii.) is here introduced in person, declaring the full extent of his commission, which is, not only to restore the Israelites, but to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, to call them to the knowledge and obedience of the true God, and to bring them to be one church together with the Israelites, and with them to partake of

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[1] Smith's Summary View of the Prophets, p. 64.

[2] Isa. xliv. 28. "There is a remarkable beauty and propriety in this verse. 1. Cyrus is called God's Shepherd. — Shepherd was an epithet which Cyrus took to himself, and which he gave to all good kings. 2. This Cyrus should say to the temple — *Thy foundation shall be laid;* not, *Thou shalt be built.* The fact is, only the *foundation* was laid in the days of Cyrus, the Ammonites having prevented the building; nor was it resumed till the second year of Darius one of his successors. There is often a precision in the expressions of the prophets, which is as honourable to truth, as it is unnoticed by careless readers." Dr. A. Clarke, on Isa. xliv. 28.

the same common salvation, procured for all by the great Redeemer and Reconciler of man to God. (xlix.)

DISCOURSE 7. predicts the dereliction of the Jews for their rejection of the Messiah (l. 1—3.), whose sufferings and exaltation are foretold. (4—11.) The prophet exhorts the believing Jews, after the patern of Abraham, to trust in Christ, and foretells their future restoration after the Babylonish captivity, as also their ultimate conversion to Christianity. (li. lii. 1—12.)

DISCOURSE 8. predicts the humiliation of Christ, which had been intimated in l. 5, 6., and obviates the offence which would be occasioned by it, by declaring the important and necessary cause of it, and foreshowing the glory which should follow it. (lii. 13—15. liii.)

DISCOURSE 9. foretells the amplitude of the church, when Jews and Gentiles should be converted. (liv.)

DISCOURSE 10. is an invitation to partake of the blessings of the Gospel, from which none shall be excluded who come on the terms prescribed. (lv. lvi. 1—8.)

DISCOURSE 11. denounces calamities against the inhabitants of Judah, who are sharply reproved for their idolatry and hypocrisy. Bishop Lowth is of opinion, that the prophet probably has in view the destruction of their city and polity by the Chaldæans, and, perhaps, by the Romans. (lvi. 9—12. lvii.—lix. 1—15.) The fifty-ninth chapter, he observes, is remarkable for the beauty, strength, and variety of the images with which it abounds, as well as for the elegance of the composition, and the exact construction of the sentences.

DISCOURSE 12. chiefly predicts the general conversion of the Jews to the Gospel, the coming in of the fulness of the Gentiles, the restoration of the Jews, and the happy state of the Christian church. (lix. 16—21. lx.—lxvi.) In ch. lx. and lxi. the great increase and flourishing state of the church of God, by the conversion and accession of the heathen nations to it, are "set forth in such ample and exalted terms, as plainly show, that the full completion of the prophecy is reserved for future times. This subject is displayed in the most splendid colours, under a great variety of highly poetical images, designed to give a general idea of the glories of that perfect state of the church, which we are taught to expect in the latter times; when the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and the Jews shall be converted and gathered from their dispersions; and the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." (Bp. Lowth.) The remarkable prophecy in lxiii. 1—6., which some expositors refer to Judas Maccabæus, the learned prelate applies primarily to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish polity; which in the Gospel is called the "*coming* of Christ," and the "days of vengeance" (Matt. xvi. 28. Luke xxi. 22.); but he thinks it may ultimately refer to the yet unfulfilled predictions, which intimate a great slaughter of the enemies of God and his people. The two last chapters of this prophecy manifestly relate to the calling of the Gentiles, the establishment of the Christian dispensation, and the reprobation of the apostate Jews, and their destruction executed by the Romans.

V. Isaiah has, with singular propriety, been denominated the "*evangelical prophet*," on account of the number and variety of his prophecies concerning the advent and character, the ministry and preaching, the sufferings and death, and the extensive permanent kingdom of the Messiah. So explicit and determinate are his predictions, as well as so numerous, that he seems to speak rather of

things *past* than of events yet *future*; and he may rather be called an evangelist than a prophet. No one, indeed, can be at a loss in applying them to the mission and character of Jesus Christ, and to the events which are cited in his history by the writers of the New Testament. This prophet, says Bishop Lowth, abounds in such transcendent excellencies, that he may be properly said to afford the most perfect model of prophetic poetry. He is at once elegant and sublime, forcible and ornamented; he unites energy with copiousness, and dignity with variety. In his sentiments there is uncommon elevation and majesty; in his imagery, the utmost propriety, elegance, dignity, and diversity; in his language uncommon beauty and energy; and, notwithstanding the obscurity of his subjects, a surprising degree of clearness and simplicity. To these we may add, that there is such sweetness in the poetical composition of his sentences, whether it proceed from art or genius, that, if the Hebrew poetry at present is possessed of any remains of its native grace and harmony, we shall chiefly find them in the writings of Isaiah: so that the saying of Ezekiel may most justly be applied to this prophet:

> "Thou art the confirmed exemplar of measures,
> "Full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty." Ezek. xxviii. 12.

Isaiah also greatly excels in all the graces of method, order, connection, and arrangement: though in asserting this we must not forget the nature of the prophetic impulse, which bears away the mind with irresistible violence, and frequently in rapid transitions from near to remote objects, from human to divine; we must likewise be careful in remarking the limits of particular predictions, since, as they are now extant, they are often improperly connected, without any marks of discrimination; which injudicious arrangement, on some occasions, creates almost insuperable difficulties.

Bishop Lowth has selected the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth chapters of this prophet, as a specimen of the poetic style in which he delivers his predictions, and has illustrated at some length the various beauties which eminently distinguish the simple, regular, and perfect poem contained in those chapters. But the grandest specimen of his poetry is presented in the fourteenth chapter, which is one of the most sublime odes occurring in the Bible, and contains the noblest personifications to be found in the records of poetry.

The prophet, after predicting the liberation of the Jews from their severe captivity in Babylon, and their restoration to their own country (verses 1—3.), introduces a chorus of them, expressing their surprise and astonishment at the sudden downfall of Babylon, and the great reverse of fortune that had befallen the tyrant, who, like his predecessors, had oppressed his own, and harassed the neighbouring kingdoms. These oppressed kingdoms, or their rulers, are represented under the image of the fir-trees and the cedars of Libanus, which is frequently used to express any thing in the political or religious world that is supereminently great and majestic: the whole earth shouts for joy; the cedars of Libanus utter a severe taunt over the fallen tyrant, and boast their security now he is no more. (verses 4—8.)

This is followed (9.) by one of the boldest and most animated personifications of Hades, or the regions of the dead, that was ever executed in poetry. Hades excites his inhabitants, the shades of princes, and the departed spirits of monarchs. These illustrious shades arise at once from their couches as from their thrones[1]; and advancing to the entrance of the cavern to meet the king of Babylon, they insult and deride him on being reduced to the same low state of impotence and dissolution with themselves. (10, 11.) The Jews now resume the speech (12.): they address the king of Babylon as the morning-star fallen from heaven, as the first in splendour and dignity in the political world fallen from his high state: they introduce him as uttering the most extravagant vaunts of his power and ambitious designs in his former glory; these are strongly contrasted, in the close, with his present low and abject condition. (13—15.)

Immediately follows a different scene, and a most happy image, to diversify the same subject, and give it a new turn and additional force. Certain persons are introduced, who light upon the corpse of the king of Babylon, cast out and lying naked upon the bare ground, among the common slain, just after the taking of the city, covered with wounds, and so disfigured, that it is some time before they know him. They accost him with the severest taunts, and bitterly reproach him with his destructive ambition, and his cruel usage of the conquered: which have deservedly brought upon him this ignominious treatment, so different from that which those of his rank usually meet with, and which shall cover his posterity with disgrace. (16—20.)

To complete the whole, God is introduced, declaring the fate of Babylon, the utter extirpation of the royal family, and the total desolation of the city; the deliverance of his people, and the destruction of their enemies; confirming the irreversible decree by the awful sanction of his oath. (21—27.)

"How forcible," says Bishop Lowth, "is this imagery, how diversified, how sublime! how elevated the diction, the figures, the sentiments!—The Jewish nation, the cedars of Lebanon, the ghosts of departed kings, the Babylonish monarch, the travellers who find his corpse, and last of all JEHOVAH himself, are the characters which support this beautiful lyric drama. One continued action is kept up, or rather a series of interesting actions are connected together in an incomparable whole; this, indeed, is the principal and dis-

[1] "The image of the dead," so admirably described by the prophet, Bishop Lowth observes, "is taken from their custom of burying, those at least of the higher rank, in large sepulchral vaults hewn in the rock. Of this kind of sepulchres there are remains at Jerusalem now extant; and some that are said to be the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. See Maundrell, p. 76. You are to form to yourself an idea of an immense subterraneous vault, a vast gloomy cavern, all round the sides of which there are cells to receive the dead bodies: here the deceased monarchs lie in a distinguished sort of state suitable to their former rank, each on his own couch, with his arms beside him, his sword at his head, and the bodies of his chiefs and companions round about him. See Ezek. xxxii. 27. On which place Sir John Chardin's manuscript note is as follows:—'En Mingrelie ils 'dorment tous leurs epées sous leurs têtes, et leurs autres armes à leur côté; et on les 'enterre de mesme, leurs armes posées de cette façon.'" Bp. Lowth's Translation of Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 121.

tinguished excellence of the sublimer ode, and is displayed in its utmost perfection in this poem of Isaiah, which may be considered as one of the most antient, and certainly one of the most finished specimens of that species of composition which has been transmitted to us. The personifications here are frequent, yet not confused; bold, yet not improbable: a free, elevated, and truly divine spirit pervades the whole; nor is there any thing wanting in this ode to defeat its claim to the character of perfect beauty and sublimity. If, indeed, I may be indulged in the free declaration of my own sentiments on this occasion, I do not know a single instance, in the whole compass of Greek and Roman poetry, which, in every excellence of composition, can be said to equal, or even to approach it."[1]

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§ 5. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JOEL.

I. *Author and Date.*—II. *Occasion and Scope.*—III. *Analysis of the Book.*—IV. *Observations on its Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 810—660, *or later.*

I. CONCERNING the family, condition, and pursuits of this prophet, there is great diversity of opinion among learned men. Although several persons of the name of Joel are mentioned in the Old Testament[2], we have no information concerning the prophet himself, except what is contained in the title of his predictions (i. 1.), that he was the son of Pethuel. According to some idle reports collected and preserved by the Pseudo-Epiphanius[3], he was of the tribe of Reuben, and was born at Bethhoron, a town situated in the confines of the territories of Judah and Benjamin.[4] It is equally uncertain under what sovereign he flourished, or where he died. The celebrated Rabbi Kimchi and others place him in the reign of Joram, and are of opinion that he foretold the seven years' famine which prevailed in that king's reign. (2 Kings viii. 1—3.) The authors of the two celebrated Jewish Chronicles intitled Seder Olam (both great and little), Jarchi, and several other Jewish writers, who are also followed by Drusius, Archbishop Newcome, and other Christian commentators, maintain that he prophesied under Manasseh. Tarnovius, Eckermann, Calmet, and others, place him in the reign of Josiah: but Vitringa[5], Moldenhawer[6], Rosenmüller[7], and the majority of modern commentators, are of opinion (after Abarbanel), that he delivered his predictions during the reign of Uzziah: con-

[1] Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, vol. ii. pp. 84—86. vol. i. pp. 201—01. and his Translation of Isaiah, vol. ii. pp. 230—232. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. p. 67.

[2] See Simonis Onomasticon Vet. Test. p. 517.

[3] De Vitis Prophetarum in Epiphanii op. tom. ii. p. 245.

[4] Relandi Palestina, p. 633.

[5] Typus Doctrinæ Prophet. cap. iv. p. 35. et seq.

[6] Introductio in Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. pp. 120, 121.

[7] Scholia in Vet. Test. Partis septimæ, vol. i. pp. 433, 434.

sequently, he was contemporary with Amos and Hosea, if indeed he did not prophesy before Amos. This opinion, which we think more probable than any, is supported by the following arguments:—1. Only Egypt and Edom (iii. 19.) are enumerated among the enemies of Judah, no mention whatever being made of the Assyrians or Babylonians:—2. Joel (iii. 4—7.) denounces the same judgments, as Amos (i. 9—11.), against the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Idumæans (who had invaded the kingdom of Judah, carried off its inhabitants, and sold them as slaves to the Gentiles):—3. It appears from Joel ii. 15—17. that at the time he flourished, the Jews were in the full enjoyment of their religious worship:—4. More prosperous times are promised to Judæa, together with uncommon plenty (ii. 18, 19.):—5. Although Joel foretells the calamity of famine and barrenness of the land, it is evident from Amos (iv. 6, 7.) that the Israelites had not only suffered from the same calamity, but were even then labouring under it.

II. From the palmer-worm, locust, canker-worm, caterpillar, &c. being sent upon the land of Judah, and devouring its fruits (the certain forerunners of a grievous famine), the prophet takes occasion to exhort the Jews to repentance, fasting, and prayer, promising them various temporal and spiritual blessings.

III. This book consists of three chapters, which may be divided into three discourses or parts; viz.

PART I. *is an Exhortation, both to the Priests and to the People, to repent, by reason of the Famine brought upon them by the Palmer-worm, &c. in consequence of their Sins* (i. 1—20.); *and is followed by a Denunciation of still greater Calamities, if they continued impenitent.* (ii. 1—11.)

This discourse contains a double prophecy, applicable, in its primary sense, to a plague of locusts, which was to devour the land, and was to be accompanied with so severe a drought and famine as should cause the public service of the temple to be interrupted[1]; and, in its secondary sense, it denotes the Babylonian invasion,—and perhaps also the invasions of the Persians, Greeks, and Romans, by whom the Jews were successively subjugated.

PART II. *An Exhortation to keep a public and solemn Fast* (ii. 12—17.), *with a Promise of removing the Calamities of the Jews on their Repentance.* (18—26.)

From the fertility and prosperity of the land described in these verses, the prophet makes an easy transition to the copious blessings of the Gospel, particularly the effusion of the gifts of the Holy Spirit; with these he connects the destruction of the Jewish nation and polity in consequence of their rejecting the Gospel; interspersing promises of safety to the faithful and penitent, which were afterwards signally fulfilled to the Christians in that great national calamity. (27—32. Compare Acts ii. 17—21.)

PART III. *predicts the general Conversion and Return of the Jews, and the Destruction of their Opponents, together with the glorious State of the Church that is to follow.* (iii.)

[1] The famine predicted by Joel, Jahn refers to that which took place in the time of the Maccabees. See 1 Macc. ix. 23—27.

IV. The style of Joel, though different from that of Hosea, is highly poetical[1]: it is elegant, perspicuous, and copious; and at the same time nervous, animated, and sublime. In the two first chapters he displays the full force of the prophetic poetry; and his descriptions of the plague of locusts, of the deep national repentance, and of the happy state of the Christian church, in the last times of the Gospel, are wrought up with admirable force and beauty.

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§ 6. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MICAH.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Occasion and Scope.* — III. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — IV. *Prophecies concerning the Messiah.* — V. *Observations on its Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 758—699.

I. MICAH, the third of the minor prophets, according to the arrangement in the Hebrew and all modern copies, as well as in the Septuagint, was a native of Morasthi, a small town in the southern part of the territory of Judah; and, as we learn from the commencement of his predictions, he prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of that country: consequently he was contemporary with Isaiah, Joel, Hosea, and Amos. The time, place, and manner of his death are unknown. The genuineness of his prophecies relating to the complete destruction of Jerusalem, and of the temple, is supported by the testimony of Jeremiah. (xxvi. 18, 19.)

II. The people of Judah and Israel being very profane and impenitent in the days of Isaiah[2], (in consequence of which the Assyrian captivity was then hastening upon Israel, and the Babylonian not long after fell upon Judah,) the prophet Micah was raised up to second Isaiah, and to confirm his predictions against the Jews and Israelites, whom he invited to repentance both by threatened judgments and by promised mercies.[3]

III. This book contains seven chapters, forming three parts; viz.

INTRODUCTION, or title, i. 1.

PART I. *comprises the Prophecies delivered in the Reigns of Jotham King of Judah (with whom Pekah King of Israel was contemporary), in which the Divine Judgments are denounced, against both Israel and Judah for their Sins.* (i. 2—16.)

PART II. *contains the Predictions delivered in the Reigns of Ahaz King of Judah (with whom his Son Hezekiah was associated in the Government during the latter Part of his Life), and of Pekah King of Israel, who was also contemporary with him.* (ii.—iv. 8.)

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[1] Early in the last century, M. Hermann Von der Hardt, whom, from his love of philosophical paradoxes, Bp. Lowth has termed the "*Hardouin of Germany*," attempted to reduce Joel's elegies to iambic verse. He accordingly published the three first elegies at Helmstadt, in 1708; and again, with additions, at the same place, in 1720, in 8vo.

[2] Compare 2 Kings xv.—xix. 2 Chron. xxvi.—xxxi. Isa. xxxvi.—xxxviii.

[3] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 671.

In this prophetic discourse, Micah foretells the captivity of both nations (ii. 1—5.), and particularly threatens Israel for their enmity to the house of David (6—13.), and Judah for their cruelty to the pious. (iii. 1—7.) He then vindicates his prophetic mission, and denounces to the princes of Israel, that, though they should "build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity," for their sake Zion should be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem should become heaps. (8—12.) This prophecy had its utmost completion in the final destruction of the city and temple by the Romans. We learn from Jer. xxvi. 18, 19. 24., that this particular prediction was uttered in the time of Hezekiah; and that in the reign of Jehoiakim it was a means of preserving Jeremiah from being delivered into the hands of the people who were desirous of putting him to death. In ch. iv. 1—8. the glorious and peaceful kingdom of Messiah is foretold, together with the establishment of the church.

PART III. *includes the Prophecies delivered by Micah during the Reign of Hezekiah King of Judah, the first six Years of whose Government were contemporary with the greater Part of the Reign of Hoshea, the last King of Israel.* (iv. 9—13. v.—vii.)

In this portion of the book of Micah, the Jews are threatened with the Babylonish captivity (iv. 9, 10.): this event took place almost one hundred and fifty years after Micah's time; and the Chaldæans, who were to be the instruments in effecting it, had not arisen in the prophet's age to any distinction among the nations. The total overthrow of Sennacherib's forces is foretold (11—13.); and the pious king Hezekiah is assured of God's preservation by a new promise of the Messiah, who should descend from him (and the place of whose nativity is particularly indicated), and by a prediction of Sennacherib's murder. (v. 1—15.) The people are then forewarned of the judgments that would befall them for their sins in the reign of Manasseh (vi. 1—16.), the wickedness of whose reign is further described, together with his captivity and return from Babylon, as also the return of the Jews from Babylon, and from their general dispersion after they shall be converted to the Gospel. (vii.)

IV. The book of Micah, who (we have seen) was the contemporary of Isaiah, contains a summary of the prophecies delivered by the latter concerning the Messiah and the final return of the Jews, which are thus translated and arranged by Dr. Hales: —

CHAP. V. 2. "And art thou, *Bethlehem Ephratah, little to be* [*esteemed*]
Among the thousands of *Judah?* ——
From thee shall issue [THE LEADER],
Who shall rule my people, the Israel [of God]
II. (But *his issuings* are from *old*,
From *days of eternity*).
III. 3. Therefore he will give them up [for a season]
Until the time that *she which shall bear*
Have borne: then *shall return*
The residue of thy brethren [the *Jews*]
Along with the outcasts of Israel.
IV. 4. And he shall *stand* and *guide them*
In the strength of THE LORD,
In the majesty of THE NAME OF THE LORD HIS GOD.
And *when they return*, He shall be magnified
Unto the ends of the earth,
And He *shall be their* PEACE."

"This prophecy," Dr. Hales remarks, "consists of four parts, 1. The human birth-place of CHRIST. 2. His eternal generation.

3. His temporary desertion of the Jews, until his miraculous birth of the Virgin, after which they are to return with the true Israelites.
4. His spiritual and universal dominion.

The application of the first part of this prophecy was decided at the time of OUR SAVIOUR's birth, by the most respectable Jewish synod that ever sate, convened by Herod, to determine from prophecy the birth-place of the MESSIAH, which they agreed to be *Bethlehem*, upon the authority of Micah, which they cited. Their citation, of the first part only, is given by the evangelist Matthew, in an improved translation of the original, greatly superior to any of the antient versions.

Matt. ii. 6. "And thou *Bethlehem*, territory of *Judah*,
Art by no means least among the *captains of Judah*;
From thee shall issue THE LEADER,
Who shall guide my people, the Israel [of God]."

1. Here the evangelist has removed the ambiguity of the question proposed by the prophet, by supplying the answer in the negative. As in Nathan's prophecy, "*Shalt thou build me a house?*" (2 Sam. vii. 5.) the parallel passage answers in the negative, "*Thou shalt not build me a house.*" (1 Chron. xvii. 4.)

2. He has supplied a chasm in the Masorete text, of נָגִיד, *Nagid*, a usual epithet of the MESSIAH (1 Chron. v. 2. Isa. lv. 4. Dan. ix. 25.), usually rendered Ἡγουμενος, "*leader*," by the Septuagint, and retained here by the evangelist, as a necessary distinction of his character, as supreme commander, from "the *captains of thousands*," styled Ἡγεμοσι, judiciously substituted for *the thousands* themselves in Micah, to mark the analogy more correctly.

3. He has also determined the *pastoral* nature of the MESSIAH's "rule" by the verb ποιμανει, "shall guide as a *shepherd*," afterwards intimated by Micah, וּרְעָה, και ποιμανει, as there rendered by the Septuagint. For He is "*the shepherd of Israel*" (Gen. xlix. 24. Psal. lxxx. 1.), "*the chief shepherd*" (1 Pet. v. 4.), and "*the good shepherd*" (John x. 14.), who appointed his apostles to "*guide* and *pasture* his *sheep*." (John xxi. 16.)

4. The *human* birth of the MESSIAH is carefully distinguished by Micah from his *eternal* generation, in the parenthetical clause, which strongly resembles the account of the primeval birth of Wisdom. (Prov. viii. 22—25.)

5. *The* blessed *virgin* of Isaiah's former prophecy (vii. 14.) is evidently alluded to by Micah, and also the *return of the remnant* of the Jews (Isa. x. 20, 21.), and of the final *peace* of his kingdom. (Isa. ix. 6, 7.)

This prophecy of Micah is, perhaps, the most important single prophecy in the Old Testament, and the most comprehensive, respecting the personal character of the MESSIAH, and his successive manifestation to the world. It crowns the whole chain of prophecies descriptive of the several limitations of *the blessed seed of the woman* to the line of Shem, to the family of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to the tribe of Judah, and to the royal house of David here terminating in his birth at Bethlehem, "the city of David." It carefully distinguishes his human nativity from his eternal generation; foretells the

rejection of the Israelites and Jews for a season; their final restoration, and the universal *peace* destined to prevail throughout the earth in the *Regeneration.* It forms, therefore, the basis of the New Testament, which begins with his human birth at Bethlehem, the miraculous circumstances of which are recorded in the introductions of Matthew's and Luke's Gospels; his eternal generation, as the ORACLE or WISDOM, in the sublime introduction of John's Gospel: his prophetic character, and second coming, illustrated in the four *Gospels* and *Epistles*, ending with a prediction of the speedy approach of the latter in the *Apocalypse.* (Rev. xxii. 20.)[1]

V. The style of Micah is, for the most part, forcible, pointed, and concise, sometimes approaching the obscurity of Hosea; in many parts animated and sublime, and in general truly poetical.[2] His tropes are very beautiful, and varied according to the nature of the subject.

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§ 7. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET NAHUM.

I. *Author and Date.*—II. *Scope and Synopsis of its Contents.*—III. *Observations on its Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 720—698.

I. NAHUM, the seventh of the minor prophets, is supposed to have been a native of Elkosh or Elkosha, a village in Galilee, and situate in the territory that had been apportioned to the tribe of Simeon. There is very great uncertainty concerning the precise time when he lived; some making him contemporary with Jotham, others, with Manasseh, and others, with Josiah. The most probable opinion is that, which places him between the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, about the year 715 before the Christian æra: and, as the design of this prophet is to denounce ruin upon Nineveh and the Assyrians, for their cruel tyranny over the Israelites, and as the captivity of the ten tribes took place in the ninth year of Hoshea king of Israel (2 Kings xvii. 6, &c. compared with 2 Kings xviii. 9—11.), it is most likely that Nahum prophesied against the Assyrians for the comfort of the people of God towards the close of Hezekiah's reign, and not long after the subversion of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser.

II. The SCOPE of this prophecy is, to denounce the certain and imminent destruction of the Assyrian empire, and particularly the inhabitants of its metropolis Nineveh; who, after a transient repentance in consequence of Jonah's preaching, had relapsed into their former sins, which they even aggravated by their wickedness. With this denunciation, the prophet introduces consolation for his countrymen, whom he encourages to trust in God.

His prophecy is one entire poem, which, opening with a sublime

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 462, 463.
[2] Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 98.

description of the justice and power of God tempered by long-suffering and goodness (i. 1—8.), foretells the destruction of Sennacherib's forces, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire (9—12.), together with the deliverance of Hezekiah and the death of Sennacherib. (13—15.) The destruction of Nineveh is then predicted, and described with singular minuteness. (ii. iii.)[1] This prophecy, Archbishop Newcome observes, was highly interesting to the Jews, as the Assyrians had often ravaged their country, and had recently destroyed the kingdom of Israel.

III. In boldness, ardour, and sublimity, Nahum is superior to all the minor prophets. His language is pure; and the exordium of his prophecy, which forms a regular and perfect poem, is not merely magnificent, it is truly majestic. The preparation for the destruction of Nineveh, and the description of its downfall and desolation, are expressed in the most vivid colours, and with images that are truly pathetic and sublime.[2]

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§ 8. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZEPHANIAH.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Scope and Analysis of this Book.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 640—609.

I. THIS prophet, who was "the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hizkiah" (i. 1.), is supposed to have been of the tribe of Simeon; but, though he has mentioned his ancestors for no less than four generations, nothing certain can be inferred from thence, as to the family to which he belonged. We learn, however, from his prophecy that he delivered his predictions in the reign of Josiah; consequently he prophesied about the time that Jeremiah entered on his prophetic office, and in method and subject he greatly resembles him.

On this account Zephaniah has been considered as the abbreviator of Jeremiah; but it is evident that he prophesied before Jeremiah, because the latter (Jer. ii. 5. 20. 22.) seems to speak of those abuses as partially removed, which the former (Zeph. i. 4, 5. 9.) describes as existing in the most flagitious extent. From his account of the disorders prevailing in Judah, it is probable that he discharged the prophetic office before the eighteenth year of Josiah; that is, before this prince had reformed the abuses and corruptions of his dominions. The style of Zephaniah is poetical, though it is not characterised by any striking or uncommon beauties.

II. In consequence of the idolatry and other iniquities prevailing in the kingdom of Judah, whose inhabitants had disregarded the

[1] The best commentary, perhaps, on this prophet, is the ninth of Bishop Newton's Dissertations (vol. i. pp. 141—158.); in which he has ably illustrated the predictions of Nahum and other prophets who foretold the destruction of Nineveh.

[2] Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 99.

denunciations and admonitions of former prophets, Zephaniah was commissioned to proclaim the enormity of their wickedness, and to denounce the imminent desolation that awaited them; to excite them to repentance, to foretell the destruction of their enemies, and to comfort the pious Jews with promises of future blessings.

His prophecy, which consists of three chapters, may be divided into four sections; viz.

SECT. 1. A denunciation against Judah for their idolatry. (i.)

SECT. 2. Repentance the only means to avert the divine vengeance. (ii. 1—3.)

SECT. 3. Prophecies against the Philistines (ii. 4—7.), Moabites, and Ammonites (8—11.), Ethiopia (12.), and Nineveh. (13—15.)

SECT. 4. The captivity of the Jews by the Babylonians foretold (iii. 1—7.), together with their future restoration and the ultimate prosperous state of the church. (8—20.)

SECTION III.

ON THE PROPHETS WHO FLOURISHED NEAR TO AND DURING THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

§ 1. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Occasion of his Prophecies.* — *Different Collections of them.* — III. *Synopsis of their Contents.* — IV. *Prophecies concerning the Messiah.* — V. *Observations on their Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 628—586.

I. THE prophet Jeremiah was of the sacerdotal race, being (as he himself records) one of the priests that dwelt at Anathoth (i. 1.) in the land of Benjamin, a city appropriated out of that tribe to the use of the priests, the sons of Aaron (Josh. xxi. 18.), and situate, as we learn from Jerome, about three Roman miles north of Jerusalem.[1] Some critics have conjectured that his father was the same Hilkiah, the high priest, who found the book of the law in the temple, in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8.): but for this opinion there is no better ground than that he bore the same name, which was of frequent occurrence among the Jews: for, if Hilkiah had really been the high priest, he would doubtless have been distinguished by that title, and would not have been placed on a level with priests of an ordinary and inferior class. Jeremiah appears to have been very young when he was called to the exercise of the prophetical office, from which he modestly endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading his youth and incapacity; but being overruled by the divine authority, he set himself to discharge the duties of his

[1] Hieronymi Comm. in Jer. cc. i. xi. and xxxi. Eusebii Onomast. *voce.*

function with unremitting diligence and fidelity during a course of at least forty-two years, reckoned from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign. In the course of his ministry he met with great difficulties and opposition from his countrymen of all degrees, whose persecution and ill usage sometimes wrought so far upon his mind, as to draw from him expressions, in the bitterness of his soul, which many have thought difficult to reconcile with his religious principles; but which, when duly weighed, may be found to demand our pity rather than censure. He was, in truth, a man of unblemished piety and conscientious integrity; a warm lover of his country, whose miseries he pathetically deplores; and so affectionately attached to his countrymen, notwithstanding their injurious treatment of him, that he chose rather to abide with them, and undergo all hardships in their company, then separately to enjoy a state of ease and plenty, which the favour of the king of Babylon would have secured to him. At length, after the destruction of Jerusalem, having followed the remnant of the Jews into Egypt, whither they had resolved to retire, though contrary to his advice, upon the murder of Gedaliah, whom the Chaldæans had left governor in Judæa, he there continued warmly to remonstrate against their idolatrous practices, foretelling the consequences that would inevitably follow. But his freedom and zeal are said to have cost him his life; for there is a tradition, that the Jews at Tahpanhes were so offended at his faithful remonstrances, that they stoned him to death, which account of the manner of his decease, though not absolutely certain, is at least very likely to be true, considering the temper and disposition of the parties concerned. Their wickedness, however, did not long pass without its reward; for, in a few years after, they were miserably destroyed by the Babylonian armies which invaded Egypt, according to the prophet's prediction. (xliv. 27, 28.)[1] Some Jewish writers, however, affirm that he returned to Judæa, while others say that he went to Babylon, and died there; and a third class are of opinion that he died in Egypt, far advanced in years, and broken by the calamities which had happened both to himself and his country. This prophet's writings are all in Hebrew, except the eleventh verse of the tenth chapter, which is Chaldee. His predictions concerning the seventy years of the captivity were known to and read by the prophet Daniel. (ix. 1.)

II. The idolatrous apostasy and other criminal enormities of the people of Judah, and the severe judgments which God was preparing to inflict upon them, though not without a distant prospect of future restoration and deliverance, form the principal subjects of the prophecies of Jeremiah; except the forty-fifth chapter, which relates personally to Baruch, and the six following chapters, which respect the fortunes of some particular heathen nations.[2]

It is evident from various passages of this book, that there were four distinct collections of Jeremiah's prophecies. The first was that mentioned in chap. xxxvi. 2. and made by divine command in

[1] Dr. Blayney's Translation of Jeremiah, pp. 221. 222. 2d edit.
[2] Ibid. p. 222.

the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim. In this collection were contained all the predictions which he had delivered and published, to that time, as well against other nations as against the Jews: the prophecies against the Gentiles are, in our Bibles, placed by themselves at the end of the book, as being in some measure unconnected with those denounced against the Jews; but in the present copies of the Septuagint, they follow immediately after the thirteenth verse of the twenty-fifth chapter.[1] This *first* collection comprised chapters i.—xx. xxv. xxvi. xxxv. xxxvi. xlv.—li. inclusive.

The *second* collection is that mentioned in chap. xxx. 2., and contained chapters xxvii.—xxxi. inclusive: it was made in the reign of Zedekiah, and, as may be inferred from xxviii. 1., after the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah.

The *third* collection was made soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, as is plainly indicated by the prophet himself in the general preface to his book, where he says that the word of Jehovah came to him "in the days of Josiah the son of Amon king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and came in the days of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah king of Judah, until the completion of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah king of Judah, *until the carrying away of Jerusalem into captivity in the fifth month.*" (i. 1—3.) Consequently, this third collection included chapters xxi.—xxiv. xxxii. —xxxiv. and xxxvii.—xxxix.

The *fourth* collection, containing chapters xl.—xliv. inclusive, presents us with an account of Jeremiah himself, and of the other Jews who were left in Judæa by the command of Nebuchadnezzar. The fifty-second chapter was probably added by Ezra[2] as a preface to the book of Lamentations, It is chiefly taken out of the latter part of the second book of Kings, with additions, which Ezra might supply out of the inspired records, and forms a very useful appendage to the prophecies of Jeremiah, as it illustrates their fulfilment in the destruction of the kingdom, city, and temple, which are the subject of the Lamentations.

III. From the preceding statements it is obvious that the prophecies of Jeremiah are not arranged in the chronological order in which they were originally delivered; the cause of their transposition it is now impossible to ascertain.

Professor Dahler of Strasbourg, in his recent French version of this prophet, divides the book into fifty-five sections, which he disposes in the following manner; viz.

1. *Discourses published during the Reign of Josiah.*

Chapter		Year of Reign.	Chapter		Year of Reign.
i. 1—19.	-	13.	iii. 6.—iv. 4.	-	after 18.
iv. v. vi. xxx.	-	after 18.	xvii. 19—27.	-	after 18.
ii. 1.—iii. 5.	-	after 18.	xlvii. 1—7.	-	uncertain.

[1] Carpzov has written an elaborate disquisition on the variations between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, in the order of Jeremiah's prophecies; and has given a table illustrating those variations. See his Introd. ad Libros Biblicos Vet. Test. pars iii. c. iii. § 4. pp. 144—152.

[2] Carpzov ascribes it to Baruch or some other inspired man. Introd. pars iii. p. 152.

2. *Discourses published during the Reign of Jehoiakin.*

Chapter	Year of Reign.	Chapter	Year of Reign.
vii.—ix. 25.	1 or 2.	xx. 14—18.	
xxvi. 1—24.	1 or 2.	xxiii. 9—40.	uncertain.
xlvi. 2—12.	3 or 4.	xxxv. 1—19.	4 or *5.*
x. 1—16.	4.	xxv. 1—38.	4 or *5.*
xiv. 1.—v. 21.	4.	xxxvi. 1—32.	*5.*
xvi. 1.—xvii. 18.	uncertain.	xlv. 1—*5.*	*5.*
xviii. 1.—23.	uncertain.	xii. 14—17.	7 or 8.
xix. 1.—xx. 13.	uncertain.	x. 17—25.	11.

3. *Discourse published during the Reign of Jeconiah.*

Chap. xiii. 1—27.

4. *Discourses published during the Reign of Zedekiah.*

Chapter	Year of Reign.	Chapter	Year of Reign.
xxii. 1.—xxiii. 8.	1.	xxxiv. 1—7.	10.
xi. 1—17.	1.	xxxvii. 1—10.	10.
xi. 18.—xii. 13.	1.	xxxiv. 8—22.	10.
xxiv. 1—10.	1.	xxxvii. 11—21.	10.
xxix. 1—32.	1 or 2.	xxxviii. 1—28.	10.
xxvii. 1.—xxviii. 17.	4.	xxxix. 15—18.	10.
xlix. 34—39.	4.	xxxii. 1—44.	10.
li. 59—64.	4.	xxxiii. 1—26.	11.
xxi. 1—14.	9.	xxxix. 1—10.	11.

5. *History of Jeremiah, and Discourses addressed by him to the Jews who were left in Palestine after the Capture of Jerusalem.*

Chapter	Year after Jer. taken.	Chapter	Year after Jer. taken.
xxxix. 11—14.	1.	xlii. 1.—xliii. 7.	1.
xl. 1.—xli. 18.	1.	xxx. 1.—xxxi. 40.	1.

6. *Discourses addressed to the Jews in Egypt.*

Chapter	Year after Jer. taken.
xliii. 8—13.	1.
xlii. 1—30.	17 or 18.
xlvi. 13—28.	uncertain.

7. *Discourses of uncertain Date concerning foreign Nations.*

xlvi. 1.—xlix. 1—6.	concerning the Ammonites.
xlviii. 1—47.	Moab.
xlix. 7—22.	Edom.
xlix. 23—27.	Damascus.
l. 1.—li. 58—64.	Babylon.

8. *An Historical Appendix,* chap. lii. 1—34.

A somewhat different arrangement, and more simple than the preceding, was proposed by the Rev. Dr. Blayney in his version of the writings of Jeremiah; who has endeavoured, with great judgment, to restore their proper order by transposing the chapters wherever it appeared to be necessary. According to his arrangement, the predictions of Jeremiah are to be placed in the following order; viz.

1. *The Prophecies delivered in the Reign of Josiah,* containing chapters i.—xii. inclusive.

2. *The Prophecies delivered in the Reign of Jehoiakim,* comprising chapters xiii.—xx. xxii. xxiii. xxxv. xxxvi. xlv.—xlviii. and xlix. 1—33.

3. *The Prophecies delivered in the Reign of Zedekiah,* including chapters xxi. xxiv. xxvii.—xxxiv. xxxvii.—xxxix. xlix. 34—39. and l. li.

4. *The Prophecies delivered under the Government of Gedaliah,* from the taking of Jerusalem to the retreat of the people into Egypt, and the prophecies of Jeremiah delivered to the Jews in that country: comprehending chapters xl.—xliv. inclusive.

As this arrangement throws much light upon the predictions of Jeremiah, it has been adopted in the following synopsis, which accordingly consists of four parts, and thirty-one prophetic discourses.

THE INTRODUCTION to the book contains its title (i. 1—3.), the call of Jeremiah to the prophetical office, and the commission given him by God (4—10.); the purport of which is explained by two symbolical images or visions, that of an almond-tree (11.), indicating the nearness, and the vision of a seething-pot, typifying the severity of the divine judgments. The face of the pot being turned from the north denoted that they were to be inflicted by the Babylonians and Chaldæans, whose empire lay to the north of Judæa, and poured forth its multitudes like a thick vapour to overspread the land.

PART I. *comprises such Prophecies as were delivered in the Reign of Josiah.* (ch. ii.—xii.)

DISCOURSE 1. God, by his prophet, professes to retain the same kindness and favourable disposition for the Jews (ii. 1—3.), with whom he expostulates on account of their ungrateful returns for his past goodness (4—13.), and shows that it was their own extreme and unparalleled wickedness and disloyalty which had already subjected, and would still expose them to calamities and misery. (14—30.) This discourse concludes with a pathetic address, exhorting the Jews to return to God, with an implied promise of acceptance, and lamenting the necessity under which he was, through their continued obstinacy, of giving them further marks of his displeasure. (31—37. iii. 1—5.) Dr. Blayney (to whom we are indebted for this analysis of Jeremiah's writings) thinks that this prophecy was delivered soon after the commencement of Jeremiah's prophetic commission.

DISCOURSE 2. consists of two parts. The *first* part contains a complaint against Judah for having exceeded the guilt of her sister Israel, whom God had already cast off for her idolatrous apostasy. (iii. 6—12.) The charge of Judah with hypocrisy in the tenth verse points out the date of this prophetic discourse to have been some time after the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign, when the people, under the influence of their good king, were professedly engaged in measures of reformation, which, however, are here declared to have been insincere. The prophet is then commissioned to announce to Israel the promise of pardon upon her repentance, and the hope of a glorious restoration in after times, which are plainly indicated to be the times of the Gospel, when the Gentiles themselves were to become a part of the church. (12—21.) The children of Israel, confessing and bewailing their sins, have the same comfortable assurances, as before, repeated to them. (22—25. iv. 1, 2.) In the *second* part, which is prefaced with an address to the people of Judah and Jerusalem, exhorting them to prevent the divine judgments by a timely repentance (iv. 3—5.), the Babylonian invasion is clearly and fully predicted, with all its attendant miseries; and the universal and incorrigible depravity of the people is represented at large, and stated to be the justly provoking cause of the national ruin. (iv. 6—31. v. vi.)

DISCOURSE 3. Although the date of this prophecy is not precisely

marked, Dr. Blayney thinks it probable that it was delivered shortly after the preceding, and it should seem, on the following occasion. Besides the prophets who were commissioned to announce the approaching calamities of Judah and Jerusalem, there were others who took upon themselves to flatter the people with opposite predictions. They taught them to regard such threats as groundless; since God (they said) would have too much regard for his own honour to suffer his temple to be profaned, and the seat of his holiness to be given up into the hands of strangers. In the former part of this discourse, therefore, Jeremiah is commanded openly to reprove the falsehood of those assertions, and to show, by an example in point, that the sanctity of the place would afford no security to the guilty; but that God would assuredly do by his house at Jerusalem what he had done unto Shiloh, and would cast the people of Judah out of his sight, as he had already cast off the people of Israel for their wickedness. (vii. 1—16.) God justifies the severity of his proceedings, by a representation of the people's impiety and idolatry. (17—20.) The prophet declares that their sacrifices would be unacceptable, while they continued deaf to the calls of God's messengers (21—28.); he further specifies the gross idolatries with which they were defiled, and pronounces a heavy sentence of divine vengeance both on the dead and on the living. (29—34. viii. 1—3.) In the latter part of this discourse, the prophet, at first, in the name of Jehovah, reproves the Jews, who vainly thought that He would save them because they had his law among them, though they kept not that law. (viii. 4—17.) Next, in his own person, Jeremiah gives vent to his lamentations at the foresight of the calamities which the Chaldæans would inflict upon the Jews (18—22. ix.); and earnestly dissuades his countrymen from idolatry (x. 1—18.), setting forth the vanity of idols in comparison with the true God. Jerusalem is then introduced, as lamenting the completion of her ruin, and humbly supplicating the divine mercy. (19—25.) In perusing this part of the prophet's discourse, the difference of speakers must be attended to; the transition from one to another being very quick and sudden, but full of animation and energy.

DISCOURSE 4. was probably delivered towards the close of Josiah's reign[1]; when the people, having forgotten the solemn covenant-engagements which they had made in the 18th year of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 3. xxiii. 3.), are supposed to have relapsed into their former disregard and neglect of the divine law. The prophet was, therefore, sent to recall them to their duty, by proclaiming anew the terms of the covenant, and rebuking them sharply for their hereditary disobedience. (xi. 1—8.) He denounces severe judgments against the people of Judah and Jerusalem for their idolatrous apostasy. (9—17.) Being informed, by divine revelation, of the conspiracy of the men of Anathoth against his life, he prays against them, and is authorised to foretell their utter destruction (18—23.); and, emboldened by the success of his prayers, he expostulates with God concerning the prosperity of the wicked (xii. 1—6.), who answers the prophet's expostulation (7—13.), and promises the future restoration of his people, with a retaliation in kind upon their heathen neighbours who had oppressed them; but with this reservation, that such of them as would embrace the worship of the true God, would be received and incorporated into his church, while the unbelieving part would utterly perish. (14—17.)

[1] Mr. Reeves and other commentators refer it to the commencement of Jehoiakim's reign, and consequently after the death of Josiah.

PART II. *contains the Prophecies delivered in the Reign of Jehoiakim.*

DISCOURSE 1. comprises a single and distinct prophecy; which, under two symbols, a linen girdle left to rot, and the breaking of bottles (that is, skins) filled with wine, foretells the utter destruction that was destined to fall on the whole Jewish nation. (xiii. 1—14.) An exhortation to humiliation and repentance is subjoined (v. 15—21.); and their incorrigible wickedness and profligacy are assigned as the cause of all the evils that imminently awaited them. (22—27.) The particular mention of the downfall of the king and queen in the 18th verse, Dr. Blayney thinks, will justify the opinion which ascribes this prophecy to the commencement of the reign of Jehoiakim, whose fate, with that of his queen, is in like manner noticed together in ch. xxii. 18.

DISCOURSE 2. was, in all probability, delivered shortly after the preceding. It predicts a severe famine, to punish the Jews for their sins, but which does not bring them to repentance (xiv. 1—22.); and announces God's peremptory decree to destroy Judah, unless they should speedily repent. (xv. 1—9.) The prophet, complaining that he is become an object of hatred by reason of his office, receives an assurance of divine protection, on condition of obedience and fidelity on his part. (10—21.)

DISCOURSE 3. foretells the utter ruin of the Jews, in the type of the prophet being forbidden to marry and to feast (xvi. 1—13.); and immediately afterwards announces their future rsstoration (14, 15.), as well as the conversion of the Gentiles (16—21.); accompanied with a severe reproof of the Jews for their attachment to idolatry (the fatal consequences of which are announced), and also for their too great reliance on human aid. (xvii. 1—18.)

DISCOURSE 4. is taken up with a distinct prophecy relative to the strict observance of the Sabbath-day (xvii. 19—27.), which Jeremiah was commanded to proclaim aloud in all the gates of Jerusalem, as a matter that concerned the conduct of each individual, and the general happiness of the whole nation.

DISCOURSE 5. shows, under the type of a potter, God's absolute authority over nations and kingdoms, to alter and regulate their condition at his own discretion. (xviii. 1—10.) The prophet is then directed to exhort the Jews to avert their impending dangers by repentance and amendment, and, on their refusal, to foretell their destruction. (11—17.) The Jews conspiring against him, Jeremiah implores judgment against them. (18—23.)

DISCOURSE 6. Under the type of breaking a potter's vessel, is foretold the similar ruin and desolation of the kingdom of Judah and the city of Jerusalem for their sins (xix.): and a severe judgment is denounced against Pashur for apprehending and punishing Jeremiah (xx. 1—6.), who complains of the persecutions he met with. (7—18.)

DISCOURSE 7. is supposed to have been delivered immediately after the preceding, and in the precincts of the temple, whence the prophet is commanded to "go down to the house of the king of Judah." It commences with an address to the king, his servants, and people, recommending an inviolable adherence to right and justice as the only means of establishing the throne, and preventing the ruin of both prince and people. (xxii. 1—9.) The captivity of Shallum is declared to be irreversible. (10—12.) Jehoiakim is severely reproved for his tyrannical expressions, and his miserable end is foretold. (13—19.) His family is threatened with a continuance of similar calamities; the fall and captivity of his son Jeconiah are explicitly set forth, together with the

perpetual exclusion of his posterity from the throne. (20—30.) The prophecy concludes with consolatory promises of future blessings, of the return of the people from captivity, and of happier times under better governors; of the glorious establishment of Messiah's kingdom; and of the subsequent final restoration of all the dispersed Israelites to their own land. (xxiii. 1—8.)

DISCOURSE 8. denounces the divine judgments against false prophets, and mockers of true prophets. (xxiii. 9—40.)

DISCOURSE 9. predicts their subjugation, together with that of the neighbouring nations, to the king of Babylon for seventy years (xxv. 1—11.), at the expiration of which Babylon was to be destroyed (12—14.): and the destruction of Judah and several other countries (including Babylon herself, here called Sheshach,) is prefigured by the prophet's drinking a cup of wine. (15—38.)

DISCOURSE 10. Jeremiah being directed to foretell the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, without a speedy repentance and reformation (xxvi. 1—6.), is apprehended and accused before the council of a capital offence, but is acquitted, his advocate urging the precedent of Micah in the reign of Hezekiah. (7—19.) The sacred writer then observes, in his own person, that, notwithstanding the precedent of Micah, there had been a later precedent in the present reign, which might have operated very unfavourably to the cause of Jeremiah, but for the powerful influence and authority exercised in his behalf by Ahikam, the son of Shaphan. (20—24.)

DISCOURSE 11. The Jews' disobedience to God is condemned by comparison with the obedience of the Rechabites to the commands of Jonadab their father, who had prescribed to them a certain rule of life. A blessing is promised to the Rechabites for their dutiful behaviour. (xxxv.)

DISCOURSE 12. By divine appointment Jeremiah causes Baruch to write all his former prophecies in a roll, and to read them to the people on a fast-day. (xxxvi. 1—10.) The princes being informed of it, send for Baruch, who reads the roll before them. (11—15.) Filled with consternation at its contents, they advise Jeremiah and Baruch to hide themselves (16—19.); they acquaint the king, who sends for the roll, and having heard part of its contents, he cuts it to pieces, and burns it. (20—26.) Jeremiah is commanded to write it anew, and to denounce the judgments of God against Jehoiakim. (27—31.) Baruch accordingly writes a new copy with additions (32.); but being greatly alarmed at the threatenings contained in those predictions, and being perhaps afraid of sharing in the persecutions of the prophet, God commissions Jeremiah to assure Baruch that his life should be preserved by a special providence amidst all the calamities denounced against Judah. (xlv.)

DISCOURSE 13. contains a series of prophecies against several heathen nations (xlvi. 1.), which are supposed to have been placed towards the close of the book of Jeremiah, as being in some measure unconnected with the others. As, however, in point of time, they were evidently delivered during the reign of Jehoiakim, they may with great propriety be referred to the present section. In this discourse are comprised,

(1.) A prophecy of the defeat of the Egyptians, that garrisoned Carchemish, by the Chaldæans (xlvi. 2—12.), and of the entire conquest of that country by Nebuchadnezzar. (13—28.)

(2.) Predictions of the subjugation of the land of the Philistines, including Tyre (xlvii.), and also of the Moabites (xlviii.), by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar.

(3.) Predictions of the conquest of the Ammonites (xlix. 1—6.) by the same monarch,

and likewise of the land of Edom (7—22.), of Damascus (23—27.), and of Kedar. (28—33.)

PART III. *contains the Prophecies delivered in the Reign of Zedekiah King of Judah.*

DISCOURSE 1. A prediction of the conquest of Elam or Persia by the Chaldæans, delivered in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign. (xlix. 34—39.) On the final subversion of the Babylonish monarchy, Elam was restored (as promised in ver. 39.) to its former possessors, who had fought under the banners of the Medes and Persians.

DISCOURSE 2. Under the type of good and bad figs, God represents to Jeremiah the different manner in which he should deal with the people that were already gone into captivity, and with Zedekiah and his subjects who were left behind;—showing favour and kindness to the former in their restoration and re-establishment, but pursuing the latter with unrelenting judgments to utter destruction. (xxiv.)

DISCOURSE 3. The Jews at Babylon are warned not to believe such as pretended to foretell their speedy return into their own country (xxix. 1—23.); and judgment is denounced against Shemaiah for writing against Jeremiah to the Jews at Babylon. (24—32.) Dr. Blayney has remarked that, in the Septuagint version, the fifteenth verse of this chapter is read immediately after verse 20., which seems to be its original and proper place.

DISCOURSE 4. contains prophecies of the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, but chiefly from their dispersion by the Romans, on their general conversion to Christianity (xxx.); and predicts their happy state after that glorious event shall be accomplished (xxxi. 1—26.), concluding with a fuller prophecy describing the Gospel state, as also the state of the Jews after their conversion. (27—38.) "Both events," Dr. Blayney remarks, "are frequently thus connected together in the prophetic writings, and perhaps with this design, that when that which was nearest at hand should be accomplished, it might afford the strongest and most satisfactory kind of evidence, that the latter, how remote soever its period, would in like manner be brought about by the interposition of Providence in its due season."

DISCOURSE 5. Zedekiah, in the fourth year of his reign, being solicited by ambassadors from the kings of Edom, Moab, and other neighbouring nations, to join them in a confederacy against the king of Babylon, the prophet Jeremiah is ordered, under the type of bonds and yokes, to admonish them, especially Zedekiah, quietly to submit to the king of Babylon, and warns them not to listen to the suggestions of false prophets (xxvii.); and the death of Hananiah, who was one of them, is foretold within the year (xxviii. 1—16.), who died accordingly about two months after. (17.)

DISCOURSE 6. contains a prophecy concerning the fall of Babylon, intermixed and contrasted with predictions concerning the redemption of Israel and Judah, who were not, like their predecessors, to be finally extirpated, but to survive, and, upon their repentance and conversion, they were to be pardoned and restored. (l. li. 1—58.) This prophecy against Babylon was delivered in the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign, and sent to the Jews there, in order to be read to them: after which it was to be sunk in the Euphrates, as a type of the perpetual destruction of Babylon.[1]

[1] The fifty-first chapter of Jeremiah closes with the following sentence: — "*Thus far* are *the words of Jeremiah*;" which, Dr. Blayney thinks, was added by the person (whoever it might be) that collected his prophecies, and digested them in the order in which

DISCOURSE 7. was probably delivered in the ninth year of Zedekiah, previously to the siege of Jerusalem, which commenced in the tenth month of that year. In this prophecy Jeremiah (who had been requested to "inquire of the LORD" for his countrymen) foretells a severe siege and miserable captivity, and advises the people to yield to the Chaldæans (xxi. 1—10.); and the members of the royal house are warned to prevent the effects of God's indignation by doing justice, and not to trust to their strong-hold, which would be of no avail whatever to them when God was bent upon their destruction. (11—14.)

DISCOURSE 8. consists of two distinct prophecies. The *first*, probably delivered towards the close of the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, announces to the Jewish monarch the capture and burning of Jerusalem, his own captivity, peaceful death, and honourable interment. (xxxiv. 1—7.) The *second* prophecy, which was announced some time after, when the Chaldæans had broken off the siege in order to encounter the Egyptian army, severely reproves and threatens the Jews for their perfidious violation of the covenant they had newly made of obedience to God. (8—22.)

DISCOURSE 9. Jeremiah foretells the retreat of the Egyptians, and the return of the Chaldæans to the siege of Jerusalem, which should be taken and burnt by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar. (xxxvii. 1—10.) For this he was put into a dungeon (11—15.), from which he was released, but still kept a prisoner, though the rigour of his confinement was abated. (16—21.)

DISCOURSE 10. confirms the promised return of the Jews from captivity, by Jeremiah being commanded to buy a field. (xxxii.)

DISCOURSE 11. predicts the restoration of Israel and Judah (xxxiii. 1—9.), and that the land, whose desolation the Jews deplored, should again flourish with multitudes of men and cattle (10—13.); whence the prophet takes occasion to confirm his former promise of establishing a perpetual kingdom of righteousness under the Messiah. (14—26.) This evangelical prediction is, as yet, unfulfilled. "The days, it is evident, are not yet arrived, though they will certainly come, for the performance of God's good promise concerning the restoration of the house of Israel and the house of Judah, under Christ THEIR RIGHTEOUSNESS."

DISCOURSE 12. contains the last transaction in which Jeremiah was prophetically concerned before the taking of Jerusalem. It relates the imprisonment of Jeremiah in a deep and miry dungeon, at the instance of the princes of Judah (xxxviii. 1—6.); his deliverance thence (7—13.); and the prophet's advice to Zedekiah, who had consulted him privately, to submit himself to the Chaldæans. (14—27.) The capture of the city, the flight of Zedekiah, and the particulars of his punishment after he had been taken and brought before the king of Babylon, are then related (xxxix. 1—10.), together with the kind treatment of the prophet in consequence of a special charge from Nebuchadnezzar. (11—13.) In conclusion, the piety of Ebedmelech is rewarded with a promise of personal safety amidst the ensuing public calamities. (15—18.)

PART IV. *contains a particular Account of what passed in the Land of Judah, from the taking of Jerusalem to the Retreat of the Jewish*

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we now find them in the Hebrew Bibles. This sentence does not occur in the Septuagint version, where indeed it could not be introduced at the end of this chapter, because the chapters are arranged differently in that version; and chapter li. forms only the twenty-eighth of the collection. The disposition of Jeremiah's prophecies is, apparently, so arbitrary, that it is not likely that it was made under the prophet's direction.

People into Egypt, and the Prophecies of Jeremiah concerning them while in that Country.

DISCOURSE 1. Jeremiah has his choice either to go to Babylon, or to remain in Judæa (xl. 1—6.), whither the dispersed Jews repaired to Gedaliah the governor (7—12.); who being treacherously slain (13—16. xli. 1—10.), the Jews left in Judæa intend to go down to Egypt (11—18.), from which course the prophet dissuades them. (xlii.)

DISCOURSE 2. The Jews going into Egypt contrary to the divine command (xliii. 1—7.), Jeremiah foretells to them the conquest of that kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar (8—13.); he predicts destruction to all the Jews that willingly went into Egypt (xliv. 1—13.) whose obstinate idolatry is related (14—19.), destruction is denounced against them, and the dethronement of Pharaoh Hophrah king of Egypt (by profane authors called Apries) is foretold. (20—30.)

The CONCLUSION of Jeremiah's prophecy, containing the fifty-second chapter, was added after his time[1], subsequently to the return from captivity, of which it gives a short account, and forms a proper argument or introduction to the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

IV. Although the greater part of Jeremiah's predictions related to his countrymen the Jews, many of whom lived to behold their literal fulfilment, and thus attested his prophetic mission, while several of his predictions concerned other nations (as will be seen from the preceding analysis); yet two or three of his prophecies so clearly announce the Messiah, that it would be a blameable omission, were we to pass them unnoticed.

In ch. xxiii. 5, 6. is foretold the mediatorial kingdom of the Messiah, who is called the LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS. On this passage Dr. Hales has cited the following remark from the antient rabbinical book of *Ikkarim*, which (he observes) well expresses the reason of the appellation:—"The Scripture calls the name of the MESSIAH, JAOH, OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS, to intimate that he will be A MEDIATORIAL GOD, by whose hand we shall obtain *justification* from THE NAME: wherefore it calls him by the name of THE NAME (that is, the ineffable name JAOH, here put for GOD HIMSELF)."[2]

Again, in Jer. xxxi. 22. we have a distinct prediction of the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ[3]; and in xxxi. 31—36. and xxxiii. 8. the efficacy of Christ's atonement, the spiritual character of the new covenant, and the inward efficacy of the Gospel, are most

[1] See p. 202. *supra* of this volume.

[2] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 481. who cites Buxtorf's Lexicon, voce יהוה. Dr. H. thinks that Paul derived the declarations he has made concerning Jesus Christ, in 1 Cor. i. 30. and Phil. ii. 9—11. from the above-cited passage of Jeremiah.

[3] Professor Dahler considers this simply as a proverbial expression: and the modern Jews, and a few Christian interpreters, particularly the late Dr. Blayney in his translation of Jeremiah, have denied the application of this prophecy to the Messiah; but the following remarks will show that this denial is not authorised. According to the first evangelical promise concerning the *seed of the woman*, followed this prediction of the prophet: — *The Lord hath created a new thing in the earth, a woman shall compass a man.* (Jer. xxxi. 22.) That new creation of a man is therefore *new*, and therefore a creation, because wrought in a woman only, without a man, compassing a man. This interpretation is antient, literal, and clear. The words import a miraculous conception: the *antient Jews* acknowledged this sense, and applied it determinately to the Messiah. This prophecy is illustrated by that of Isaiah, vii. 14. — Bp. Pearson on the Creed, art. iii. p. 171. edit. 1715. folio.

clearly and emphatically described. Compare Saint Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. viii. 8—13. and x. 16. *et seq.*

V. The STYLE of Jeremiah, though not deficient in elegance or sublimity, is considered by Bishop Lowth as being inferior in both respects to Isaiah. Jerome[1], after some Jewish writers, has objected to the prophet a certain rusticity of expression, which however it is very difficult to trace. Though the sentiments of Jeremiah are not always the most elevated, nor his periods uniformly neat and compact; yet his style is in a high degree beautiful and tender, especially when he has occasion to excite the softer passions of grief and pity, which is frequently the case in the earlier parts of his prophecies.[2] These are chiefly poetical. The middle of his book is almost entirely historical, and is written in a plain prosaic style, suitable to historical narrative. On many occasions he is very elegant and sublime, especially in xlvi.—li. 1—59. which are wholly poetical, and in which the prophet approaches very near the sublimity of Isaiah.[3]

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§ 2. ON THE LAMENTATIONS OF JEREMIAH.

I. *Author, Date, and Argument of the Book.* — II. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — III. *Observations on its Style and Structure.*

I. THAT Jeremiah was the author of the Elegies or Lamentations which bear his name, is evident, not only from a very antient and almost uninterrupted tradition, but also from the argument and style of the book, which correspond exactly with those of his prophecies.[4]

Josephus, Jerome, Junius, Archbishop Usher, Michaelis, Dathe, and other eminent writers, are of opinion, that the Lamentations of Jeremiah were the same which are mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25. as being composed by the prophet on the death of the pious king Josiah, and which are there said to have been perpetuated by "an ordinance in Israel." But, whatever may have become of those Lamentations, it is evident that these cannot possibly be the same: for their whole tenor plainly shows, that they were not composed till after the subversion of the kingdom of Judah. The calamities which Jeremiah had foretold in his prophecies are here deplored as having actually taken place, viz. the impositions of the false prophets who had seduced the people by their lying declarations, the destruction of the holy city and temple, the overthrow of the state, and the extermination of the people. But though it be allowed that the Lamentations were primarily intended as a pathetic description of present calamities, yet it has with great probability been conjectured that, while Jeremiah mourns the desolation of Judah and Jerusalem, he may be considered as prophetically painting the still greater miseries they were to suffer at some future time: and this seems plainly indicated

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[1] Pref. ad Com. in Jerem.

[2] See the whole of ch. ix. ch. xiv. 17, &c. and xx. 14—18.

[3] Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 88, 89.

[4] Prof. Pareau has amply proved this point from a general collation of the Prophecies of Jeremiah with select passages of this book, in the preliminary Dissertation to his Latin version of the Lamentations (Lug. Bat. 1790. 8vo.), illustrated with notes.

by his referring to the time when the punishment of their iniquity shall be accomplished, and they shall no more be carried into captivity. (iv. 22.)[1]

II. This book, which in our Bible is divided into five chapters, consists of five distinct elegies; viz.

ELEGY 1. The prophet begins with lamenting the sad reverse of fortune which his country had experienced, confessing at the same time that all her miseries were the just consequences of the national wickedness and rebellion against God. In the midst of his discourse he withdraws himself from view, and introduces Jerusalem, to continue the complaint, and humbly to solicit the divine compassion. Jahn is of opinion, that, in this elegy, Jeremiah deplores the deportation of king Jehoiachin, and ten thousand of the principal Jews, to Babylon. Compare 2 Kings xxiv. 8—17. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9, 10.

ELEGY 2. Jeremiah gives a melancholy detail of the dire effects of the divine anger in the subversion of the civil and religious constitution of the Jews, and in that extreme misery to which every class of individuals was reduced. He represents the wretchedness of his country as unparalleled; and charges the false prophets with having betrayed her into ruin by their false and flattering suggestions. In this forlorn and desolate condition,—the astonishment and by-word of all who see her,—Jerusalem is directed earnestly to employ the removal of those heavy judgments, which God, in the height of his displeasure, had inflicted upon her.—Jahn thinks that this elegy was composed on the storming of Jerusalem by the Babylonian army.

ELEGY 3. The prophet, by describing his own most severe and trying afflictions, and setting forth the inexhaustible mercies of God, as the never-failing source of his consolation, exhorts his countrymen to be patient and resigned under the divine chastisements. He asserts the divine supremacy in the dispensations of good and evil, and argues that no man has a right to complain, when he is punished according to his deserts. He recommends it to his fellow-sufferers to examine themselves, and to turn to God with contrite hearts; and concludes by expressing his hope, that the same Providence that had formerly delivered him, would frustrate the malice of his present enemies, and would turn the scornful reproach, which they had cast upon him, to their own confusion.

ELEGY 4. exhibits a striking contrast, in various affecting instances, between the present deplorable and wretched condition of the Jewish nation and their former flourishing affairs; and ascribes the unhappy change chiefly to the profligacy of its priests and prophets. The people proceed with lamenting their hopeless condition, especially the captivity of their sovereign Zedekiah. This elegy concludes with predicting the judgments that were impending over the Edomites, together with a final cessation of Sion's calamities.

ELEGY 5. is an epilogue or conclusion to the preceding chapters or elegies. In the Syriac, Arabic, and Vulgate versions, this chapter is entitled THE PRAYER OF JEREMIAH; but no such title appears in the Hebrew copies, or in the Septuagint version. It is rather, as Dr. Blayney has remarked, a memorial representing, in the name of the whole body of Jewish exiles, the numerous calamities under which they groaned; and humbly supplicating God to commiserate their

[1] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. pp. 112, 113.

wretchedness, and to restore them once more to his favour, and to their antient prosperity.

III. The Lamentations are evidently written in metre, and contain a number of plaintive effusions composed after the manner of funeral dirges. Bishop Lowth is of opinion that they were originally written by the prophet, as they arose in his mind, in a long course of separate stanzas, and that they were subsequently collected into one poem. Each elegy consists of twenty-two periods, according to the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet; although it is in the first four chapters only that the several periods begin (after the manner of an acrostic) with the different letters following each other in alphabetical order. By this contrivance, the metre is more precisely marked and ascertained, particularly in the third chapter, where each period contains three verses, all having the same initial letter. The two first chapters, in like manner, consist of triplets, excepting only the seventh period of the first and the nineteenth of the second, each of which has a supernumerary line. The fourth chapter resembles the three former in metre, but the periods are only couplets; and in the fifth chapter the periods are couplets, though of a considerably shorter measure.

Although there is no artificial or methodical arrangement of the subject in these incomparable elegies, yet they are totally free from wild incoherency or abrupt transition. Never, perhaps, was there a greater variety of beautiful, tender, and pathetic images, all expressive of the deepest distress and sorrow, more happily chosen and applied than in the lamentations of this prophet; nor can we too much admire the full and graceful flow of that pathetic eloquence, in which the author pours forth the effusions of a patriot heart, and piously weeps over the ruin of his venerable country.[1]

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§ 3. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HABAKKUK.

I. *Author and date.*—II. *Analysis of his Prophecy.*—III. *Observations on his Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 612—598.

I. WE have no certain information concerning the tribe or birth-place of Habakkuk. The Pseudo-Epiphanius affirms that he was of the tribe of Simeon, and was born at Bethcazar. Some commentators have supposed that he prophesied in Judæa in the reign of Manasseh, but Archbishop Usher places him, with greater probability, in the reign of Jehoiakim. Compare Hab. i. 5, 6. Consequently this prophet was contemporary with Jeremiah. Several

[1] Dr. Blayney's Jeremiah, p. 455. et seq. Bishop Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, lect. xxii. *in fine*. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 415—417. Carpzov, Introd. ad Libros Biblicos, pars iii. cap. iv. pp. 177—197.

apocryphal predictions and other writings are ascribed to Habakkuk, but without any foundation. His genuine writings are comprised in the three chapters which have been transmitted to us; and the subject of them is the same with that of Jeremiah, viz. the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, for the heinous sins of the Jewish people, and the consolation of the faithful amid all their national calamities.

II. The prophecy of Habakkuk consists of two parts; the first is in the form of a dialogue between God and the prophet, and the second is a sublime ode or hymn, which was probably intended to be used in the public service.

PART I. *The Prophet complaining of the Growth of Iniquity among the Jews* (i. 1—4.), *God is introduced, announcing the Babylonish Captivity as a Punishment for their Wickedness.* (5—11.)

The prophet then humbly expostulates with God for punishing the Jews by the instrumentality of the Chaldæans. (12—17. ii. 1.) In answer to this complaint, God replies that he will, in due time, perform his promises to his people, of deliverance by the Messiah (implying also the nearer deliverance by Cyrus). (ii. 2—4.) The destruction of the Babylonish empire is then foretold, together with the judgment that would be inflicted upon the Chaldæans for their covetousness, cruelty, and idolatry. (5—20.)

PART II. *contains the Prayer or Psalm of Habakkuk.*

In this prayer he implores God to hasten the deliverance of his people (iii. 1, 2.), and takes occasion to recount the wonderful works of the Almighty in conducting his people through the wilderness, and giving them possession of the promised land (3—16.): whence he encourages himself and other pious persons to rely upon God for making good his promises to their posterity in after ages.

III. Habakkuk holds a distinguished rank among the sacred poets; whoever reads his prophecy must be struck with the grandeur of his imagery and the sublimity of its style, especially of the hymn in the third chapter, which Bishop Lowth considers one of the most perfect specimens of the Hebrew ode. Michaelis, after a close examination, pronounces him to be a great imitator of former poets, but with some new additions of his own, which are characterised by brevity, and by no common degree of sublimity. Compare Hab. ii. 12. with Mic. iii. 10., and Hab. ii. 14. with Isa. xi. 9.[1]

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§ 4. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Analysis of its Contents.* — III. *Observations on its canonical Authority and Style.* — IV. *Account of the spurious Additions made to it.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 606—534.

I. DANIEL, the fourth of the greater prophets, if not of royal birth (as the Jews affirm), was of noble descent, and was carried captive

[1] Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 99.

to Babylon at an early age, in the fourth year of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the year 606 before the Christian æra, and seven years before the deportation of Ezekiel. Having been instructed in the language and literature of the Chaldæans, which at that time was greatly superior to the learning of the antient Egyptians, he afterwards held a very distinguished office in the Babylonian empire. (Dan. i. 1—4.) He was contemporary with Ezekiel, who mentions his extraordinary piety and wisdom (Ezek. xiv. 14. 20.), and the latter even at that time seems to have become proverbial. (Ezek. xxviii. 3.) Daniel lived in great credit with the Babylonian monarchs; and his uncommon merit procured him the same regard from Darius and Cyrus, the two first sovereigns of Persia. He lived throughout the captivity, but it does not appear that he returned to his own country when Cyrus permitted the Jews to revisit their native land. The Pseudo-Epiphanius, who wrote the lives of the prophets, says that he died at Babylon; and this assertion has been adopted by most succeeding writers; but as the last of his visions, of which we have any account, took place in the third year of Cyrus, about 534 years before the Christian æra, when he was about ninety-four years of age, and resided at Susa on the Tigris, it is not improbable that he died there.

Although the name of Daniel is not prefixed to his book, the many passages in which he speaks in the first person sufficiently prove that he was the author. He is not reckoned among the prophets by the Jews since the time of Jesus Christ, who say that he lived the life of a courtier in the court of the king of Babylon, rather than that of a prophet: and they further assert, that, though he received divine revelations, yet these were only by dreams and visions of the night, which they consider as the most imperfect mode of revelation. But Josephus, one of the most antient profane writers of that nation, accounts Daniel one of the greatest of the prophets; and says that he conversed familiarly with God, and not only predicted future events (as other prophets did) but also determined the time of their accomplishment.[1]

II. The book of Daniel may be divided into two parts. The first is historical, and contains a relation of various circumstances that happened to himself and to the Jews, under several kings at Babylon; the second is strictly prophetical, and comprises the visions and prophecies with which he was favoured, and which enabled him to foretell numerous important events relative to the monarchies of the world, the time of the advent and death of the Messiah, the restoration of the Jews, and the conversion of the Gentiles.

PART I. *contains the Historical Part of the Book of Daniel* (ch. i.—vi.), *forming six sections;* viz.

SECT. 1. A compendious history of the carrying away of Daniel and his three friends to Babylon, with other young sons of the principal Hebrews, and of their education and employment. (ch. i.)

"Between the first and second chapters there is a great chasm in the history. In ii. 1. the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign

1 Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 11. § 7.

is indeed mentioned, but this cannot be the second year of his government; for, at that time, Daniel was a youth in the second year of his course of instruction; whereas in this chapter he appears as a man. We learn, moreover from ii. 29., that Nebuchadnezzar had been thinking of what should transpire after his death, which supposes him to be of considerable age. Chap. ii. 28. also informs us that his conquests were ended: and as Ezekiel in xxix. 17. announces the conquest of Egypt in the twenty-seventh year of his exile and the thirty-fourth of Nebuchadnezzar's government, the campaign opening about that time, the account in Dan. ii. can hardly be placed before his fortieth year. The 'second year,' therefore, in ii. 1. must refer to Nebuchadnezzar's government over the conquered countries; in other words, it was the second year of his universal monarchy, which perhaps gave rise to a new method of reckoning time."[1]

Sect. 2. Nebuchadnezzar's dream concerning an image composed of different metals ii. (1—13.); the interpretation thereof communicated to Daniel (14—23.) who reveals it to the monarch (24—35.), and interprets it of the four great monarchies. The head of gold represented the Babylonian empire (32.); the breast and arms, which were of silver, represented the Medo-Persian empire (32. 39.); the brazen belly and thighs represented the Macedo-Grecian empire (32. 39.); the legs and feet, which were partly of iron and partly of clay, represented the Roman empire (33. 40—43.), which would bruise and break to pieces every other kingdom, but in its last stage should be divided into ten smaller kingdoms, denoted by the ten toes of the image. The stone, "cut out of the mountain without hands, which brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold" (34, 35.), represented the kingdom of the Messiah, which was "to fill the whole earth," become universal, and stand for ever, unchangeable and eternal. (44, 45.) This section concludes with an account of the promotion of Daniel and his friends to distinguished honour.

Sect. 3. An account of the miraculous preservation of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who, having refused to worship a golden image that had been set up by Nebuchadnezzar, were cast into a fiery furnace. (iii.)

Sect. 4. Nebuchadnezzar having been punished, on account of his pride, with the loss of his reason, and driven from the conversation of men, is restored to reason and to his throne; and by a public instrument proclaims to the world Daniel's interpretation of his dream, and extols the God of heaven. (iv.) For an account of the nature of his insanity, see Vol. III. pp. 515, 516.

Sect. 5. relates the history of Daniel under Belshazzar; who, while rioting in his palace, and profaning the sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away from Jerusalem, is suddenly terrified with the figure of a hand inscribing certain words on the wall which Daniel promptly reads and interprets. In the course of that same night, Belshazzar is slain, and the Babylonian empire is transferred to the Medes and Persians. (v.)

Sect. 6. Daniel being promoted to the highest office in the empire under Darius the Mede, a conspiracy is formed against him. The prophet, being in consequence cast into a den of lions, is miracu-

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1 Jahn's Introduction by Professor Turner, p. 406.

lously preserved; and Darius publishes a decree that all men should glorify the God of Daniel. (vi.)

PART II. *comprises various Prophecies and Visions of Things future, until the Advent and Death of the Messiah, and the ultimate Conversion of the Jews and Gentiles to the Faith of the Gospel, in four sections.* (ch. vii.—xii.)

SECT. I. The vision of the four beasts concerning the four great monarchies of the world: it was delivered about forty-eight years after Nebuchadnezzar's dream related in ch. ii. but with some different circumstances. The first beast (4.) represented the Babylonian empire: the second (5.) the Medo-Persian empire: the third (6.), the Macedo-Grecian empire; and the fourth (7.), the Roman empire. The ten horns of this beast denote ten kingdoms or principalities which arose out of it, and were signified by the ten toes of the image. (ii. 41, 42.) These ten kingdoms or principalities are variously enumerated by different writers, who have supported their respective hypotheses with great learning and ingenuity, for which we must refer the reader to their works. The following table, however, will exhibit the result of their elaborate researches: —

	Machiavel. [1]	Mede. [2]	Bishop Lloyd [3] and Dr. Hales. [4]	Sir Isaac Newton. [5]	Bishop Newton. [6]
1. The first horn.	The Ostrogoths in Mœsia.	The Britons.	The Huns, A. D. 356.	Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa.	The senate of Rome, who revolted from the Greek emperors, and claimed the privilege of choosing a new emperor.
2. The second horn.	The Visigoths in Pannonia.	The Saxons in Britain.	Ostrogoths, 377.	The Suevians in Spain.	The Greeks in Ravenna.
3. The third horn.	The Sueves and Alans in Gascoigne and Spain.	The Franks.	Visigoths, 378.	The Visigoths.	The Lombards in Lombardy.
4. The fourth horn.	The Vandals in Africa.	The Burgundians in France.	Franks, 407.	The Alans in Gallia.	The Huns in Hungary.
5. The fifth horn.	The Franks in France.	The Visigoths in the south of France and part of Spain.	Vandals, 407.	The Burgundians.	The Alemanni in Germany.
6. The sixth horn.	The Burgundians in Burgundy.	The Sueves and Alans in Gallicia and Portugal.	Sueves and Alans, 407.	The Franks.	The Franks in France.
7. The seventh horn.	The Heruli and Thuringi in Italy.	The Vandals in Africa.	Burgundians, 407.	The Britons.	Burgundians in Burgundy.
8. The eighth horn.	The Saxons and Angles in Britain.	The Alemanni in Germany.	The Herules, Rugians, and Thuringians, 476.	The Huns.	The Goths in Spain.
9. The ninth horn.	The Huns in Hungary.	The Ostrogoths, who were succeeded by the Lombards in Pannonia, and afterwards in Italy.	The Saxons, 476.	The Lombards.	The Britons.
10. The tenth horn.	The Lombards, first upon the Danube, and afterwards in Italy.	The Greeks in the residue of the empire.	The Longobardi in Hungary, 536; who were seated in the northern parts of Germany about 483.	The Kingdom of Ravenna.	The Saxons in Britain.

[1] Hist. Flor. lib. 1. [2] Works, p. 661. [3] In Lowth's Commentary on the Prophets, pp. 381, 382.
[4] Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. pp. 536—538. [5] On Daniel, ch. vi. p. 47. [6] Dissertations on the Prophecies, vol. i. p. 267.

The number of these kingdoms was not constantly ten, there being sometimes more and sometimes fewer; but Sir Isaac Newton observes, whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number. Besides these ten horns or kingdoms, there was to spring up another little horn (vii. 8. 24.), which Grotius and others have erroneously applied to Antiochus Epiphanes: but which is generally conceived to denote the pope of Rome, whose power as a horn or temporal prince was established in the eighth century. All the kingdoms above described, will be succeeded by the kingdom of Messiah. (9—13. 27.)

Sect. 2. In Daniel's vision of the ram and the he-goat is foretold the destruction of the Medo-Persian empire (typified by the ram, which was the armorial ensign of the Persian empire,) by the Greeks or Macedonians under Alexander, represented by the he-goat: because the Macedonians, at first, about two hundred years before Daniel, were denominated *Ægeadæ*, or the goat's people, as their first seat was called Ægeæ or Ægæ, or goat's town, a goat being their ensign or standard. (viii. 1—7. 20—22.) The four "notable" horns, that sprang up on the fracture of the great horn (8. 23.) denote the four kingdoms of Greece, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt, erected by Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy. The little horn which is described as arising among the four horns of the Grecian empire (9—12. 23, 24.), is by many Jewish and Christian commentators understood to mean Antiochus Epiphanes, to which hypothesis Mr. Wintle inclines; but Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, and Dr. Hales, have clearly shown that the Roman temporal power, and no other, is intended: for, although some of the particulars may agree very well with that king, yet others can by no means be reconciled to him; while all of them correspond exactly with the Romans, and with no other power whatever: it was the Roman power that destroyed the polity and temple of the Jews, and left the nation and holy city in that desolate state in which they are to remain to the end of two thousand three hundred prophetic days, that is, years. (13, 14. 24, 25, 26.) The distress of Daniel (17. 27.) on learning the great and lasting calamities that were to befall his nation, represents him in a very amiable light, both as a patriot and as a prophet, and gives an additional lustre to his glory and exalted character.

Sect. 3. While Daniel, understanding from the prophecies of Jeremiah (compare Jer. xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10.) that the seventy years' captivity was now drawing to a close (Dan. ix. 1, 2.), was humbling himself in fasting and prayer for the sins of his people, and earnestly imploring the restoration of Jerusalem (3—19.), the angel Gabriel is sent to him. (20—23.) He announces to the prophet, that the holy city should be rebuilt and peopled, even in troublous times, (compare Neh. iv. 7, &c. vi. 15.) and should subsist for seventy weeks, that is, weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years; at the expiration of which it should be utterly destroyed for putting the Messiah to death. (25—27.) It was in consequence of this prophecy that the advent of Messiah, towards the end of the period, was generally expected among the nations of the East. The latter part of the prediction (27.) relates to the subversion of the Jewish temple and polity, and the second coming of the Messiah.[1]

[1] Of this illustrious prophecy, which Sir Isaac Newton has justly pronounced to be the foundation of the Christian religion, Dr. Hales has given some chronological computations, slightly differing from the above. See his Analysis, vol. ii. p. 559. et seq.

SECT. 4. contains Daniel's fourth and last prophetic vision, in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, in which he is informed of various particulars concerning the Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, and the kingdom of the Messiah. (x.—xii.)

An introductory narrative states the occasion of the vision, viz. Daniel's fasting and supplication (probably on account of the obstruction of the building of the temple [1]), and describes the glorious person who appeared to the prophet. (Dan. x. 1—21. xi. 1.) The prediction then describes the fate of the Persian empire (xi. 2.), which was invaded and destroyed by Alexander (3.); the partition of his vast dominions into four kingdoms (4.); and the wars between the kingdoms of Egypt (which lay to the south-west of Judæa) and of Syria (which lay to the north-east of the Holy Land) are then foretold, together with the conquest of Macedon by the Romans. (5—36.) The prophecy then declares the tyranny of the papal Antichrist, which was to spring up under the Roman empire (36—39.), and the invasion of the Saracens and of the Turks in the *time of the end*, or latter days of the Roman monarchy. (40—45.) This prophetic vision concludes with foretelling the general resurrection (xii. 1—4.), and with announcing the time when all these great events were to have their final consummation, when the Jews were to be restored, Antichrist destroyed, the fulness of the Gentiles brought in, and the millenium, or reign of saints, was to begin. (5—13.) But the exact period, until PROVIDENCE shall open more of the seals [2], cannot be fully ascertained.

Upon the whole, we may observe with Bishop Newton [3], from whom the preceding analysis is chiefly abridged, "what an amazing prophecy is this, comprehending so many various events, and extending through so many successive ages, from the first establishment of the Persian empire, upwards of 530 years before Christ, to the general resurrection! What a proof of a Divine Providence, and of a Divine Revelation! for who could thus declare the things that shall be with their times and seasons, but HE only who hath them in his power: whose dominion is over all, and whose kingdom endureth from generation to generation!"

III. Of all the old prophets Daniel is the most distinct in the order of time, and the easiest to be understood; and on this account, Sir Isaac Newton observes [4], in those events which concern the last times, he must be the interpreter of the rest. All his predictions relate to each other, as if they were several parts of one general prophecy. The first is the easiest to be understood, and every succeeding prophecy adds something to the former. Though his style is not so lofty and figurative as that of the other prophets, it is more suitable to his subject, being clear and concise; his narratives and descriptions are simple and natural; and, in short, he writes more like an historian than a prophet.

Of the genuineness and authenticity of the book of Daniel we have every possible evidence, both external and internal.

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1 See Ezra iv. 4, 5.

2 The reader who is desirous of studying what has been written on this subject is referred to the writings of Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Mr. Faber, and Dr. Hales, who have collected a great variety of important information on the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecies.

3 Dissertations on Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 413, 414.

4 On Daniel, p. 15.

1. With regard to the *external evidence*, we have not only the general testimony of the whole Jewish church and nation, which have constantly received this book as canonical; but we have the particular testimony of Josephus, who (we have seen) commends Daniel as the greatest of prophets; of the Jewish Targums and Talmuds, which frequently quote and appeal to his authority; of JESUS CHRIST himself, who has cited his words, and has styled him "Daniel the Prophet" (compare Dan. ix. 26, 27. with Matt. xxiv. 15. and Mark xiii. 14.; and likewise of the apostle Paul, who has frequently quoted or alluded to him (compare Dan. iii. 23—25. and vii. 22. with Heb. xi. 33, 34. and Dan. xi. 36. with 2 Thess. ii. 4.), as also of St. John, whose Revelation derives great light from being compared with the predictions of Daniel. To these testimonies we may add that of Ezekiel, a contemporary writer, who greatly extols his exemplary piety and singular wisdom (Ezek. xiv. 14. 20. xxviii. 3.), and also the testimony of antient profane historians, who relate many of the same transactions. [1]

2. The *internal evidence* is not less convincing: for the language, style, and manner of writing, are all perfectly agreeable to that age, and prove that it was written about the time of the Babylonish captivity. Part of the book, viz. from the fourth verse of the second chapter to the end of the seventh chapter, was originally written in the Chaldee language, because that portion treats of the Chaldæan or Babylonish affairs: the rest of the book is pure Hebrew. But the most satisfactory evidence is the exact accomplishment of Daniel's prophecies, as well those which have been already fulfilled as those which are now *fulfilling* in the world. So clear and explicit, indeed, are his predictions concerning the advent of the Messiah, and other important events, of times far remote from those in which he lived, that Porphyry [2], a learned adversary of the Christian faith in the third century, — finding that Daniel's predictions concerning the several empires were so universally acknowledged to be fulfilled, that he could not disprove the fact of their accomplishment, — alleged against them that they must have been written after the events, to which they refer, had actually occurred. To him they appeared to be a narration of events that had already taken place, rather than a prediction of things future; such was the *striking* coincidence between the facts when accomplished, and the prophecies which foretold them. And he further affirmed that they were not composed by Daniel, whose name they bore, but by some person who lived in Judæa about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; because all the prophecies to that time contained true history, but all beyond that period were manifestly false. But this method of opposing the prophecies, as Jerome has rightly

[1] The most important of these testimonies are collected by the writers referred to in the preceding page.

[2] Porphyry seems to have been the first who impugned the genuineness and authority of Daniel's writings, in the twelfth of his fifteen books against the Christians. Dr. Lardner has collected such of his objections as are extant, together with Jerome's answers to them. Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, chap. xxxvii. (Works, vol. viii. pp. 185—204. 8vo.; or vol. iv. pp. 214—225. 4to.) Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius, also wrote answers to Porphyry, which have long since perished.

observed [1], affords the strongest testimony to their truth: for they were fulfilled with such exactness, that, to infidels, the prophet seemed not to have foretold things future, but to have related things past. With respect to the particular prophecy (Dan. xi.) relating to the kings of Syria and Egypt, which Porphyry affirmed was written *after* the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, we may remark that the book of Daniel was translated into the Greek language one hundred years *before* he lived; and that very translation was in the hands of the Egyptians, who did not cherish any great kindness towards the Jews and their religion: and those prophecies which foretold the successes of Alexander (Dan. viii. 5. xi. 3.) were shown to him by the Jews, in consequence of which he conferred upon them several privileges. [2]

IV. In the Vulgate Latin edition of the Bible, as well as in Theodotion's Greek version, which was adopted by all the Greek churches in the East in lieu of the incorrect Septuagint translation above alluded to, there is added in the third chapter of Daniel, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses, the song of the three children, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, who were cast into the fiery furnace; and, at the end of the book, in the Latin Vulgate, the history of Susanna and the story of Bel and the Dragon are inserted as the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters. But these additions were never received into the canon of Holy Writ by the Jewish church; neither are they extant in the Hebrew or Chaldee languages, nor is there any evidence that they ever were so extant. The occurrence of Hebraisms in them proves nothing more than that they were written by a Hebrew in the Greek tongue, into which he transferred the idioms of his own language: and that they were thus originally written in Greek by some Hellenistic Jew, without having any higher source whence they could be derived, is evident from this circumstance, that, in the history of Susanna, Daniel, in his replies to the elders, alludes to the *Greek* names of the trees, under which, they said, the adultery charged upon Susanna was committed, which allusions cannot hold good in any other language. [3] The church of Rome, however, allows these spurious additions to be of the same authority with the rest of the book of Daniel; and, by a decree of the fourth session of the council of Trent, has given them an equal place in the canonical Scriptures. But they were never recognised as part of the sacred volume by the antient fathers of the Christian church. Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Apollinarius rejected these pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but also as fabulous: and Jerome, who has been followed by Erasmus and other modern writers, has given the history

[1] Præf. ad Danielem, et Procem. ad Comment. in Daniel.

[2] Michaelis has *demonstrated* that the Hebrew and Chaldee text of Daniel was the original, and more antient than the genuine Septuagint version of this *book*, in the fourth volume of his (German) Bibliotheca Orientalis. See an English version of this demonstration in Dr. Apthorp's Discourses on Prophecy, vol. i. pp. 244—250.

[3] In the examination of the elders, when one of them said he saw the crime committed, *υπο σχῖνον, under a mastich-tree*, Daniel is represented as answering, in allusion to *σχῖνον*, "The angel of God hath received sentence of God, ΣΧΙΣΑΙ *σε μεσον, to cut thee in two.*" And when the other elder said that it was *υπο πρῖνον, under a holm-tree*, Daniel is made to answer, in allusion to the word *πρῖνον*, "The angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword, ΠΡΙΣΑΙ-*σε μεσον, to cut thee in two.*" Jerome, *ut supra*.

of Bel and the Dragon no better title than that of "*The Fable of Bel and the Dragon.*" And others, who have admitted them for instruction of manners, have nevertheless rejected them from the canonical Scriptures; in which conduct they have been followed by the Protestant churches, who exclude them from the canonical, and class them among the apocryphal writings.[1]

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§ 5. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET OBADIAH.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Synopsis of its Contents.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 588—583.

I. THE time when this prophet flourished is wholly uncertain. Jerome, with the Jews, is of opinion that he was the same person who was governor of Ahab's house, and who hid and fed one hundred prophets whom Jezebel would have destroyed. Some other critics think that he was the Obadiah, whom Josiah constituted overseer of the works of the temple, mentioned in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12. Dupin refers him to the time of Ahaz, in whose reign the Edomites, in conjunction with the Israelites, made war against the tribe of Judah; because his prophecy is almost wholly directed against the Edomites or Idumæans. Grotius, Huet, Dr. Lightfoot, and other commentators, however, make him to be contemporary with Hosea, Joel, and Amos, agreeably to the rule of the Jewish writers, viz. that, where the time of the prophet is not expressed, his predictions are to be placed in the same chronological order as the prophecy immediately preceding. Archbishop Newcome, with great probability, supposes that Obadiah prophesied between the taking of Jerusalem (which happened in the year 587 before Christ) and the destruction of Idumæa by Nebuchadnezzar, which took place a very few years after: consequently he was partly contemporary with Jeremiah. As the latter has many expressions similar to others in Obadiah, it is a question which of the two has borrowed from the other. Opinions vary on this subject, and there is not much preponderance of evidence on either side; except that, as Jeremiah has used the works of other prophets in his predictions against foreign nations, this fact renders it more probable that he had read Obadiah than the reverse. The following table of the parallel passages will enable the reader to form his own judgment: —

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[1] Dr. Prideaux's Connection, part i. book iii. *sub anno* 534. vol. i. pp. 164, 165. edit. 1720. Calmet's Dictionary, voce *Daniel*, and his Préface sur Daniel, Comm. Litt. tom. vi. pp. 609—612. The fullest vindication of the genuineness and canonical authority of the prophecies of Daniel is to be found in Bishop Chandler's "Vindication of the Defence of Christianity, from the Prophecies of the Old Testament," and in Dr. Samuel Chandler's "Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies," both published at London in 1728, in 8vo.

Obadiah, verse 1. compared with Jeremiah xlix. 14.

2.	-	-	-	-	-	15.
3, 4.		-	-	-	-	16.
5.	-	-	-	-	-	9.
6.	-	-	-	-	-	10.
8.	-	-	-	-	-	7.[1]

The writings of Obadiah, which consist of only one chapter, are composed with much beauty, and unfold a very interesting scene of prophecy.

II. The prophecy of Obadiah consists of two parts; viz.

PART I. *is minatory, and denounces the Destruction of Edom for their Pride and carnal Security* (1—9.), *and for their cruel Insults and Enmity to the Jews, after the Capture of their City.* (10—16.)

This prediction, according to Archbishop Usher, was fulfilled, about five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, by the Babylonians subduing and expelling them from Arabia Petræa, of which they never afterwards recovered possession.

PART II. *is consolatory, and foretells the Restoration of the Jews* (17.), *their Victory over their Enemies, and their flourishing State in consequence.* (18—21.)

Archbishop Newcome considers this prophecy as fulfilled by the conquests of the Maccabees over the Edomites. (See 1 Macc. v. 3—5. 65, &c.) There is no doubt that it was in part accomplished by the return from the Babylonian captivity; and by the victories of the Maccabæan princes; but the prediction in the last verse will not receive its complete fulfilment until that time when "the kingdoms of the world are become *the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ.*" (Rev. xi. 15.)

§ 6. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET EZEKIEL.

I. *Author and Date.*—II. *Canonical Authority of the Prophecies of Ezekiel.*—III. *Their Scope.*—IV. *Analysis of them.*—V. *Observations on the Style of Ezekiel.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 595—536.

I. EZEKIEL, whose name imports the *strength of God*, was the son of Buzi, of the sacerdotal race, and one of the captives carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, with Jehoiachin king of Judah: it does not appear that he had prophesied before he came into Mesopotamia. The principal scene of his predictions was some place on the river Chebar, which flows into the Euphrates about two hundred miles to the north of Babylon, where the prophet resided; though he was, occasionally, conveyed in vision to Jerusalem. He commenced his prophetic ministry in the thirtieth year of his age, according to general accounts; or rather, as Calmet thinks, in the thirtieth year after the covenant was renewed with God in the reign of Josiah,

[1] Professor Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 369. note.

which answers to the fifth year of Ezekiel's and Jehoiachin's captivity (Ezek. i. 1. xl. 1.), the æra whence he dates his predictions; and he continued to prophesy about twenty or twenty-one years. The events of his life, after his call to the prophetic office, are interwoven with the detail which he has himself given of his predictions: but the manner of its termination is no where ascertained. The pseudo-Epiphanius, in his lives of the prophets, says that he was put to death by the prince or commander of the Jews in the place of his exile, because this prince was addicted to idolatry, and could not bear the reproaches of the prophet. No reliance, however, can be placed on this account, which is intermixed with many fables. Jerome is of opinion, that, as Ezekiel was in part contemporary with Jeremiah, who prophesied in Judæa while Ezekiel delivered his predictions beyond the Euphrates, their prophecies were interchanged for the consolation and encouragement of the captive Jews. There is, indeed, a striking agreement between the subject-matter of their respective prophecies; but Ezekiel is more vehement than Jeremiah in reproving the sins of his countrymen, and abounds more in visions, which render some passages of his book exceedingly difficult to be understood. On this account no Jew was, antiently, permitted to read the writings of this prophet, until he had completed his thirtieth year.[1]

II. Until of late years the prophecies of Ezekiel have always been acknowledged to be canonical, nor was it ever disputed that he was their author. The Jews, indeed, say that the sanhedrin deliberated for a long time whether his book should form a part of the sacred canon. They objected to the great obscurity at the beginning and end of his prophecy; and to what he says in ch. xviii. 20. that the son should not bear the iniquity of his father, which they urged was contrary to Moses, who says (Exod. xx. 5.), that God visits the "sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation*." But it is worthy of remark, that Moses himself (Deut. xxiv. 16.) says the very same thing as Ezekiel.[2] Respecting the declaration in Exod. xxv. 5. See Vol. II. p. 523.

The genuineness of certain chapters of this prophet has been impugned by some writers both on the continent and in our own country.

i. On the continent it has been denied that the last nine chapters are to be attributed to Ezekiel; but the arguments adduced in behalf of this hypothesis are by no means sufficient to sustain it: for

1. The alleged obscurity of these chapters is "certainly not at variance with the opinion that they were written by Ezekiel, for many other parts of his work are less perspicuous, not to say, that descriptions of this kind, particularly of buildings, can scarcely be made very intelligible without the aid of drawings.

2. These chapters are supposed to contain commands which were disregarded by the Hebrews after their return, and, therefore, it is inferred that they did not then exist, or at least were not ascribed to Ezekiel. But this supposition is unfounded: for those chapters do not contain commands, but an emblematic or figurative repre-

[1] Hieronymi Procem. in lib. 1. Comm. in Ezech.
[2] Calmet, Préface sur Ezekiel. Comment. Litt. tom. vi. pp. 353, 354.

sentation intended to confirm the certainty of the return, and the re-establishment of divine worship.

3. It is further objected, that the prophet could not possibly retain in memory the numbers of so many measurements as were perceived by him in his vision. But this is of little weight; for as the impressions of the visions were the more vehement on account of the outward senses being at rest, there would be the less difficulty in retaining them in the memory. Besides there are persons who commit numbers to memory with great facility, and if the objectors to these prophecies allow that visions constitute merely the dress and form in which the prophets announce their predictions, there would have been no need of memory in the case.

4. Josephus [1] attributes to Ezekiel two books concerning the Babylonish captivity: but as by the second book of Ezekiel, he means the last nine chapters, how is it possible thence to infer that Ezekiel is not their author? There is no necessity, therefore, to apply the language to Jeremiah (as Eichhorn did), which cannot be done without violence to the series of the discourse."

Altogether worthless is the conjecture "that some Hebrew, who returned later than the great body of his brethren, made up these chapters, in order to effect a new distribution of the country by which he might acquire a portion for himself: for no such impostor would have written so largely and in such a manner of *the temple* and *of the division of the country among the tribes*, and at the same time forget entirely the distribution *among individuals*.

"Nothing, therefore, can be established in opposition to the genuineness of these prophecies; and it is confirmed by their contents. The *visions*, the *manner of conveying reproof*, the *multitude of circumstantial particulars*, the *character of the language and style*, in all which respects Ezekiel is remarkably distinguished from other writers, prove that he must have been the author of these chapters. No imitation could possibly have been so successful." [2]

ii. In England, an anonymous writer [3] has denied that "the prophecies in chapters xxv.—xxxii. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxviii. and xxxix. are Ezekiel's. His reasons are so exceedingly trifling, that they are not worthy of refutation. Nor indeed is this necessary, for these very parts of the book contain evidence that they are the work of this prophet; very many particulars which Ezekiel is accustomed to introduce elsewhere are found in these prophecies; as, for instance, the *designation of the year, the month and the day*, on which a revelation was communicated; the remarkable phraseology *son of man* corresponding with the usage in the Aramæan dialect; the forms, *set thy face towards* or *against — prophecy against — hear the word of Jehovah — thus saith the Lord Jehovah — the word of Jehovah came to me — they shall know that I am Jehovah — take up a lamentation for*. In these chapters, as in ch. i.—xxiv., the terms נָגִיד and נָשִׂיא are frequently applied to kings, the same devices for conducting sieges, דַּיִק, *a circumvallation*, and סֹלְלָה, *a mound*, are mentioned,

[1] Antiq. Jud. lib. x. c. 5. § 1.
[2] See Prof. Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 403.
[3] Monthly Magazine, March 1798, p. 189.

compare ch. xxvi. 8. with iv. 2. xvii. 17. xxi. 27. (22.), and in fine the same particularity and multitude of circumstances occur. Indeed xxviii. 14. contains a reference to the vision mentioned in i. 13. x. 2. If the mentioning the regions of the departed more frequently than is usual (see xxvi. 20. xxxi. 14—17. xxxii. 18—32.) would seem to indicate a foreign origin, it must be considered that the subject required it, and it can never be alleged with any weight as a proof that these portions of Ezekiel's prophecies differ in character from the remainder." [1]

Josephus ascribes to this prophet two books concerning the Babylonian captivity [2]; and says, that, having foretold in Babylon the calamities which were coming upon the people, he sent accounts of them to Jerusalem. [3] But these circumstances are not recorded in the predictions now extant; nor have we any means of ascertaining what foundation Josephus had for his assertion. Most commentators are of opinion that the Jewish historian divided the prophecy we now have into two books, and that he took that part of the prophecy, which contains a description of the temple (xli.—xlviii.), for a distinct book, because it treats on a subject wholly different from the topics discussed in the former part of his writings.

III. The chief design of Ezekiel's prophecies is, to comfort his brethren in captivity, who deplored their having too lightly credited the promises of Jeremiah, who had exhorted them speedily to submit to the Chaldees, on account of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem. As these captives saw no appearance of the fulfilment of Jeremiah's predictions, God raised up Ezekiel to confirm them in the faith, and to support by new prophecies those which Jeremiah had long before published, and even then continued to announce in Judæa. In pursuance of this design, Ezekiel predicts the dreadful calamities which soon after were inflicted upon Judæa and Jerusalem, on account of the idolatry, impiety, and profligacy of their inhabitants; the divine judgments that would be executed on the false prophets and prophetesses, who deluded and hardened the Jews in their rebellion against God; the punishments that awaited the Ammonites, Edomites, and Philistines, for their hatred of the Jews, and insulting them in their distress; the destruction of Tyre; the conquest of Egypt; the future restoration of Israel and Judah from their several dispersions; and their ultimately happy state after the advent and under the government of the Messiah.

IV. The prophecies of Ezekiel form, in our Bibles, forty-eight chapters; and, as he is extremely punctual in dating them, we have little or no difficulty in arranging them in chronological order. They may be divided into four parts; viz.

PART I. *Ezekiel's Call to the Prophetic Office* (i. 1. to the first part of verse 28.), *his Commission, Instructions, and Encouragements for executing it.* (i. 28. latter clause, ii. iii. 1—21.)

PART II. *Denunciations against the Jewish People.* (iii. 22—27. iv. —xxiv.)

[1] Prof. Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 404.
[2] Antiq. Jud. lib. x. c. 5. § 1. [3] Ibid. l. x. c. 7. § 2.

Sect. 1. Under the emblem of a siege delineated upon a tile is represented the manner in which the Chaldæan army would surround Jerusalem during the reign of Zedekiah. (iii. 22—27. iv. 1—3.)[1] The inhabitants there encouraged the captives in Chaldæa to hope for a return; and such a hope they actually cherished, so long as Jerusalem was safe: but this vision was designed to overthrow their confidence. From the specimens preserved in cabinets, it is well known that the tiles or bricks, antiently used in oriental buildings, were of considerable size, with one of the surfaces well polished, so as to be capable of receiving the representation described by the prophet. By Ezekiel's lying upon his right and left side a certain number of (prophetic) days, is exhibited the number of years, during which God had borne with the iniquities of the house of Israel. (4—8.) The scanty supply and intermixture of coarse food, represented the scarcity and hard fare which the Jews should have during the continuance of the siege by Nebuchadnezzar.

Sect. 2. Under the type of shaving his head and beard, and weighing his hair, one third part of which was to be burnt, another to be cut small with a knife, and the remainder to be burnt (v. 1—4.), are, in vision, denounced the divine judgments against Jerusalem, by famine, sword and dispersion. (5—17.) The head here represents Jerusalem; the hair, the great number of its inhabitants; and the balances, the exactness of God's judgments.

Sect. 3. denounces the divine judgments against the Jews for their idolatry (vi. 1—7.), but promises that a remnant shall be saved, and shall be brought to a sense of their sins by their afflictions. (8—14.)

Sect. 4. announces the irreversible judgment of captivity, and final desolation of the Jews for their idolatry and other heinous sins (vii. 1—22.): the severity of their captivity, which is prefigured by a chain. (23—27.)

Sect. 5. Describes the carrying of the prophet, in a vision, to Jerusalem (viii. 1—4.), where he is shown the idolatries committed by the Jews within the precincts of the temple; particularly the image of Baal, by a bold figure called the *image of Jealousy*, from the provocation it gave to God, by setting up a rival against him in the place dedicated to his worship (5.); the Egyptian (6—12.), the Phenician (13, 14.), and the Persian superstitions (15, 16.)[2] The prophet then denounces vengeance against the wicked, and foretells the preservation of the pious Jews (17, 18. ix.); and under the command to scatter coals of fire over the city (x. 1—7.), and the vision of the Shechinah departing from the temple (8—22.), are prefigured the destruction of Jerusalem, and Jehovah's forsaking the temple. This section concludes with a severe denunciation against those wicked princes and people who remained in Jerusalem, and derided the types and predictions of the prophets (xi. 1—13.); the return of the Jews is then foretold (14—21.); Jehovah's utterly forsaking the temple and city is represented

[1] The prophetical types and figures are often adapted to the genius and education of the prophets. Amos, for instance, derives his figures from objects which were familiar to a shepherd or an husbandman. As Ezekiel seems to have had a peculiar talent for architecture, several of his representations are suitable to that profession. "And they that suppose the emblem here made use of to be below the dignity of the prophetic office, may as well accuse Archimedes of folly for making lines in the dust." W. Lowth on Ezek. i.; from whose summaries of chapters and the marginal abstracts of Mr. Reeves this analysis of Ezekiel is chiefly derived, in the present as well as in former editions of this work.

[2] Bishop Warburton has an excellent illustration of this prediction in his Divine Legatoin of Moses, book iv. sect. 6. — (Works, vol. iv. pp. 295—300.); the most material parts of which are inserted in Bishop Mant's and Dr. D'Oyly's commentary on the Bible.

by the departure of the Shechinah (22, 23.); and the prophet returns to communicate his instructions to his brethren of the captivity. (24, 25.)

Sect. 6. Under the types of Ezekiel's removing himself and his household goods (xii. 1—7.), and eating and drinking "with quaking, and with carefulness" (17—20.), is prefigured the captivity of Zedekiah and of the Jews still remaining at Jerusalem (8—16.) [1]; and speedy judgment is denounced against the Jews for their abuse of the divine forbearance. (21—28.)

Sect. 7. The false prophets (xiii. 1—16.), and false prophetesses (17—23.), are reproved and threatened with signal punishment.

Sect. 8. A denunciation of the divine judgments against the idolatrous elders and their false prophets (xiv. 1—11.), and against the Jews for their obstinate impenitency (12—21.); a remnant of whom, it is promised, shall be saved. (22, 23.)

Sect. 9. Under the parable of an unfruitful and unprofitable vine is set forth the utter rejection of Jerusalem. (xv.)

Sect. 10. Under the emblem of an exposed and wretched infant is represented the natural state of the Jewish nation, and the great love of God to it in Egypt, as well as afterwards. (xvi. 1—14.) The heinous and unparalleled sins of the Jews are set forth; for which sore judgments are denounced against them. But, notwithstanding all these provocations, God promises in the end to show them mercy under his new and everlasting covenant. (60—63.) The figurative mode of describing adultery, which is of frequent occurrence in the prophets, is pursued with great force, and at considerable length, both in this and the 23d chapter.

Sect. 11. Under the allegory of two eagles and a vine, is represented God's judgment upon the Jews, for revolting from Babylon to Egypt. (xvii. 1—21.) The "great eagle with great wings" (3.), means Nebuchadnezzar, as the "feathers of divers colours" mean the various nations that were subject to his sway. The other "great eagle" (7.), means the king of Egypt. The preaching of the Gospel, and the universal kingdom of the Messiah, are foretold. (22—24.)

Sect. 12. The Jews, in Ezekiel's time, having complained (xviii. 1, 2.) of the divine justice, as if the calamities which had befallen them were inflicted merely for the sins of their forefathers, this section contains a vindication of God's eternal rules of justice in punishing no one eternally for the sins of another, and in pardoning the wicked on their true repentance. (3—32.)

Sect. 13. Under the parable of a lion's whelps are foretold the cruelty and captivity of Jehoahaz, who was deposed by the king of Egypt [2], and of Jehoiakim, who was deposed by the king of Babylon. [3] (xix. 1—9.) And under the parable of a vine scorched by the east wind, torn up and transplanted in the wilderness, are set forth the desolation and captivity of the whole Jewish people. (10—14.)

[1] Josephus informs us that Zedekiah, thinking the prophecy of Ezekiel in the thirteenth verse of this chapter (that he should be brought to Babylon, which however he should not see, though he should die there) inconsistent with the prediction of Jeremiah (xxxii. 4. and xxxiv. 3.) that the Jewish king should see the eyes of the king of Babylon, — determined to give no credit to either of them. Both prophecies, as we have already seen (Vol. I. p. 312.), were literally fulfilled, and the event convinced him that they were not irreconcileable. Compare Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 8. § 2. with 2 King xxv. 4—7. and Jer. lii. 8—11.

[2] See 2 Kings xxiii. 33. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 4.

[3] See 2 Kings. xxiv. and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

SECT. 14. A deputation of the elders having come to the prophet, in the seventh year of Jehoiakim's and his own captivity, to request him to ask counsel of God in the midst of their calamity, Ezekiel by by divine command, reminds them of God's mercies to them, and of their idolatry, and rebellions against him, from their departure out of Egypt to that very day. (xx. 1—39.) Yet, notwithstanding all their provocations, their return from captivity is foretold, and also that the twelve tribes shall serve God at Jerusalem.

SECT. 15. Under the emblem of a forest, doomed to be consumed by fire, is foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, termed the "forest of the south," because that city lay to the south of Chaldæa, where the prophet then was. (xx. 45—49.) And under the emblem of a sharp sword is predicted the destruction of the Jews (xxi. 1—17.), of Jerusalem (18—27.) and of the Ammonites (28—32.), by Nebuchadnezzar. The prophecy against the Ammonites was accomplished about five years after Jerusalem was destroyed.

SECT. 16. Contains a recital of the sins committed in Jerusalem, and by all orders and classes of people in that city; for which the severest judgments are denounced. (xxii.)

SECT. 17. Represents the idolatries of Samaria and Jerusalem by the lewd practices of two common harlots (xxiii. 1—21.); for which crimes God denounces very severe judgments against them both. (22—49.)

SECT. 18. Under the figure of a boiling pot is shown the destruction of Jerusalem and its inhabitants (xxiv. 1—14.); and, by the prophet's being forbidden to mourn for his wife, it is signified that the calamities of the Jews shall be so astonishing as to surpass all expressions of sorrow. (15—27.)

PART III. *Comprises Ezekiel's Prophecies against various neighbouring Nations, Enemies to the Jews.* (xxv.—xxxii.)

SECT. 1. Denounces the judgments of God against the Ammonites (xxv. 1—7.), Moabites (8—11.), Edomites (12—14.), and Philistines (15—17.), on account of their hatred of his people, and insulting them in the time of their distress. According to Archbishop Usher and Josephus, these predictions were fulfilled by Nebuchadnezzar about five years after the destruction of Jerusalem.[1]

SECT. 2. Announces, in language singularly elegant and animated, the destruction of Tyre (xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. 1—19.), whose vast trade, riches, splendour, and power, are largely described. This prediction[2] was accomplished, nineteen years after its delivery, by Nebuchadnezzar, who captured Tyre after besieging it for thirteen years, and utterly destroyed that city. The destruction of Zidon, the mother city of Tyre, (in whose prosperity and adversity she generally participated,) is then declared (20—23.); and this section of prophecy concludes with promises of the happy state of the Jews on their deliverance from all their enemies, together with their general conversion to Christianity. (24—26.)

SECT. 3. The deposition and death of Pharaoh-Hophrah (or Apries)

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[1] Usserii Annales, ad A. M. 3419. Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. x. c. 11. § 1.

[2] Though these predictions chiefly relate to Old Tyre, yet Dr. Prideaux is of opinion that they also comprehend New Tyre, which was erected on an island about half a mile distant from the shore, and was conquered by Alexander the Great. Connexion, part i. book ii. *sub anno* 573. (vol. i. pp. 91, 92.) See Vol. I. pp. 313—315. for the proofs of the literal accomplishment of Ezekiel's prophecy, that Tyre should be a place "to spread nets upon," and be "built no more." (xxvi. 14.)

king of Egypt (xxix. 1—8.), and the conquest of that country by Nebuchadnezzar (9—21. xxx.—xxxii.), are foretold. The imagery of the latter part of this prophecy is both sublime and terrible. These predictions were in the tenth, twenty-seventh, eleventh, and twelfth years of Jehoiachin's captivity.

PART IV. *Contains a Series of Exhortations and consolatory Promises to the Jews, of future Deliverance under Cyrus, but principally of their final Restoration and Conversion under the Kingdom of Messiah.* (xxxiii.—xlviii.) *These Predictions were probably delivered in the twelfth year of Jehoiachin's Captivity.*

SECT. 1. Sets forth the duty of a prophet or minister of God, exemplified by that of a watchman, in warning a people of their sins. (xxxiii. 1—9.) Then follows an earnest exhortation to repentance, vindicating the equity of the divine government, and declaring the terms of acceptance (as in ch. xviii.) to be without respect of persons; so that the ruin of obstinate and impenitent sinners must be attributed to themselves. (xxxiii. 10—20.) While Ezekiel was thus under the prophetic impulse, tidings being brought to him of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians (21, 22.), he takes occasion to predict the utter desolation of Judæa, to check the vain confidence of those who still remain there, and he also reproves the hypocrisy of those Jews who were of the captivity. (23—33.)

SECT. 2. In this section God reproves the conduct of the civil and ecclesiastical governors of the Jewish people (xxxiv. 1—10.), and promises a general restoration of the people. Their happy condition under the reign of Messiah their king, is described in the most beautiful terms. (11—31.)

SECT. 3. Contains a renewal of the prophet's former denunciations against the Edomites (see xxv. 12.) as a just punishment for their insults to the Jews during their calamities. (xxxv.) [1]

SECT. 4. Announces the general restoration of the Jews, of which the return of the two tribes from Babylon may be considered an earnest, and their consequent felicity. (xxxvi.) The same subject is further illustrated under the vision of a resurrection of dry bones. (xxxvii. 1—14.) The address to the dry bones in v. 4. is by some commentators considered as a prophetical representation of that voice of the son of God, which all that are in their graves shall hear at the last day, and come forth. Under the emblem of the union of two sticks, is foretold the incorporation of Israel and Judah into one state and church, which will enjoy the land of Canaan and the blessings of the gospel under the Messiah, (15—28.)

SECT. 5. Contains a remarkable prophecy against Gog and all his allies, and the victory of Israel over them (xxxviii. xxxix. 1—22.), together with a promise of deliverance from captivity, and of the final restoration and conversion of the Jews to the Gospel, under the Messiah. (23—29.) This prophecy relates to the latter ages of the world, and will be best understood by its accomplishment.

SECT. 6. Contains a representation, partly literal and partly mystical, of Solomon's temple; also a mystical representation of the city of Jerusalem, and mystical directions concerning the division of the

[1] This prophecy was accomplished in the conquest of the Edomites, first by the Nabatheans, and secondly by John Hyrcanus, who compelled them to embrace the Jewish religion; in consequence of which they at length became incorporated with that nation. Dr. Prideaux's Connexion, part ii. book v. *sub anno* 129. (vol. ii. pp. 307, 308.)

Holy Land; — all which were designed to give the Jews a greater assurance of their returning into their own country from the Babylonish captivity; and, more remotely, of their return after their general conversion to Christianity, and of the lasting and firmly settled and prosperous state they shall then enjoy in their own country. It seems that no model of Solomon's temple had remained. To direct the Jews, therefore, in the dimensions, parts, order, and regulations of the new temple, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, is one reason why Ezekiel is so particular in his description of the old temple; to which the new was conformable in figure and parts, though inferior in magnificence on account of the poverty of the nation at that time. Whatever was august or illustrious in the prophetic figures, and not literally fulfilled in or near their own times, the antient Jews justly considered as belonging to the times of the Messiah.[1] Accordingly, when they found that the second temple fell short, at least in their opinion, of the model of the temple described by Ezekiel, they supposed the prophecy to refer, at least in part, to the period now mentioned; and, doubtless, the temple and temple worship were a figure of Christ's church, frequently represented in the New Testament under the metaphor of a temple, in allusion to the beauty, symmetry, and firmness of that erected by Solomon, to its orderly worship, and to the manifestations of the divine presence there vouchsafed.[2] This section comprises the last nine chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy; which are thus analysed by Dr. Smith.[3]

Ch. xl. contains a description of the two outer courts, and of the chambers belonging to them (1—47.), together with the porch of the temple. (48.)

Ch. xli. describes the measures, parts, and ornaments of the temple itself.

Ch. xlii. describes the priest's chambers and their use, and the dimensions of the holy mount on which the temple stood.

Ch. xliii. represents the glory of the Lord as returning to the temple, where God promises to fix his residence, if his people repent and forsake those sins which caused him to depart from them. (1—11.) The measures of the altar and the ordinances relating to it are set down. (12—27.)

Ch. xliv. describes the glory of God as actually returned to the temple, and reproves the Jews for suffering idolatrous priests to profane the temple with their ministrations. (1—14.) Ordinances are then given for the deportment of God's true priests, and the maintenance due to them. (15—31.)

Ch. xlv. appoints the several portions of land for the sanctuary and its ministers (1—5.), for the city (6.), and for the prince (7, 8.); and institutes various ordinances concerning the provisions for the ordinary and extraordinary sacrifices. (9—25. xlvi. 1—15.)

Ch. xlvi. (16—24.) gives directions concerning the inheriting of any part of the prince's portion, and also concerning the boiling and baking any part of the holy oblations.

Ch. xlvii. contains the vision of the holy waters issuing out of the temple, and their virtue (1—12.); a most beautiful emblem of the gradual progress of the Gospel, and of the power of divine grace under it, which is capable of healing all but the incorrigibly impenitent and hypocrites; who, in verse 11., are compared to marshy ground, which, after all the care or culture that can be bestowed upon it, continues barren and unprofitable. The extent and division of the Holy Land are then described, which is to be indiscriminately shared between the Israelites and proselytes sojourning among them (13—23.); mystically denoting the incorporation of the Gentiles into the same church with the Jews. (Compare Eph. iii. 6.)

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[1] See particularly 1 Cor. iii. 16. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Eph. ii. 20—22. 1 Tim. iii. 15. The same metaphor is also pursued in 2 Thes. ii. 4., and occurs repeatedly in the Revelation of St. John, who not only describes the heavenly sanctuary by representations taken from the Jewish temple (see Rev. xi. 19. xiv. 17. xv. 5. 8.), but also transcribes several of Ezekiel's expressions (Rev. iv. 2, 3. 6. xi. 1, 2. xxi. 12. &c., xxii. 1, 2.); and borrows his allusions from the state of the first temple, not of the second temple which existed in our Saviour's time; as if the former had a more immediate reference to the times of the Gospel. Compare Rev. iv. 1. &c. with Ezek. i. 6. *et seq.* — Lowth on Ezek. xl.

[2] Reeves and Lowth on Ezek. xl. [3] View of the Prophets, pp. 153, 154.

Ch. xlviii. comprises a description of the several portions of land belonging to each tribe. (1—7. 23—29.); together with the portions allotted to the sanctuary (8—14.), the city (15—19.), and the prince (20—22.); and also the measures and names of the gates of the new city. (30—35.)

The points in these prophecies, which are principally worthy of attention, are the following:—

1. That the prophet, more than one hundred miles distant from the scene, should have announced the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem on the very day it took place; and, like Jeremiah, should have constantly predicted the conquest and destruction of the city, and the carrying away of the inhabitants.

2. That he should have foreseen also the flight of Zedekiah through the broken walls at night, together with these circumstances; viz. that he should be overtaken by the Chaldæans, and that he should not be slain, but carried into their country, which, however, he should not see. This was verified by Nebuchadnezzar's causing his eyes to be put out.

3. That, moreover, like Jeremiah, he should plainly predict the return of the Jews to their country, and their perseverance in the worship of God, events so remote and in themselves improbable, and also the conquest of Idumæa by the Hebrews.

4. That he should have announced not only the demolition of Tyre to be rebuilt no more, (for the new city was founded upon an island,) but also that its ruins should be thrown into the sea; a prediction which Alexander unconsciously verified.

5. Lastly, that, like Jeremiah, he should have foretold the advent of Messiah the great son of David, at a period when David's family were deprived of royal dignity.[1]

V. Most biblical critics concur in opinion as to the excellency and sublimity of Ezekiel's style. Grotius[2] observes, that he possessed great erudition and genius; so that, setting aside his gift of prophecy, which is incomparable, he may deserve to be compared with Homer, on account of his beautiful conceptions, his illustrious comparisons, and his extensive knowledge of various subjects, particularly of architecture. Bishop Lowth, in his twenty-first lecture on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews, gives us the following description of the peculiar and discriminating characters of this prophet. "Ezekiel," says he, "is much inferior to Jeremiah in elegance; in sublimity he is not even excelled by Isaiah: but his sublimity is of a totally different kind. He is deep, vehement, tragical; the only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible; his sentiments are elevated, fervid, full of fire, indignant; his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific, sometimes almost to disgust; his language is pompous, solemn, austere, rough, and at times unpolished: he employs frequent repetitions, not for the sake of grace or elegance, but from the vehemence of passion and indignation. Whatever subject he treats of, that he sedulously pursues, from that he rarely departs, but cleaves as it were to it; whence the connection is in general evident and well preserved. In many respects he is perhaps excelled by the other

[1] Professor Turner's Translation of Jahn, p. 401.
[2] Præf. ad Ezechiel, in Crit. Sacr. tom. iv. p. 8.

prophets; but in that species of composition to which he seems by nature adapted, the forcible, the impetuous, the great and solemn, not one of the sacred writers is superior to him. His diction is sufficiently perspicuous, all his obscurity consists in the nature of the subject. Visions (as, for instance, among others, those of Hosea, Amos, and Jeremiah,) are necessarily dark and confused. The greater part of Ezekiel, towards the middle of the book especially, is poetical, whether we regard the matter or the diction." His periods, however, are frequently so rude, that Bishop Lowth expresses himself as being often at a loss how to pronounce concerning his performance in this respect. In another place the same learned prelate remarks, that Ezekiel should be oftener classed among the orators than the poets; and he is of opinion that, with respect to style, we may justly assign to Ezekiel the same rank among the Hebrews, as Homer, Simonides and Æschylus hold among the Greeks.

From this high praise of Bishop Lowth's, his learned annotator, Michaelis, dissents; and is so far from esteeming Ezekiel as equal to Isaiah in sublimity, that he is disposed to think the prophet displays more art and luxuriance in amplifying and decorating his subject, than is consistent with poetical fervour, or, indeed, with true sublimity. Michaelis further pronounces Ezekiel to be in general an imitator, who possesses the art of giving an air of novelty and ingenuity, but not of grandeur and sublimity, to all his compositions; and is of opinion that, as the prophet lived at a period when the Hebrew language was visibly on the decline; and also that, if we compare him with the Latin poets who succeeded the Augustan age, we may find some resemblance in the style, something that indicates the old age of poetry. In these sentiments the English translator of Bishop Lowth's lectures partially acquiesces, observing that Ezekiel's fault is a want of neither novelty nor sublimity, but of grace and uniformity; while Eichhorn minutely discusses his claims to originality.[1] Archbishop Newcome, however, has completely vindicated the prophet's style. He observes, with equal truth and judgment, that Ezekiel is not to be considered as the framer of those august and astonishing visions, and of those admirable poetical representations which he committed to writing; but as an instrument in the hands of God, who vouchsafed to reveal himself, through a long succession of ages, not only in divers parts constituting a magnificent and uniform whole, but also in different manners, as by voice, by dreams, by inspiration, and by plain or enigmatical vision. If he is circumstantial in describing the wonderful scenes which were presented to him in the visions of God, he should be regarded as a faithful representer of the divine revelations, for the purpose of information and instruction, and not as exhausting an exuberant fancy in minutely filling up an ideal picture. The learned prelate thinks it probable that Buzi, the prophet's father, had preserved his own family from the taint of idolatry, and had educated his son for the priestly office in all the learning of the Hebrews, and particularly in the study of their sacred books. Being a youth at the time of his cap-

[1] Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. pp. 89—95.

tivity, — a season of life when the fervour of imagination is natural in men of superior endowments, — his genius led him to amplification, like that of some of the Roman poets; though he occasionally shows himself capable of the austere and concise style of which the seventh chapter is a remarkable instance. But the Divine Spirit did not overrule the natural bent of his mind. Variety is thus produced in the sacred writings. Nahum sounds the trumpet of war; Hosea is sententious, Isaiah sublime, Jeremiah pathetic, Ezekiel copious. This diffuseness of manner in mild and affectionate exhortation, this vehement enlarging on the guilt and consequent sufferings of his countrymen, seems wisely adapted to their capacities and circumstances, and must have had a forcible tendency to awaken them from their lethargy.[1]

SECTION IV.

ON THE PROPHETS WHO FLOURISHED AFTER THE RETURN OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON.

§ 1. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET HAGGAI.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Argument and Scope.* — III. *Analysis of its Contents.* — IV. *Observations on its Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 520—518.

I. NOTHING is certainly known concerning the tribe or birthplace of Haggai, the tenth in order of the minor prophets, but the first of the three who were commissioned to make known the divine will to the Jews after their return from captivity. The general opinion, founded on the assertion of the pseudo-Epiphanius, is that he was born at Babylon, and was one of the Jews who returned with Zerubbabel, in consequence of the edict of Cyrus. The same author affirms that he was buried at Jerusalem among the priests, whence some have conjectured that he was of the family of Aaron. The times of his predictions, however, are so distinctly marked by himself, that we have as much certainty on this point as we have with respect to any of the prophets.

II. The Jews, who were released from captivity in the first year of the reign of Cyrus (Ezra i. 1. et seq.), having returned to Jerusalem and commenced the rebuilding of the temple (Ezra ii. iii), were interrupted in their undertakings by the neighbouring satraps, who contrived to prejudice the Persian monarch (the pseudo-Smerdis)

[1] Archbishop Newcome's Preface to his Translation of Ezekiel, pp. xxvii. xxviii. To justify the character above given, the learned prelate descends to particulars (which we have not room to specify,) and gives apposite examples, not only of the *clear*, the *flowing*, and the *nervous*, but also of the sublime. He concludes his observations on the style of Ezekiel by stating it to be his deliberate opinion, that, if the prophet's "style is the old age of the Hebrew language and composition, it is a firm and vigorous one, and should induce us to trace its youth and manhood with the most assiduous attention." Ibid. pp. xxviii.—lxii.

against them (Ezra iv. 1. with 24.) until the second year of Darius. Discouraged by these impediments, the people ceased, for fourteen years, to prosecute the erection of the second temple, as if the time were not yet come, and applied themselves to the building of their own houses: but God, disposing that sovereign to renew the decree of Cyrus, raised up the prophet Haggai about the year 520 before Christ; and, in consequence of his exhortations, they resumed the work, which was completed in a few years.

Further, in order to encourage them to proceed in this undertaking, the prophet assured them from God, that the glory of this latter house should far exceed the glory of the former.

III. The book of the prophet Haggai comprises three distinct prophecies or discourses, viz.

DISCOURSE 1. The porphet reproves the delay of the people in rebuilding the temple; which neglect he denounces as the reason why they were punished with great drought and unproductive seasons. (i. 1—12.) He then encourages them to undertake the work, and promises them Divine assistance. (13—15.)

DISCOURSE 2. The prophet further encourages the builders by a promise, that the glory of the second temple should surpass that of the first; and that in the following year God would bless them with a fruitful harvest. (ii. 1—19.) This prophecy was fulfilled by Jesus Christ honoring the second temple with his presence, and there publishing his saving doctrine to the world. See Luke xix. 47. xx. 1. xxi. 38. John xviii. 20.[1]

DISCOURSE 3. The prophet foretells the setting up of the Messiah's kingdom under the name of Zerubbabel. (ii. 20—23.)

IV. The style of this prophet is for the most part plain and prosaic, and vehement when he reproves; it is, however, interspersed with passages of much sublimity and pathos when he treats of the advent of the Messiah, whom he emphatically terms "the desire of all nations."

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§ 2. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Analysis of its Contents.* — III. *Observations on its Style.* — IV. *The last Six Chapters proved to be genuine.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 520—518.

I. ALTHOUGH the names of Zechariah's father and grand-father are specified (Zech. i. 1.), it is not known from what tribe or family this prophet was descended, nor where he was born; but that he was one of the captives who returned to Jerusalem in consequence of the decree of Cyrus, is unquestionable. As he opened his prophetic commission in the eighth month of the second year of Darius the son of Hystaspes, that is, about the year 520 before the Christian æra, it is evident that he was contemporary with Haggai, and his

[1] W. Lowth's Commentary on Haggai.

authority was equally effectual in promoting the building of the temple. From an expression in ch. ii. 4. we have every reason to believe that Zechariah was called to the prophetic ministry when he was a young man.

II. The prophecy of Zechariah consists of two parts, the first of which concerns the events which were then taking place, viz. the restoration of the temple, interspersing predictions relative to the advent of the Messiah. The second part comprises prophecies relative to more remote events, particularly the coming of Jesus Christ, and the war of the Romans against the Jews.

PART I. *contains the Prophecies delivered in the second year of Darius king of Persia.* (i.—vi.)

DISCOURSE 1. An exhortation to the Jews who had returned from captivity, to guard against those sins which had drawn so much distress upon their ancestors, and to go on with the building of the temple (i. 1—6.), which it is predicted that Darius should permit (7—17.); and that the Samaritans should be compelled to suspend their opposition to the building. (18—21.) Further, to encourage the Jews in their work, the prophet foretells the prosperity of Jerusalem (ii. 1—5.), and admonishes the Jews to depart from Babylon before her destruction (6—9.), promising them the divine presence. (10—13.) These promises, though primarily to be understood of the Jews after their return from Babylon, are secondarily and principally to be understood of the restoration of the Jews, and their conversion to the Gospel.

DISCOURSE 2. Under the type of Joshua the high priest clothed with new sacerdotal attire, is set forth the glory of Christ as the chief corner-stone of his church. (8—10.)

DISCOURSE 3. Under the vision of the golden candlestick and two olive trees is typically represented the success of Zerubbabel and Joshua in rebuilding the temple and restoring its service. (iv.)

DISCOURSE 4. Under the vision of a flying roll, the divine judgments are denounced against robbery and perjury (v. 1—4.); and the Jews are threatened with a second captivity, if they continue in sin. (5—11.)

DISCOURSE 5. Under the vision of the four chariots, drawn by several sorts of horses, are represented the successions of the Babylonian, Persian, Macedo-Greek, and Roman empires (vi. 1—8.), and by the two crowns placed upon the head of Joshua are set forth, primarily, the re-establishment of the civil and religious polity of the Jews under Zerubbabel and Joshua: and, secondarily but principally, the high-priesthood and kingdom of Christ, here emphatically termed the *Branch* (9—15.), who is to be both king and high-priest of the church of God.

PART 2. *Prophecies delivered in the Fourth Year of the Reign of Darius.* (vii —xiv.)

DISCOURSE 1. Some Jews having been sent to Jerusalem from the exiles then at Babylon, to inquire of the priests and prophets whether they were still bound to observe the fasts that had been instituted on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, and which had been observed during the captivity (vii. 1—3.), — the prophet is commanded to take this occasion of enforcing upon them the weightier matters of the law, viz. judgment and mercy, lest the same calamities should befall them which had been inflicted upon their fathers for their neglect of those duties. (4.—14.) In the event of their obedience, God promises the continuance of his favour (viii. 1—8.); they are encouraged to go on with the build-

ing (9—17.), and are permitted to discontinue the observance of the fasts which they had kept during the captivity. (18—23.)

DISCOURSE 2. contains predictions of the conquest of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, by Alexander the Great (ix. 1—7.), and of the watchful providence of God over his temple in those troublesome times. (8.) Whence he takes occasion to describe, as in a parenthesis, the advent of Christ (9. 10. with Matt. xxi. 5. and John xii. 15.); and then returning to his former subject, he announces the conquest of the Jews, particularly of the Maccabees, over the princes of the Grecian monarchy. (11—17.) Prosperity is further promised to the Jews (x. 1—3.), and their victories over their enemies are again foretold. (4—12.) It is probable that this prophetic discourse remains to be fully accomplished in the general and final restoration of the Jews.

DISCOURSE 3. predicts the rejection of the Jews for their rejection of Messiah, and valuing him and his labours at the base price of thirty pieces of silver. (xi.) This prediction was literally fulfilled in the person of Jesus Christ. (Compare Matt. xxvi. 14, 15. and xxvii. 3—10. with Zech. xi. 11—13.) The Jews themselves have expounded this prophecy of the Messiah.

DISCOURSE 4. comprises a series of prophecies, relating principally to the latter times of the Gospel. The former part of it (xii. 1—9.) announces the preservation of Jerusalem against an invasion in the last ages of the world, which most commentators think is that of Gog and Magog, more largely described in the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of Ezekiel. The grief of the Jews, for their fathers' having crucified the Messiah, on their conversion, is then foretold (10—14.), as also the crucifixion itself, and the general conversion of the Jews. (xiii.) The destruction of their enemies predicted at the beginning of this prophetic sermon, is again foretold (xiv. 1—15.); and the prophecy concludes with announcing the final conversion of all nations to the Gospel, and the prosperity of the church. (16—21.)

III. Zechariah is the longest of the twelve minor prophets. His style, like that of Haggai, is for the most part prosaic, though more obscure towards the beginning on account of his types and visions. But the difficulties arising from his alleged obscurity may be accounted for by the fact, "that some of his predictions relate to matters which are still involved in the womb of futurity: no wonder, then, that these fall not within the reach of our perfect comprehension. Others there are, which we have good reason to believe, have already been fulfilled, but do not appear with such a degree of evidence, as they probably would have done, if we had been better informed concerning the times and facts to which they relate. With respect to the emblems and types that are exhibited, they are most of them of easy and determinate application. And in favour of the importance of his subject-matter, it must be acknowledged that, next to Isaiah, Zechariah is the most evangelical of all the prophets, having more frequent and more clear and direct allusions to the character and coming of the Messiah, and his kingdom, than any of the rest. Nor in his language and composition do we find any particular bias to obscurity, except that the quickness and suddenness of the transitions is sometimes apt to confound the boundaries of discourse, so as to leave the less attentive reader at a loss to whom the several parts of it are to be ascribed. But upon the whole we shall find the diction

remarkably pure, the construction natural and perspicuous, and the style judiciously varied according to the nature of the subject; simple and plain in the narrative and historical parts; but in those that are wholly prophetical, the latter chapters in particular, rising to a degree of elevation and grandeur, scarcely inferior to the sublimest of the inspired writings."[2]

IV. The diversity of style observable in the writings of this prophet has induced many modern critics to conclude that the last six chapters could not have been written by Zechariah: but their objections, however formidable in appearance, admit of an easy and satisfactory solution.

1. It is alleged the evangelist Matthew (xxvii. 9.) cites a passage now found in Zech. xi. 13. as spoken, not by Zechariah, but by Jeremiah. But it is more probable (as we have already shown in Vol. II. p. 212. note 2.), that the name of Jeremiah has slipped into the text, through some mistake of the transcribers.

2. It is urged, that many things are mentioned in these chapters, which by no means correspond with Zechariah's time; as, when events are foretold, which had actually taken place before that time. But it may be questioned, whether those subjects of prophecy have been rightly understood; and whether that, which has been construed as having reference to past transactions, may not in reality terminate in others of a later period, and some perhaps which are yet for to come.

3. Another argument is drawn from ch. xi., which contains a prophecy of the destruction of the temple and people of the Jews; — a prophecy, "which (it has been said) is not agreeable to the scope of Zechariah's commission, who, together with his colleague Haggai, was sent to encourage the people, lately returned from captivity, to build their temple, and to restore their commonwealth." This, it is granted, was the general scope of Zechariah's commission in the first eight chapters; nor would it have been a fit time to foretell the destruction of both the temple and commonwealth, while they were but yet building. But, between the date of these first chapters and that of the succeeding ones, many circumstances might have occurred, and certainly did occur, to give rise to a commission of a very different complexion from the foregoing. The former are expressly dated in the second and fourth years of the reign of Darius; to the latter, no date at all is annexed. Darius is supposed to have reigned thirty-six years; and the Jews have a tradition that the three prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, did not die before the last year of that king's reign. Admitting, then, Zechariah to have prophesied again towards the close of his life, he may well be supposed to have published without any incongruity, after such an interval, what would not altogether have accorded with the period and purport of his first commission. And as there is good reason to believe that this was the case; so upon this ground we may also not improbably conclude him to have been that very Zechariah of whom our Saviour spake (Matt. xxiii. 35.) as slain between the temple and the altar. For he was, according to our

[2] Dr. Blayney's Translation of Zechariah, Prel. Disc. pp. xv. xvi.

Saviour's description, the son of Barachias, and comes in — where, from what is said of him, he might naturally be expected, — at the close of that series of prophets, (for there were none after him until the coming of Christ,) who were put to death in the faithful discharge of their duty. That he was become obnoxious to his countrymen, may be collected from ch. xi. 8. And, if the records of the Old Testament are silent concerning his death, let it be remembered that it was a very small part of them, if any, that was written after that event.

4. Lastly, upon the same supposition, the allowed difference of style and manner may be accounted for, not only as arising from the diversity of the subject, but from the different age of the author; who may well be credited to have written with more dignity in his advanced years, than when he was but a youth, as he is said to be in ch. ii. 4.

Upon the whole this conclusion may be drawn; that setting aside the doubtful authority of St. Matthew's text, there is nothing else to be found sufficient to invalidate the title of Zechariah to the chapters in question[1]; and, consequently, that it was not written *by* Jeremiah, as Mede, Dr. Hammond, and others have supposed, nor *before* the time of that prophet, as Archbishop Newcome conjectured, whose opinion was adopted by Archbishop Secker, and also by Doederlein.

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§ 3. ON THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET MALACHI.

I. *Author and Date.* — II. *Occasion and Scope of his Prophecy.* — III. *Analysis of its Contents.* — IV. *Style.*

BEFORE CHRIST, 436—420.

I. CONCERNING Malachi, the last of the minor prophets (which name signifies *my angel* or *my messenger*), so little is known, that it has been doubted whether his name be a proper name, or only a generic name, signifying the angel of the Lord, a messenger, a prophet. From a comparison of Haggai (i. 13.) with Malachi (iii. 1.), it appears, that in those times the appellation of *Malach-Jehovah*, or the messenger of the Lord, was given to the prophets. The Septuagint translators have rendered Malachi *his angel* instead of *my angel*, as the original imports; and several of the fathers have quoted Malachi under the name of the angel of the Lord. Origen entertained the extravagant notion, that Malachi was an angel incarnate sent from God. Calmet, after Jerome and some other antient writers, thinks that Malachi was the same person as Ezra, who wrote the canonical book that passes under his name, and was governor of the Jews after

[1] Dr. Blayney's Translation of Zechariah, pp. 35—37. The genuineness of the latter part of the prophecy of Zechariah is satisfactorily proved, by a minute examination of its language, style, poetical structure, argument, and scope, by Dr. F. B. Koester, in his Meletemata Critica in Zechariæ Prophetæ Partem posteriorem, cap. ix.—xiv. pro tuenda ejus authentiâ. 8vo. Gottingæ, 1819.

their return from the captivity. As he revised the Holy Scriptures, and collected the canon of the Old Testament, and performed various other important services to the Jewish church, Ezra has been considered both by antient Jewish, and also by the early Christian writers, as a very extraordinary person sent from God, and therefore they thought him very appropriately denominated Malachi: but for these opinions there is no foundation whatever.

It is certain that Mâlachi was a distinct person from Ezra, and (as Rosenmüller observes) the whole argument of his book proves that he flourished after the return from the captivity. That he was contemporary with Nehemiah was the unvarying opinion of the antients, and is placed beyond all doubt by the subject of the book, which presents the same aspect of things as in Nehemiah's time. Thus, it speaks of the temple, as having been built a considerable time; — it introduces the Jews as complaining of the unfavourable state of their affairs; — it finds fault with the heathen wives, whom Nehemiah after some time separated from the people (Neh. xiii. 23—30.); — it censures the withholding of tythes, which was also noticed by Nehemiah. (xiii. 5.)[1] From all these circumstances it appears that Malachi prophesied while Nehemiah was governor of Judæa, more particularly after his second coming from the Persian court; and he appears to have contributed the weight of his exhortations to the restoration of the Jewish polity, and the final reform established by that pious and excellent governor. Archbishop Newcome supposes this prophet to have flourished about the year 436 before the Christian æra: but Dr. Kennicott places him about the year 420 before Christ, which date is adopted by Dr. Hales, as sufficiently agreeing with the description of Josephus and the varying dates of chronologers.[2]

II. The Jews, having rebuilt the temple and re-established the worship of Jehovah, after the death of Zerubbabel and Joshua relapsed into their former irreligion in consequence of the negligence of the priests. Although they were subsequently reformed during the governments of Ezra and Nehemiah, yet they fell into gross abuses after the death of Ezra, and during Nehemiah's absence at the court of Persia. The prophet Malachi was therefore commissioned to reprove the priests and people, more particularly after Nehemiah's second return, for their irreligious practices, and to invite them to repentance and reformation of life by promises of the great blessings that should be bestowed at the advent of the Messiah.

III. The writings of Malachi, which consist of four chapters, comprise two distinct prophetic discourses, viz.

DISCOURSE 1. The Jews having complained that God had shown them no particular kindness, the prophet in reply reminds them of the special favour which God had bestowed upon them; their country being a cultivated land, while that of the Edomites was laid waste, and was to be still farther devastated, by the Persian armies marching through

[1] Jahn's Introduction, p. 435.

[2] Archbishop Newcome's Minor Prophets, p. xliii. Kennicott, Dissertatio Generalis, § 14. p. 6. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. p. 533.

those territories against the revolting Egyptians. (i. 1—5.) Malachi then reproves them for not showing due reverence to God (6—10.), for which their rejection is threatened, and the calling of the Gentiles is announced. (11.) The divine judgments are threatened both against the priests for their unfaithfulness in their office (12—14. ii. 1—10.), and also for the unlawful intermarriages of the people with idolatresses, and divorcing even their legitimate wives. (11—17.)

DISCOURSE 2. foretells the coming of Christ, and his forerunner John the Baptist, under the name of Elias, to purify the sons of Levi, the priests, and to smite the land with a curse, unless they all repented. Reproofs are interspersed for withholding their tythes and other oblations, and also for their blasphemy; and the reward of the good and the punishment of the wicked are predicted, (iii. iv. 1—3.) The prophecy concludes with enjoining the strict observance of the law, since they were to expect no prophet until the forerunner already promised should appear in the spirit and power of Elijah, to introduce the Messiah, and commence a new and everlasting dispensation. (4—6.) "The great and terrible day of the Lord," in verse 5. denotes the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans A. D. 70.; though this expression may also be applied to the general dissolution of all things agreeably to the usual mode of speaking among the prophets. Compare Isa. xiii. 9, 10.[1]

IV. Although the writings of this prophet are almost wholly in prose, yet they are by no means destitute of force and elegance. He reproves the wickedness of his countrymen with great vehemence; and Bishop Lowth observes that his book is written in a kind of middle style, which seems to indicate that the Hebrew poetry, from the time of the Babylonish captivity, was in a declining state, and, being past its prime and vigour, was then fast verging towards the debility of age.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE APOCRYPHA.[2]

1. *Account of the First Book of Esdras.* — II. *Of the Second Book of Esdras.* — III. *Of the Book of Tobit.* — IV. *Of the Book of Judith.* — V. *Of the rest of the Chapters of Esther.* — VI. *Of the Book of Wisdom.* — VII. *Of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.* — VIII. *Of Baruch.* — IX. *Of the Song of the Three Children.* — X. *Of the History of Susanna.* — XI. *Of Bel and the Dragon.* — XII. *Of the Prayer of Manasses.* — XIII. *Of the Books of Maccabees.*

I. IT is not known at what time the FIRST BOOK OF ESDRAS was written: it is only extant in Greek, and in the Alexandrian manuscript it is placed before the canonical book of Ezra, and is there called the first book of Ezra, because the events related in it oc-

1 W. Lowth and Reeves, on Malachi.

2 For a critical account of the reasons why the Apocryphal Books, which are usually printed between the Old and New Testaments, are justly rejected from the canon of Scripture, as uninspired writings, see Vol. I. Appendix, No. I. Section I. pp. 496—499.

curred prior to the return from the Babylonish captivity. In some editions of the Septuagint it is called the *first book of the priest* (meaning Ezra), the authentic book of Ezra being called the second book. In the editions of the Latin Vulgate, previous to the council of Trent, this and the following book are styled the third and fourth books of Esdras, those of Esdras and Nehemiah being entitled the first and second books. The author of this book is not known; it is compiled from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which however it contradicts in many instances. The first book of Esdras is chiefly historical, and gives an account of the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, the building of the temple, and the re-establishment of divine worship. The style of this book is much purer than that of the greater part of the Septuagint version, and is said frequently to approach that of Symmachus, the most elegant of all the Greek translators of the Bible. Although this book is often cited by the fathers, it is rejected by Jerome as being spurious, and the church of Rome never recognised its canonical authority: it is not appointed to be read for lessons in the Anglican church. There is a Syriac version of this book extant.

II. In what language the SECOND BOOK OF ESDRAS was originally written, it seems impossible at this distant period to determine with certainty. Morinus conjectures that it was Hebrew, or perhaps Chaldee, from which it was translated into Greek, and thence into Latin;[1] and this conjecture he grounds upon what he considers to be its evidently Jewish style and phraseology. Archbishop Laurence thinks it highly probable that the Latin version was immediately and literally taken from the Greek: it is indisputably of very high antiquity. It is also extant in an Arabic translation, the date of which is unknown, and in an Ethiopic version (where it is called the first book of Esdras[2]), which cannot be traced higher than the fourth century: both, however, seem to be taken from the Greek, and differ considerably from the Latin version: which last, in the judgment of Dr. Laurence, may be advantageously corrected by the other two. In the Ethiopic version, it is termed the first book of Esdras. Both this and the Arabic versions have only from Chapter III. to Chapter XIV. inclusive. The remaining chapters, as found in the Latin Vulgate, have clearly no connection with it, but form two separate apocryphal pieces, and are thus distinguished in almost all the *manuscripts* of the Vulgate, though they are now *printed* as part of the second book of Esdras.

The author of this book is unknown; although he personates Ezra, it is manifest from the style and contents of his book that he lived long after that celebrated Jewish reformer. He pretends to visions and revelations, but they are so fanciful, indigested, ridiculous, and absurd, that it is clear that the Holy Spirit could have no concern in dictating them. He believed that the day of judgment was at hand, and that the souls of good and wicked men would all be delivered out of hell after the day of judgment. Numerous rabbinical

[1] Exercitationes Biblicæ, lib. ii. p. 225.
[2] Primi Ezræ Libri Versio Æthiopica. General Remarks, pp. 280—282. 291.

fables occur in this book, particularly the account of the six days' creation, and the story of Behemoth and Leviathan, two monstrous creatures that are designed as a feast for the elect after the day of resurrection, &c. He says that the ten tribes are gone away into a country which he calls Arsareth (xiii. 40—45.), and that Ezra restored the whole body of the Scriptures, which had been entirely lost. (xiv. 21.) And he speaks of Jesus Christ and his apostles in so clear a manner, that the Gospel itself is scarcely more explicit. On these accounts, and from the numerous vestiges of the language of the New Testament, and especially of the Revelation of Saint John, which are discoverable in this book, Moldenhawer and some other critics conclude that it was written by some converted Jew, in the close of the first or early in the second century, who assumed the name of Esdras or Ezra. But Archbishop Laurence considers those passages to be interpolations, and observes that the character which the unknown writer gives of the Messiah is a very different one from what a Christian would have given. He is therefore of opinion that this book was written by a Jew, who lived before the commencement of the Christian æra; and that, as an authentic record of Jewish opinions on several interesting points almost immediately before the rise of Christianity, it seems to deserve no inconsiderable attention.[1] This book was rejected as apocryphal by Jerome.

III. Concerning the author of the book of TOBIT, or the time when he flourished, we have no authentic information. It professes to relate the history of Tobit and his family, who were carried into captivity to Nineveh by Shalmaneser; but it contains so many rabbinical fables, and allusions to the Babylonian demonology, that many learned men consider it as an ingenious and amusing fiction, calculated to form a pious temper, and to teach the most important duties. From some apparent coincidences between this book and some parts of the New Testament, Moldenhawer, is disposed to refer it to the end of the first century: but Jahn and most other commentators and critics think it was written about one hundred and fifty or two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. According to Jerome, who translated the book of Tobit into Latin, it was originally written in Chaldee by some Babylonian Jew. It was probably begun by Tobit, continued by his son Tobias, and finished by some other individual of the family; after which it was digested into the order in which we now have it. There is a Greek version of this book extant, much more antient than Jerome's Latin translation: for it is referred to by Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, and other fathers, who lived long before the time of Jerome. From this Greek version the Syriac translation was made, and also that which is found among the apocryphal books in our English Bibles. Although the book of Tobit has always been rejected from the sacred canon, it was cited with respect by the early fathers of the Christian church; the simplicity of its narrative, and the pious and moral lessons it incul-

[1] Primi Ezræ Libri Versio Æthiopica, General Remarks, pp. 309, 310. 320.

cates, have imparted to it an interest, which has rendered it one of the most popular of the apocryphal writings.

IV. The BOOK OF JUDITH professes to relate the defeat of the Assyrians by the Jews, through the instrumentality of their countrywoman Judith, whose genealogy is recorded in the eighth chapter; but so many geographical, historical, and chronological difficulties attend this book, that Luther, Grotius, and other eminent critics, have considered it rather as a drama or parable than a real history. Dr. Prideaux, however, is of opinion that it carries with it the air of a true history in most particulars, except that of the long-continued peace said to have been procured by Judith; which, according to the account given in this book, must have continued *eighty* years. But, as the Jews never enjoyed a peace of so long continuance since they were a nation, he is disposed to allow that circumstance to be a fiction, though he is inclined to think that the book in other respects is a true history. In opposition to this opinion, it has been contended by Heidegger, Moldenhawer, and others, that if it were a true history, some notice of the victory it records would have been taken by Josephus, who is on no occasion deficient when an opportunity presents itself of magnifying the achievements of his countrymen. Philo is equally silent concerning this book and its author. The time when and the place where he lived are totally unknown. Dr. Prideaux refers the book to the time of Manasseh; Jahn assigns it to the age of the Maccabees, and thinks it was written to animate the Jews against the Syrians. Grotius refers it to the same period, and is of opinion that it is wholly a parabolic fiction written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he came into Judæa to persecute the Jewish church, and that its design was to confirm the Jews, under that persecution, in their hope that God would send them a deliverer. According to him, by Judith is intended Judæa: by Bethulia, the temple or house of God; and by the sword which went out thence, the prayers of the saints; Nebuchadonosor denotes the devil; Assyria his kingdom, that is, pride: Holofernes means Antiochus Epiphanes, who was the devil's instrument in that persecution, &c. &c. But such conjectures, as an able commentator[1] remarks, however ingenious, are better calculated to exhibit the powers of fancy and the abuse of learning, than to investigate truth, or throw light on what is uncertain and obscure.

The book of Judith was originally written in Chaldee, and translated into Latin. Besides this translation there are two others,—one in Greek, and the other in Syriac; the former is attributed to Theodotion, but is certainly much older, for it is cited by Clement of Rome in his epistle to the Corinthians, who flourished sixty years before Theodotion. The Syriac version was made from the Greek, whence also our present English translation was made.[2]

V. "THE REST OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER,

[1] Mr. Hewlett, in his Preface to the book of Judith.

[2] Grotii Præfatio ad Annotationes in Librum Judith, apud Crit. Sacr. tom. v. p. 50. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Vet. Test. pp. 155—158. Dr. Prideaux's Connexion, vol. i. pp. 36—40. Jahn, Introd. ad Vet. Fœd. pp. 554—561.

which are found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Chaldee," were originally written in Greek, whence they were translated into Latin, and formed part of the Italic or old Latin version in use before the time of Jerome. Being there annexed to the canonical book, they passed without censure, but were rejected by Jerome in his version, because he confined himself to the Hebrew Scriptures, and these chapters never were extant in the Hebrew language. They are evidently the production of an Hellenistic Jew, but are considered both by Jerome and Grotius as a work of pure fiction, which was annexed to the canonical book of Esther by way of embellishment.[1]

From the coincidence between some of these apocryphal chapters and Josephus, it has been supposed that they are a compilation from the Jewish historian; and this conjecture is further confirmed by the mention of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, who lived no long time before Josephus. These additions to the book of Esther are often cited by the fathers of the church; and the council of Trent has assigned them a place among the canonical books.

VI. "THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON" is commonly ascribed to that Hebrew monarch, either because the author imitated his sententious manner of writing, or because he sometimes speaks in his name, the better to recommend his moral precepts. It is, however, certain that Solomon was not the author, for it was never extant in Hebrew, nor received into the Hebrew canon, nor is the style like that of Solomon. Further, it is evident that it could not have been written by him, not only from the numerous passages which are cited in it from the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, who did not live till long after that king's reign, but also from its contradictions of historical truth, particularly in ch. xv. 14. where the author represents his countrymen as being in *subjection to enemies*, whom he describes as being "most foolish, and more miserable than the very babes." Whereas we are expressly informed by the sacred historian, that Judah and Israel enjoyed the greatest possible prosperity and peace during the reign of Solomon. (1 Kings iv. 20, 21. 24, 25.) To which we may add, that this book contains several words borrowed from the Grecian games, that were not in use till long after his time: for instance στεφανηφορειν (iv. 2.), to wear a crown, such as was given to victors, —πομπευειν (iv. 2.), to make a triumphant entry as the victors did, after they had received the crown, —αγων (iv. 2. x. 12.), the stadium or place appointed for the race, —αθλον (iv. 2.), the reward appropriated to the successful candidate, —and βραβευειν (x. 12.), to confer the prize of victory. On these accounts, Jerome[2] informs us that several antient writers of the first three centuries ascribed it to Philo the Jew, a native of Alexandria, who flourished in the first century; and this opinion is generally adopted by the moderns, from the Platonic notions discoverable in it, as well as from its style, which evidently shows that it was the production of an Hellenistic Jew of Alexandria. Drusius indeed attributes it to another Philo, more an-

[1] From the subscription to the book of Esther in LXX., it seems to have been translated B. C. 168.; at which time it is probable the Apocryphal parts were first interpolated.

[2] Præf. in Prov. Sal.

tient than the person just mentioned, and who is cited by Josephus[1]; but this hypothesis is untenable, because the author of the book of Wisdom was confessedly a Jew, and the Philo of Drusius was a Heathen. Bishop Lowth considers this book evidently to be the production of some Hellenistic Jew, by whom it was originally written in Greek.

The book of Wisdom consists of three parts; the *first*, which is written in the name of Solomon, contains a description or encomium of wisdom, by which comprehensive term the antient Jews understood prudence and foresight, knowledge and understanding, and principally the duties of religion and morality. This division includes the first six chapters. The *second* part points out the source of true wisdom and the means of obtaining it, in the seventh and eighth chapters. In the *third* part, comprising the remainder of the book, the author personifies Solomon, in whose name he introduces a long and tedious prayer or address to the Deity, which treats on a variety of topics, differing from the subject of the two preceding parts; viz. reflections on the history and conduct of the Israelites during their journeyings in the wilderness, and their subsequent proneness to idolatry. Hence he takes occasion to inveigh against idolatry, the origin of which he investigates, and concludes with reflections on the history of the people of God. His allegorical interpretations of the Pentateuch, and the precept (xvi. 28.), to worship God before the rising of the sun, have induced some critics to think that the author was of the sect of the Essenes.

The style of this book, Bishop Lowth pronounces to be very unequal. "It is often pompous and turgid, as well as tedious and diffuse, and abounds in epithets, directly contrary to the practice of the Hebrews: it is, however, sometimes temperate, poetical, and sublime."[2] The book of Wisdom has always been admired for the admirable moral tendency of its precepts; on which account some of the antients styled it *Panaretos*, or the treasury of virtue. Although the fathers of the church, and particularly Jerome, uniformly considered it as apocryphal, yet they recommended its perusal, in consideration of its excellence. The third council of Carthage, held in 397, pronounced it to be a canonical book, under the name of the fourth book of Solomon, and the council of Trent confirmed this decision. Three antient translations of it are extant, in Syriac, Arabic, and Latin; the last was executed before the time of Jerome, who says that he did not correct it. It is full of barbarisms.

VII. "THE WISDOM OF JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH, or ECCLESIASTICUS," like the preceding, has sometimes been considered as the production of Solomon, whence the council of Carthage deemed it canonical, under the title of the fifth book of Solomon, and their decision was adopted by the council of Trent. It is however manifest, that it was not, and could not, be written by Solomon, because allusion is made (xlvii. 24, 25.) to the captivity: although it is not improbable that the author collected some scattered sentiments

[1] Drusius de Henocho, c. 11.

[2] Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 179.

ascribed to Solomon, which he arranged with the other materials he had selected for his work. Sonntag is of opinion that this book is a collection of fragments or miscellaneous hints for a large work, planned out and begun, but not completed.[1] Respecting the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, we have no information but what we collect from the book itself; and from this it appears that it was written by a person of the name of Jesus the son of Sirach, who had travelled in pursuit of knowledge, and who, according to Bretschneider[2], lived about 180 B. C. This man being deeply conversant with the Old Testament, and having collected many things from the prophets, blended them, as well as the sentences ascribed to Solomon, with the result of his own observation, and thus endeavoured to produce an ethical treatise that might be useful to his countrymen. This book was written in Hebrew, or rather the Syro-Chaldaic dialect then in use in Judæa, and was translated by his grandson into Greek, about the year 130 B. C.[3], for the use of the Alexandrian Jews, who were ignorant of the language of Judæa. The translator himself is supposed to have been a son of Sirach, as well as his grandfather the author.

The book of Ecclesiasticus "is a collection, without any definite order, of meditations and proverbs relating to religion, to morals, and to the conduct of human life; generally distinguished by much acuteness of thought, and propriety of diction; and not unfrequently marked by considerable beauty and elegance of expression; and occasionally rising to the sublimest heights of human eloquence."[3] From the great similarity between this book and the proverbs of Solomon, in matter, sentiments, diction, complexion of the style, and construction of the periods, Bishop Lowth is of opinion, that the author adopted the same mode of versification, which is found in the Proverbs; and that he has performed his translation with such a religious regard to the Hebrew idiom, that, were it literally and accurately to be re-translated, he has very little doubt that, for the most part, the original diction might be recovered.[4]

This book has met with general and deserved esteem in the Western church, and was introduced into the public service by the venerable reformers and compilers of our national liturgy. It may be divided into three parts; the *first* of which (from ch. i. to xliii.) contains a commendation of wisdom, and precepts for the regulation of life, that are adapted to persons of all classes and conditions, and of every age and sex. In the *second* part, the author celebrates the patriarchs, prophets, and other distinguished men among the Jews. (xliv.—l.) And the *third* part, containing the fiftieth chapter, concludes with a prayer or hymn of the author, and an exhortation to the pursuit of wisdom.

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1 De Jesu Siracidæ Ecclesiastico Commentarius. 4to. Riga, 1792.

2 Bretschneider, Liber Jesu Siracidæ. Proleg. pp. 10—32.

3 Christian Remembrancer, May, 1827. p. 262. Addison has recorded his opinion, that "the little apocryphal treatise, intitled the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach, would be regarded by our modern wits as one of the most shining tracts of morality that is extant, if it appeared under the name of a Confucius, or of any celebrated Grecian philosopher." Spectator, No. 68.

4 Bishop Lowth's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 177.

The book of Ecclesiasticus was frequently cited by the fathers of the church under the titles of ἡ Ιησου Σοφια, *the wisdom of Jesus*, Παναρετος Σοφια, *wisdom, the treasure of all the virtues*, or Λογος, *the discourse*. The Latins cite it under the appellation of *Ecclesiasticus*, that is, a book which was read in the churches, to distinguish it from the book of Ecclesiastes. Antiently it was put into the hands of catechumens, on account of the edifying nature of its instruction; next to the inspired writings, a collection of purer moral precepts does not exist. Besides the Greek copy of this book, and the Latin version, there are two versions of it, one in Syriac, and the other in Arabic: the Latin translation is supposed to have been executed in the first century of the Christian æra: it is full of Greek terms, but differs widely from the present Greek of Ecclesiasticus. "The authorised English version of this treatise appears to have been made from the Greek text, as exhibited in the Complutensian Polyglott,—a text which has, not without reason, been suspected of having been made conformable in many places to the Vulgate. A new translation, made immediately from the Vatican or Alexandrian text, would exhibit this treatise to us in a purer form."[1]

VIII. The book of BARUCH is not extant in Hebrew, and only in Greek and Syriac; but in what language it was originally written, it is now impossible to ascertain. It is equally uncertain by whom this book was written, and whether it contains any matters historically true, or whether the whole is a fiction. Grotius is of opinion that it is an entire fiction, and that it was composed by some Hellenistic Jew under the name of Baruch. In the Vulgate version it is placed after the Lamentations of Jeremiah: but it was never considered as a canonical book by the Jews, though, in the earliest ages of Christianity, it was cited and read as a production entitled to credit. The principal subject of the book is an epistle, pretended to be sent by Jehoiakim and the captive Jews in Babylon, to their brethren in Judah and Jerusalem. The last chapter contains an epistle which falsely bears the name of Jeremiah; there are two versions of this book extant, one in Syriac, and one in Arabic: the Latin translation in the Vulgate is prior to the time of Jerome.

IX. "THE SONG OF THE THREE CHILDREN" is placed in the Greek version of Daniel, and also in the Vulgate Latin version, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of the third chapter. It does not appear to have ever been extant in Hebrew, and although it has always been admired for the piety of its sentiments, it was never admitted to be canonical, until it was recognised by the council of Trent. The fifteenth verse contains a direct falsehood; for it asserts that there was no prophet at that time, when it is well known that Daniel and Ezekiel both exercised the prophetic ministry in Babylon. This apocryphal fragment is therefore most probably the production of some Hellenistic Jew. The hymn (verses 29. et seq.) resembles the hundred and forty-eighth Psalm, and was so approved of by the compilers of our liturgy, that, in the first Common Prayer Book of King Edward VI., it was retained and was

[1] Christian Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 263.

used instead of the *Te Deum* during Lent, though it is now seldom read, except perhaps when the third chapter of the book of Daniel is the first lesson.[1] It is on record, that this hymn was used so early as the third century, in the Liturgies of the Christian church.

X. THE HISTORY OF SUSANNA has always been treated with some respect, but has never been considered as canonical, though the council of Trent admitted it into the number of sacred books. It is evidently the work of some Hellenistic Jew[2], and in the Vulgate version it forms the thirteenth chapter of the book of Daniel. In Theodotion's Greek version it is placed at the beginning of that book. Lamy and some other modern critics, after Julius Africanus, consider it to be both spurious and fabulous.

XI. "The History of the Destruction of BEL AND THE DRAGON" was always rejected by the Jewish church; it is not extant either in the Hebrew or the Chaldee language. Jerome gives it no better title than that of *the fable of Bel and the Dragon;* nor has it obtained more credit with posterity, except with the divines of the council of Trent, who determined it to be a part of the canonical Scriptures. The design of this fiction is to render idolatry ridiculous, and to exalt the true God; but the author has destroyed the illusion of his fiction by transporting to Babylon the worship of animals, which was never practised in that country. This book forms the fourteenth chapter of Daniel in the Latin Vulgate; in the Greek it was called the prophecy of Habbakuk, the son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi; but this is evidently false, for that prophet lived before the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and the events pretended to have taken place in this fable are assigned to the time of Cyrus. There are two Greek texts of this fragment, that of the Septuagint, and that found in Theodotion's Greek version of Daniel. The former is the most antient, and has been translated into Syriac. The Latin and Arabic versions, together with another Syriac translation, have been made from the text of Theodotion.

XII. "THE PRAYER OF MANASSES, king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon," though not unworthy of the occasion on which it is pretended to have been composed, was never recognised as canonical. It is rejected as spurious even by the church of Rome. In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19. there is mention of a prayer by this king, which is said to be written "in the Book of the kings of Israel," and also "among the sayings of the seers." But it is evident that this composition, which abounds with deeply pious and penitent expressions, cannot be the prayer there alluded to: for it never was extant in Hebrew, nor can it be traced to a higher source than the Vulgate Latin version. As it is mentioned by no writer more antient than the pseudo-Clement, in the pretended apostolical constitutions, which were compiled in the fourth century, it is probable that this prayer was composed by some unknown person, who thought he could supply the loss of the original prayer.

[1] Wheatley on the Common Prayer, chap. iii. sect. 12. Shepherd on the Common Prayer, p. 231. London. 1796. 8vo.

[2] Of this the reader may see a proof in the paranomasia, or play upon words, which has already been noticed in p. 222. of this volume.

XIII. The two books of MACCABEES are thus denominated, because they relate the patriotic and gallant exploits of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren: they are both admitted into the canon of Scripture by the church of Rome.

1. The FIRST BOOK contains the history of the Jews, from the beginning of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon, a period of about thirty-four years. It was originally written in the Syro-Chaldaic language, in which it was extant in the time of Jerome, who says that he saw it.[1] The title which it then bore, was *Sharbit Sar Bene El*, which has been variously translated, *The Scourge of the Rebels against the Lord*, and *The Sceptre of the Prince of the Sons of God:* a title which is not unsuitable to the character of Judas, who was a valiant commander of the persecuted Israelites. The author of this book is not certainly known; some conjecture that it was written by John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon, who was prince and high-priest of the Jews for nearly thirty years, and who commenced his government at the time when this history ends: by others it is ascribed to one of the Maccabees, and many are of opinion that it was compiled by the Great Synagogue. It is, however, most probable, that it was composed in the time of John Hyrcanus, when the wars of the Maccabees were terminated, either by Hyrcanus himself, or by some persons employed by him. From the Syro-Chaldaic it was translated into Greek, and thence into Latin. Our English version is made from the Greek.[2] The first book of Maccabees is a most valuable historical monument, written with great accuracy and fidelity, on which more reliance may be placed than on the writings of Josephus, who has borrowed his materials from it, and has frequently mistaken its meaning.[3]

2. The SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES consists of several pieces compiled by an unknown author. It commences with two epistles sent from the Jews of Jerusalem to those of Alexandria and Egypt, exhorting them to observe the feast of the dedication of the new altar, erected by Judas Maccabæus on his purifying the temple. These epistles, which are confessedly spurious, are followed by the author's preface to his history, which is an abridgment of a larger work, compiled by one Jason, an Hellenistic Jew of Cyrene; who wrote in Greek the history of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, and an account of the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes, and his son Eupator, in five books. The entire work of Jason has long since perished, and Dr. Prideaux is of opinion[4] that the author of this second book of Maccabees was an Hellenistic Jew of Alexandria, because he makes a distinction between the temple in Egypt and that at Jerusalem, calling the latter "*the great temple.*" This book is by no means equal in accuracy to the first, which it contradicts in some instances; it is not arranged in chronological order, and sometimes also it is at variance with the inspired writings. Compare 2 Macc. i. 18. with Ezra iii. 2, 3. and ii. 5—8. with Jer.

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[1] Hieron. Prolog. Galeat, sive Præf. in Lib. Regum.
[2] Prideaux's Connexion, vol. ii. pp. 185, 186.
[3] Michaelis, Introd. to New Test. vol. i. p. 71. [4] Connexion, vol. ii. pp. 186, 187.

iii. 16. The second book of Maccabees, therefore, must be read with great caution. It contains the history of about fifteen years, from the execution of the commission of Heliodorus, who was sent by Seleucus to bring away the treasures of the temple, to the victory obtained by Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor, that is, from the year of the world 3828 to 3843. Two antient translations of this book are extant, one in Syriac, the other in Latin; both are prior to the time of Jerome, and both miserably executed. The version in our Bibles was executed from the Greek.

Besides the two books of Maccabees here noticed, there are two others which bear their names, but very improperly: neither of them has ever been reputed canonical.

3. The THIRD BOOK OF MACCABEES contains the history of the persecution of the Jews in Egypt by Ptolemy Philopater, and their sufferings under it. From its style, this book appears to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew: it abounds with the most absurd fables. With regard to its subject, it ought in strictness to be called the first book of Maccabees, as the events it professes to relate occurred before the achievements of that heroic family; but as it is of less authority and repute than the other two it is reckoned after them. It is extant in Syriac, though the translator seems to have been but imperfectly acquainted with the Greek language; and it is also found in some antient manuscripts of the Greek Septuagint, particularly in the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts; but it was never inserted in the Latin Vulgate, nor in our English Bibles.[1] Being reputed to be a canonical book by the Greek Church, it is inserted in the various editions of the Septuagint: a translation of the third book of Maccabees is inserted in Becke's edition of the English Bible, printed in 1551, and also in Mr. Crutwell's edition of the Authorised English Version, with the notes of Bishop Wilson.

4. The FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES is supposed to be the same as the book "concerning the government, or empire of reason," ascribed to Josephus by Philostratus, Eusebius, and Jerome. It is extant in the Vatican and Alexandrian manuscripts, and in various editions of the Septuagint, in which it is placed after the three books of Maccabees, but it is not extant in any Latin Bibles. It is designed to adorn and enlarge the history of old Eleazar, and of the seven brothers, who with their mother suffered martyrdom under Antiochus, as is related more succinctly in the sixth and seventh chapters of the second book of Maccabees.[2]

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[1] Prideaux's Connexion, vol. ii. p. 111. 8th edit. sub anno 216.

[2] Calmet's Preface sur le IV. livre des Maccabées. Dissertations, tom. ii. pp. 423—428.; where he has collected all the traditionary information extant concerning this book.

PART II.

ANALYSIS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

VARIOUS modes of arranging the books of the New Testament have obtained at different times; nor does the order in which they are to be found in manuscripts correspond with that in which they occur in the printed copies and modern translations. In the time of Ignatius (who flourished A. D. 107.), the New Testament consisted of two codes or collections, called "Gospels," and "Epistles," or "Gospels," and "Apostles[1];" the same division prevailed in the time of Tertullian, A. D. 200. (the Acts being included in the latter division), who called the Gospels "our Digesta," in allusion, as it seems, to some collection of the Roman laws digested into order.[2] This division also obtained in the time of Cyprian, who flourished soon after Tertullian.[3] About a century afterwards, Athanasius, or the author of the Synopsis of the Sacred Scriptures attributed to him, makes the New Testament to consist of eight volumes or parts, viz. the four Gospels; the *fifth* book is the Acts of the Apostles; the *sixth* contains the seven Catholic Epistles; the *seventh*, the fourteen Epistles of Saint Paul; and the *eighth*, the Revelation of Saint John. In a later age, Leontius of Byzantium[4] (or Constantinople) distributed the books of the New Testament into six books or parts, the *first* of which comprised the Gospels of Matthew and Mark; the *second* those of Luke and John; the *third*, the Acts of the Apostles; the *fourth*, the seven Catholic Epistles; the *fifth*, the Epistles of Saint Paul; and the *sixth* the Apocalypse. But the more modern, and certainly more convenient arrangement, is that of the *Historical*, *Doctrinal*, and *Prophetical* Books.

The HISTORICAL BOOKS are such as contain principally matters of fact, though points of faith and doctrine are also interwoven. They consist of two parts; the *first*, comprising the four Gospels, relates the transactions of Jesus Christ. These, when formed into a volume, have sometimes been collectively termed Ευαγγελιον, *the Gospel*,

[1] See the passages in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 81, 82.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 322, 323.

[2] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 278—282.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 431—433.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iii. pp. 179, 180.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 28, 29.

[4] De Sectis, art. 2. cited by Heidegger, Manuale Biblicum, p. 441, and Rumpæus, Com. Crit. ad Libros N. T. p. 97.

and Ευαγγελιων Γραφη, *the Scripture of the Gospels.* The *second* part of these historical books relates the transactions of the Apostles, especially those of Peter and Paul, and comprises the books called the Acts of the Apostles. The DOCTRINAL BOOKS include the fourteen Epistles of Saint Paul, and also the seven Catholic Epistles, so called because they were chiefly addressed to the converted Jews, who were dispersed throughout the Roman empire. The appellation of *Catholic Epistles* is of considerable antiquity, being mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome and the pseudo-Athanasius.[1] The Revelation of Saint John forms the PROPHETICAL class of the books of the New Testament.

On the preceding classification we may remark, that the appellation of historical books is given to the Gospels and Acts, because their subject-matter is principally historical; and that the Gospels are placed *first*, on account of the importance of their contents, which relate the history of the life, discourses, doctrines, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, which form the primary articles of the Christian faith.[2] The Acts of the Apostles are placed *second* in order, because they continue and confirm the history delivered in the Gospels, and give an account of the churches which were planted by the Apostles. The Epistles hold the *third* place, because they contain instructions to the newly planted churches, and more fully explain, confirm, and apply the doctrines of the Gospel. In the *fourth* place comes the Apocalypse, which, Dr. Mill remarks[3], is fitly placed last, because it predicts things that are hereafter to be fulfilled, and is therefore of a different kind from the rest: and also because it has, towards the end, that remarkable clause (Rev. xxii. 18, 19.) against adding to or taking from it, which may be applied to all the books of Scripture: to which observation we may add, that there are strong reasons for believing it to be the last written of all the books of the New Testament.[4]

With respect to the order in which particular books (especially Saint Paul's Epistles) are to be placed under these respective classes, there is a considerable difference of opinion among learned men, in consequence of the diversity of the dates when the books are supposed to have been written. As these dates are particularly considered in the account of each book, given in the following pages, it may suffice at present to remark that the order now generally received, is the most antient, being that adopted by Eusebius in the early part of the fourth century, as it had probably been the order adopted by Ignatius, who lived at the close of the first and during

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[1] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 23. Hieronymi, Cat. Script. Eccles. (Opp. tom. i. pp. 169, 170. Francof. 1684.) Pseudo-Athanasii Synops. Sacr. Script. in Athanasii Opp. p. 59.

[2] Considerable discussion has taken place among the German critics, and some few critics in this country, respecting the sources of the four Gospels. Hypothesis has succeeded to hypothesis; and the last is as unsatisfactory as the first. For an account of the principal theories on this subject, the reader is referred to the Appendix to this volume.

[3] Millii Prolegom. ad Nov. Test. § 239.

[4] Rumpæi. Comm. Crit. ad Nov. Test. pp. 98—120. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Lib. Bibl. pp. 204—206. Heidegger, Manuale Biblicum, pp. 441—447.

the former half of the second century. Dr. Lardner (in whose judgment Bishop Tomline[1] has acquiesced) is of opinion that the received order is the best: and although it is both entertaining and useful to know the order in which Saint Paul's epistles were written, yet he is of opinion that we should not deviate from that arrangement which has been so long established in all the editions of the original Greek, as well as in all modern versions, partly on account of the difficulty which would attend such an alteration, and also because the order of time has not yet been settled beyond the possibility of dispute.[2]

The following table will perhaps be useful to the student, as exhibiting at one view the various classes of the books of the New Testament above enumerated.[3]

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[1] Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 276.

[2] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 641—649.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 454—458.

[3] From Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 692.

The Books of the NEW TESTAMENT are,

- I. HISTORICAL, describing the history of
  - 1. *Jesus Christ*, the head of the Church; whose genealogy, birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension are recorded by the four evangelists — Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.
  - 2. *The Christian Church*, whose primitive plantation, state, and increase, both among Jews and Gentiles, are declared in the — Acts of the Apostles.
- II. DOCTRINAL, comprising all the Epistles written by the Apostles, either,
  - 1. To believing Gentiles, as Paul's Epistles,
    - 1. *General*, which Paul wrote unto whole churches about matters of general and public concernment, as the Epistles to the — Romans. I. Corinthians. II. Corinthians. Galatians. Ephesians. Philippians. Colossians. I. Thessalonians. II. Thessalonians.
    - 2. *Particular*, to particular persons concerning,
      - 1. *Public* or Ecclesiastical affairs, as his Epistles to — I. Timothy. II. Timothy. Titus.
      - 2. *Private*, or Economical affairs, as his Epistle to — Philemon.
  - 2. To the believing Jews, as it is probable all these Epistles were; viz.
    - 1. The Epistle, written by Paul to the — Hebrews.
    - 2. The seven Epistles, commonly called *General*, or the *Catholic Epistles*, of —
      - James — James.
      - Peter — I. Peter. II. Peter.
      - John — General: I. John. Particular: II. John. III. John.
      - Jude — Jude.
- III. PROPHETICAL, foretelling what shall be the future state and condition of the Church of Christ to the end of the world, written by John the Apostle; viz. — The Revelations.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

SECTION I.

ON THE NAME AND NUMBER OF THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

I. *Observations on the General Appellation of* GOSPEL, *as applied to the Histories of Jesus Christ.* — II. *General Scope of the Gospels.* — III. *Their Number.* — IV. *Importance of the Gospels.*

I. THE word ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, which we translate Gospel, among Greek profane writers[1], signifies any good tidings (from ευ, good, and αγγελια, a *message* or *tidings*), and corresponds exactly with our English word Gospel, which is derived from the Saxon words ȝoð, *God* or *good*, and ꝑpel, *word* or *tiding*, and denotes God's word or *good tidings*. In the New Testament this term is confined to the glad tidings of the actual coming of the Messiah, and is even opposed to the prophecies concerning Christ. (Rom. i. 1, 2.) Thus, in Matt. xi. 5. our Lord says, "the poor have the Gospel preached to them,"—that is, the advent and doctrines of the Messiah or Christ are preached to the poor. Hence ecclesiastical writers gave the appellation of Gospels to the lives of Christ, — that is, to those sacred histories in which are recorded the "good tidings of great joy to all people," of the advent of the Messiah, together with all its joyful circumstances; and hence the authors of those histories have acquired the title of EVANGELISTS.[2] Besides this general title, the sacred writers use the term Gospel, with a variety of epithets, which it may be necessary to mention.

Thus, it is called the *Gospel of Peace* (Eph. vi. 15.), because it proclaims peace with God to fallen man, through Jesus Christ; — *The Gospel of God concerning his Son* (Rom. i. 1. 3.), because it relates every thing concerning the conception, birth, preaching, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ; — *The Gospel of his Son* (Rom. i. 9.); — *The Gospel of Salvation* (Eph. i. 13.), because it offers salvation to the lost or miserable; — *The Gospel of the Kingdom of God* (Matt. iv. 23. ix. 35. xxiv. 14. Mark i. 14.), because it proclaims the power and dominion of the Messiah, the nature and privileges of his kingdom, its laws, and the duties of its subjects; — *The Word or Doctrine* (λογος) *of the Gospel* (Acts xv. 7.); — *The Word of Reconciliation* (2 Cor. v. 19.), because it makes known the manner and terms by which God is reconciled to sinners; — *The Gospel of Glory* (or the glorious Gospel) *of the Blessed God* (1 Tim. i. 11.), as being that dispensation which exhibits the glory of all the divine attributes in the salvation of mankind; — and

[1] On the various meanings of the word Ευαγγελιον, Schleusner's and Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, or Leusden's Philologus Græcus (pp. 133—135.), may be advantageously consulted.

[2] Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. i. pp. 2, 3. Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 1, 2.

The Gospel of the Grace of God (Acts xx. 24.), because it is a declaration of God's free favour towards all men.—The blessings and privileges promised in the New Testament (1 Cor. ix. 23.);—The public profession of Christian doctrine (Mark viii. 35. x. 29. 2 Tim. i. 8. Philem. ver. 13.);—and in Gal. i. 6. 8, 9. any new doctrines, whether true or false, are respectively called *the Gospel.*[1]

II. The general design of the evangelists in writing the Gospels was, doubtless, to confirm the Christians of that (and every succeeding) age in their belief of the truth that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, through whom alone they can obtain eternal life (John xx. 31.), and also to defend this momentous truth against the calumnies of the adversaries of the Christian faith. For, as the Jews, and those who supported the Jewish superstition, would calumniate, and endeavour to render suspected, the oral declarations of the apostles concerning the life, transactions, and resurrection of our Saviour, it would not a little tend to strengthen the faith and courage of the first Christians, if the most important events in the history of Jesus Christ were committed to writing in a narrative which should set forth his dignity and divine majesty. This task was executed by two *apostles*, Matthew and John, and *two companions* of the apostles, Mark and Luke, if indeed Luke was not one of those who attended the ministry of Jesus Christ. Of these evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke have chiefly related the actions and doctrines of Jesus in Galilee, probably on account of the false reports circulated by the Jews of Jerusalem: who, being unable to deny the memorable and notorious transactions performed there by Jesus Christ, seem to have directed all their efforts to invalidate the credibility of what he is said to have taught and done in Galilee. This is the more likely, as we know that they held the Galilæans in the utmost contempt, as well as every thing which came from that country. (John vii. 52.) Such appears to have been the reason why these three evangelists have related the transactions of Jesus Christ in Galilee more at length; while, with the exception of his passion and resurrection, they have only touched briefly on the other circumstances of his life. On the contrary, John expatiates more largely on the actions and doctrines of our Saviour both at Jerusalem and in Judæa, and adds a variety of particulars omitted by the others.

III. The Gospels which have been transmitted to us are four in number; and we learn from undoubted authority that four, and four only, were ever received by the Christian church as the genuine and inspired writings of the evangelists.[2] Many of the antient fathers have attempted to assign the reason why we have precisely this number of Gospels, and have fancied that they discovered a mysterious analogy between the four Gospels and the four winds, the four regions or corners of the earth, the four rivers of Paradise, and the four corners and four rings of the ark of the covenant! But the

[1] Dr. Clarke's Preface to the Gospel of Matthew, pp. ii. 4.

[2] Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 11. expressly states that in the *second* century the *four* Gospels were received by the church. See additional testimonies to the number of the Gospels in the Index to Dr. Lardner's Works, voce *Gospels.*

most celebrated analogy is that of the four animals described by Ezekiel (i. 5—10.), which was first observed by Irenæus [1], and after him by Jerome [2], and which gave rise to the well known paintings of the four evangelists. The following table exhibits the most probable dates, as well as the names of the places, where the historical books of the New Testament were written.

GOSPELS.	PLACES.	A. D.
Matthew (Hebrew) } ——— (Greek) }	Judæa	37 or 38 / 61
Mark	Rome	between 60 and 63
Luke (Gospel) } —— (Acts of the Apostles) }	Greece	63 or 64
John	Ephesus	97 or 98

IV. "It is a considerable advantage that a history of such importance as that of Jesus Christ has been recorded by the pens of separate and independent writers, who, from the contradictions, whether real or apparent, which are visible in these accounts, have incontestibly proved that they did not unite with a view of imposing a fabulous narrative on mankind. That Saint Matthew had never seen the Gospel of Saint Luke, nor Saint Luke the Gospel of Saint Matthew, is evident from a comparison of their writings. The Gospel of Saint Mark, which was written later, must likewise have been unknown to Saint Luke; and that Saint Mark had ever read the Gospel of Saint Luke, is at least improbable, because their Gospels so frequently differ." [3] It is a generally received opinion, that Saint Mark made use of Saint Matthew's Gospel in the composition of his own: but this, it will be shown in a subsequent page [4], is an unfounded hypothesis. The Gospel of Saint John, being written after the other three, supplies what they had omitted. Thus have we four distinct and independent writers of one and the same history; and, though trifling variations may seem to exist in their narratives, yet these admit of easy solutions [5]; and in all matters of consequence, whether doctrinal or historical, there is such a manifest agreement between them as is to be found in no other writings whatever.

"Though we have only four original writers of the life of Jesus, the evidence of the history does not rest on the testimony of four men. Christianity had been propagated in a great part of the world before any of them had written, on the testimony of thousands and tens of thousands, who had been witnesses of the great facts which they have recorded; so that the writing of these particular books is not to be considered as the *cause*, but rather the *effect*, of the belief of

[1] Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 11. The first living creature, says this father, which is like a lion, signifies Christ's efficacy, principality, and regality, viz. John; the second, like a calf, denotes his sacerdotal order, viz. Luke; — the third, having as it were a man's face, describes his coming in the flesh as man, viz. Matthew; — and the fourth, like a flying eagle, manifests the grace of the Spirit flying into the church, viz. Mark.

[2] Jerome, Procem. in Matth. The reader, who is desirous of reading more of these fanciful analogies, will find them collected by Suicer, in his Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, tom. i. pp. 1222, 1223.

[3] Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 4. [4] See Section III. § VIII. pp. 290—292. infra.

[5] See Vol. II. pp. 495—560. on the Contradictions which are alleged to exist in the Scriptures.

Christianity; nor could those books have been written and received as they were, viz. as *authentic histories*, of the subject of which all persons of that age were judges, if the facts they have recorded had not been well known to be true." [1]

SECTION II.

ON THE GOSPEL BY SAINT MATTHEW.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author.* — III. *Date.* — IV. *In what Language written.* — V. *Genuineness and Authenticity of Saint Matthew's Gospel in general.* — VI. *The Authenticity of the Two first Chapters examined and substantiated.* — VII. *Scope of this Gospel.* — VIII. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — IX. *Observations on its Style.*

I. IN some Greek and Latin manuscripts, and the earlier printed editions, as well as in the Coptic version and many Greek and Latin fathers, the TITLE of this book is, Ευαγγελιον κατα Ματθαιον, "Gospel according to Matthew." In many other MSS., however, but of later date, it is Το κατα Ματθαιον αγιον Ευαγγελιον, which may be rendered either, "The Holy Gospel according to Matthew," or, (which is adopted in our authorised version,) "The Gospel according to Saint Matthew." But in many of the most antient Greek manuscripts, and in several editions it is Το κατα Ματθαιον Ευαγγελιον, which in the antient Latin versions is rendered *Evangelium secundum Matthæum*, — the Gospel according to Matthew: κατα Ματθαιον being equivalent to του Ματθαιου, as the preposition κατα is used by Greek writers in the same manner as the ל of the Hebrews in many of the titles of the psalms, — to indicate the author. The "Gospel according to Matthew," therefore, means the history of or by Matthew, concerning the life, acts, and doctrines of Jesus Christ[2]: and as the evangelist's design is, to show that every thing done or taught by Him was characteristic of the Messiah, Hug remarks, that his book deserved to be called Ευαγγελιον, — the consolatory annunciation of the Messiah; an appellation, which (he thinks) was subsequently attached to all the other biographies of Jesus, though their peculiar aim was entirely different from that of Matthew.[3] In the Arabic version, as printed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, this Gospel is thus intitled: "The Gospel of Saint Matthew the apostle, which he wrote in Hebrew by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit." In the Persian version it is: — "The Gospel of Matthew, which was spoken in the Hebrew tongue, in a city of Palestine, but written

[1] Dr. Priestley's Notes on the Bible, vol. iii. p. 7.

[2] A similar mode of expression occurs in the second apocryphal Book of Maccabees (ii. 13.) where we read και εν τοις υπομνηματισμοις τοις KATA TON NEEMIAN, in our version rendered "the commentaries OF NEEMIAS."

[3] Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. p. 169. Keïnoel, Prolegomena ad Matthæum, § 2. Hug's Introd. to the New Testament, by Dr. Wait, vol. ii. p. 9. Griesbach's edit. of the New Testament, vol. i. on Matt. i. 1. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Biblicos, p. 245.

in Syriac at Antioch;" and in the Syriac version, "The Gospel, the preaching of Matthew."

II. Matthew, surnamed Levi, was the son of Alpheus, but not of that Alpheus or Cleopas who was the father of James mentioned in Matt. x. 3. He was a native of Galilee, but of what city in that country, or of what tribe of the people of Israel, we are not informed. Before his conversion to Christianity, he was a publican or tax-gatherer, under the Romans, and collected the customs of all goods exported or imported at Capernaum, a maritime town on the sea of Galilee, and also received the tribute paid by all passengers who went by water. While employed "at the receipt of custom," Jesus called him to be a witness of his words and works, thus conferring upon him the honourable office of an apostle. From that time he continued with Jesus Christ, a familiar attendant on his person, a spectator of his public and private conduct, a hearer of his discourses, a witness of his miracles, and an evidence of his resurrection. After our Saviour's ascension, Matthew continued at Jerusalem with the other apostles, and with them on the day of Pentecost, was endowed with the gift of the Holy Spirit. How long he remained in Judæa after that event, we have no authentic accounts. Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century, relates, that when the apostles went abroad to preach to the Gentiles, Thomas took Parthia for his lot; Bartholomew, India; and Matthew, Ethiopia. The common opinion is that he was crowned with martyrdom at Naddabar or Naddaver, a city in that country: but this is contradicted by the account of Heracleon, a learned Valentinian of the second century; who, as cited by Clement of Alexandria [1], reckons Matthew among the apostles that did not die by martyrdom: and as his statement is not contradicted by Clement, it is more likely to be true than the relation of Socrates, who did not flourish until three hundred years after Heracleon. [2]

III. Matthew is generally allowed to have written first of all the evangelists. His Gospel is uniformly placed first in all the codes or volumes of the Gospels: and the priority is constantly given to it in all the quotations of the primitive fathers, as well as of the early heretics. Its precedence, therefore, is unquestionable, though the precise time when it was composed is a question that has been greatly agitated. Dr. Mill, Michaelis, and Bishop Percy, after Irenæus [3],

[1] Stromata, lib. 4. p. 502. B. See the passage in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. p. 48.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 159.

[2] Lardner's Works, vol. vi. pp. 45—47. 8vo.; or vol. iii. pp. 157—159, 4to. Pritii Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, pp. 154—157. Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. pp. 96—99.

[3] Of all the primitive fathers, Irenæus (who flourished in the second century) is the only one who has said any thing concerning the exact time when St. Matthew's Gospel was written; and the passage (adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 1.) in which he has mentioned it, is so obscure, that no positive conclusion can be drawn from it. Dr. Lardner (8vo. vol. vi. p. 49.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 160.) and Dr. Townson (discourse iv. on the Gospels, sect. iv. § 6.) understand it in very different senses. The following is a literal translation of the original passage, which the reader will find in Dr. Lardner's works. *Matthew put forth* (or published) *a gospel among the Hebrews while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome and laying the foundations of a church there.* Now, though it does not appear that Peter was at Rome until after Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment,

assign it to the year 61; Moldenhawer, to 61 or 62; Dr. Hales, to 63; Dr. Lardner and Mr. Hewlett, to 64; Baronius, Grotius, Wetstein, Mr. Jer. Jones, and others, after Eusebius [1], to 41; Dr. Benson, to 43; Dr. Cave, to 48; Dr. Owen and Bishop Tomline, to 38; and Dr. Townson, to the year 37. In this conflict of opinions, it is difficult to decide. The accounts left us by the ecclesiastical writers of antiquity, concerning the times when the Gospels were written or published, are so vague, confused, and discordant, that they lead us to no solid or certain determination. The oldest of the antient fathers collected the reports of their own times, and set them down for certain truths; and those who followed adopted their accounts with implicit reverence. Thus traditions, true or false, passed on from one writer to another, without examination, until it became almost too late to examine them to any purpose. Since, then, *external* evidence affords us but little assistance, it becomes necessary to have recourse to the *internal* testimony which the Gospel of Saint Matthew affords, and we apprehend that it will be found to preponderate in favour of an early date.

In the first place, it is by no means probable that the Christians should be left any considerable number of years without a genuine and authentic written history of our Saviour's ministry. "It is certain," Bishop Tomline remarks, "that the apostles immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost, which took place only ten days after the ascension of our Saviour into heaven, preached the Gospel to the Jews with great success: and surely it is reasonable to suppose that an authentic account of our Saviour's doctrines and miracles would very soon be committed to writing for the confirmation of those who believed in his divine mission, and for the conversion of others, and more particularly to enable the Jews to compare the circumstances of the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus with their antient prophecies relative to the Messiah: and we may conceive that the apostles would be desirous of losing no time in writing an account of the miracles which Jesus performed, and of the discourses which he delivered, because, the sooner such an account was published, the easier it would be to enquire into its truth and accuracy; and, consequently, when these points were satisfactorily ascertained, the greater would be its weight and authority." [2] On these accounts

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A.D. 63, yet we know that the latter arrived there in the spring of A.D. 61, consequently the date intended by Irenæus must be the year 61.

[1] Eusebius, who lived in the early part of the fourth century, merely says that Matthew, after preaching to the Hebrews, wrote his Gospel for their information, previously to his going to evangelise other nations (Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 24.); but he does not specify the time, nor is it mentioned by any other antient writer. In his *Chronicon*, however, Eusebius places the writing of St. Matthew's Gospel in the third year of the reign of the emperor Caligula, that is, eight years after Christ's ascension, or A.D. 41.

[2] Elem. of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 301. The following observations of the profound critic Le Clerc, will materially confirm the preceding remarks. "Those," says he, "who think that the gospels were written so late as Irenæus states, and who suppose that, for the space of about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, there were many spurious gospels in the hands of the Christians, and not one that was genuine and authentic, do unwarily cast a very great reflection upon the wisdom of the apostles. For, what could have been more imprudent in them, than tamely to have suffered the idle stories concerning Christ to be read by the Christians, and not to contradict them by some authentic history, written

the learned prelate assigns the date of St. Matthew's Gospel to the year 38.

Secondly, as the sacred writers had a regard to the circumstances of the persons for whose use they wrote, we have an additional evidence for the early date of this Gospel, in the state of persecution in which the church was at the time when it was written: for it contains many obvious references to such a state, and many very apposite addresses both to the *injured* and to the *injurious* party.

1. Thus, the evangelist informs the *injured* and persecuted Christians, that their afflictions were no more than they had been taught to expect, and had promised to bear, when they embraced the Gospel (x. 21, 22. 34—36. xvi. 24.); that, however unreasonable their sufferings might be, considered as the effects of the malice of their enemies, they were yet useful and profitable to themselves, considered as trials of their faith and fidelity (v. 11. xxiv. 9—13.); that, though they were grievous to be borne at present, yet they operated powerfully to their future joy (v. 4. 10—12.); that a pusillanimous desertion of the faith would be so far from bettering their state and condition, that it would infallibly expose them to greater calamities, and cut them off from the hopes of heaven (x. 28. 32, 33. 39.); that they were not, however, forbidden to use the lawful means of preservation; but even enjoined to put them in practice, whenever they could do it with innocence (x. 16, 17. 23.); that the due observance of the Christian precepts was an excellent method to appease the wrath and fury of their enemies, and what therefore they were obliged in point of prudence as well as duty, carefully to mind and attend to (v. 39. vii. 12. 24—27. v. 13—20.); that if it should be their fate to suffer martyrdom at last for their religion, it was infinitely better to continue faithful to their important trust, than by any base compliance to incur his displeasure, in whose hands are the issues not only of this life, but also of that which is to come. (xvi. 25—27. x. 28.)

2. On the other hand again, to calm the passions of the enraged Jews, and win them over to the profession of the Gospel, he labours to soften and abate their prejudices, and to engage them in the practice of meekness and charity. (ix. 13.) To this end, he lays before them the dignity and amiableness of a compassionate, benevolent disposition (v. 43—48. xviii. 23—35.)[1]; the natural good consequences that are annexed to it here; and the distinguished regard, which the Almighty himself will pay to it hereafter. (v. 5. 7. 9. x. 40—42. xviii. 23—35. v. 21—26. xxv. 31—46.) Then he reminds them of the repeated punishments which God had inflicted on their forefathers for their cruel and barbarous treatment of his prophets, and assures them that a still more accumulated vengeance was reserved for themselves, if they obstinately persisted in the ways of cruelty (xxiii. 27—39. x. 14, 15.); for God, though patient and long-suffering, was sure at last to vindicate his elect, and to punish their oppressors, un-

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by some credible persons, which might reach the knowledge of all men? For my part, I can never be persuaded to entertain so mean an opinion of men under the direction of the Holy Spirit. Besides, Matthew has delivered to us, not only the actions, but also the discourses of Christ: and this he must necessarily be able to do with the greater certainty, while they were fresh in his memory, than when, through length of time, he began to lose the impressions of them. It is true that the Holy Spirit was with the apostles, to bring all the things to their remembrance, which they had received of Christ, according to his promise (John xiv. 26.): but the Holy Spirit not only inspired them; but also dealt with them according to their natural powers, as the variety of expressions in the Gospel shows." Clerici Hist. Eccles. sæculi I. A. D. LXII. § 9.

[1] The same temper is also particularly illustrated in all our Saviour's miracles.

less they repented, believed, and reformed, with the dreadful rigour of a general destruction. (xxiv. 2, &c.)

These and similar arguments, which Saint Matthew has inserted in the body of his Gospel (by way of comfort to the afflicted Christians, and also as a warning to their injurious oppressors and persecutors), evidently refer to a state of distress and persecution, under which the church of Christ laboured at the time when the evangelist advanced and urged them. Now the greatest persecution ever raised against the church, while it was composed only of Jewish and Samaritan converts, was that which was commenced by the Sanhedrin, and was afterwards continued and conducted by Saul, with implacable rage and fury. During this calamity, which lasted in the whole about six years, viz. till the third year of Caligula, A. D. 39 or 40 (when the Jews were too much alarmed concerning their own affairs to give any further disturbance to the Christians), the members of the Christian church stood in need of all the support, consolation, and assistance that could be administered to them. But what comfort could they possibly receive, in their distressed situation, comparable to that which resulted from the example of their suffering master, and the promise he had made to his faithful followers? This example, and those promises, Saint Matthew seasonably laid before them, towards the close of this period of trial, for their imitation and encouragement, and delivered it to them, as the anchor of their hope, to keep them stedfast in this violent tempest. From this consideration Dr. Owen was led to fix the date of Saint Matthew's Gospel to the year 38. [1]

Thirdly, Saint Matthew ascribes those titles of sanctity to Jerusalem, by which it had been distinguished by the prophets and antient historians [2], and also testifies a higher veneration for the temple than the other evangelists [3]: and this fact proves that his Gospel was written *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, and not *after* it, as a recent scoffing antagonist of Christianity has asserted, contrary to all evidence. The evangelist's comparative gentleness in mentioning John the Baptist's reproof of Herod, and his silence concerning the insults offered by Herod to our Lord on the morning of his crucifixion, are additional evidences for the early date of his Gospel: for, as Herod was still reigning in Galilee, the evangelist displayed no more of that sovereign's bad character than was absolutely necessary, lest he should excite Herod's jealousy of his believing subjects or their disaffection to him. If he was influenced by these motives, he must have written before the year 39, for in that year Herod was deposed and banished to Lyons by Caligula.

Lastly, to omit circumstances of minor importance, Matthew's frequent mention (not fewer than nine times) of Pilate, as being then actually governor of Judæa, is an additional evidence of the early

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[1] Owen's Observations on the Four Gospels, (8vo. Lond. 1764.) pp. 8—21.

[2] Compare Neh. xi. 1, 18. Isa. xlviii. 2. lii. 1. Dan. ix. 24. with Matt. iv. 5. v. 35. xxvii. 53.

[3] Compare Matt. xxi. 12. with Mark xi. 15. Luke xix. 45. and Matt. xxvi. 61. with Mark xiv. 58.

date of his Gospel. For Josephus[1] informs us, that Pilate having been ordered by Vitellius, governor of Syria, to go to Rome, to answer a complaint of the Samaritans before the emperor, hastened thither, but before he arrived the emperor was dead. Now, as Tiberius died in the spring of 37, it is highly probable that Saint Matthew's Gospel was written by that time.[2]

Dr. Lardner[3], however, and Bishop Percy[4], think that they discover marks of a lower date in Saint Matthew's writings. They argue from the knowledge which he shows of the spirituality of the Gospel, and of the excellence of the moral above the ceremonial law: and from the great clearness with which the comprehensive design of the Christian dispensation, as extending to the whole Gentile world, together with the rejection of the Jews, is unfolded in this Gospel. Of these topics they suppose the evangelist not to have treated, until a course of years had developed their meaning, removed his Jewish prejudices, and given him a clearer discernment of their nature.

This objection, however, carries but little force with it. For, in the first place, as Dr. Townson has justly observed, with regard to the doctrinal part of his Gospel, if Saint Matthew exhibits a noble idea of pure religion and morality, he teaches no more than he had heard frequently taught, and often opposed to the maxims of the Jews, by his divine instructor. And when the Holy Spirit, the guide into all truth, had descended upon him, it seems strange to imagine that he still wanted twenty or thirty years to enlighten his mind. If he was not then furnished with knowledge to relate these things as an evangelist, how was he qualified to preach them to the Jews as an apostle?

In the next place, it is true that the prophetic parts of his Gospel declare the extent of Christ's kingdom, and the calling and acceptance of the Gentiles. But these events had been plainly foretold by the antient prophets, and were expected by devout Israelites to happen in the days of the Messiah[5]; and in those passages which relate to the universality of the Gospel dispensation, the evangelist merely states that the Gospel would be successfully preached among the Gentiles in all parts of the earth. He only recites the words of our Saviour without any explanation or remark; and we know it was promised to the apostles, that after Christ's ascension, the Holy Spirit should bring all things to their remembrance, and guide them into all truth. "Whether Saint Matthew was aware of the call of the Gentiles, before the Gospel was actually embraced by them, cannot be ascertained: nor is it material, since it is generally agreed, that the inspired penmen often did not comprehend the full meaning of their own writings when they referred to future events; and it is obvious that it

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1 Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. iv. § 2.

2 Dr. Townson's Discourses on the Gospels, Works, vol. i. pp. 107—115.

3 Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 57, 58.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 163, 164.

4 Key to the New Test. p. 55. 3d edit.

5 Thus Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, speaks of Christ as coming *to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death* (Luke i. 79.), which description includes the Gentiles; and Simeon expressly calls him *a light to lighten the Gentiles.* (Luke ii. 32.)

might answer a good purpose to have the future call of the Gentiles intimated in an authentic history of our Saviour's ministry, to which the believing Jews might refer, when that extraordinary and unexpected event should take place. Their minds would thus be more easily satisfied; and they would more readily admit the comprehensive design of the Gospel, when they found it declared in a book, which they acknowledged as the rule of their faith and practice."[1]

Once more, with respect to the argument deduced from this evangelist's mentioning prophecies and prophetic parables, that speak of the rejection and overthrow of the Jews, it may be observed, that if this argument means, that, being at first prejudiced in favour of a kingdom to be restored to Israel, he could not understand these prophecies, and therefore would not think of relating them if he wrote early;—though the premises should be admitted, we may justly deny the conclusion. Saint Matthew might not clearly discern in what manner the predictions were to be accomplished, yet he must see, what they all denounced, that God would reject those who rejected the Gospel: hence, he always had an inducement to notify them to his countrymen; and the sooner he apprised them of their danger, the greater charity he showed them.[2]

Since, therefore, the objections to the early date by no means balance the weight of evidence in its favour, we are justified in assigning the date of this Gospel to the year of our Lord 37, or at the latest to the year 38. And as the weight of evidence is also in favour of Saint Matthew's having composed his Gospel in *Hebrew* AND *Greek*[3], we may refer the early date of A.D. 37 or 38 to the *former*, and A.D. 61 to the *latter*. This will reconcile the apparently conflicting testimonies of Irenæus and Eusebius above mentioned[4], which have led biblical critics to form such widely different opinions concerning the real date of Saint Matthew's Gospel.

IV. The next subject of inquiry respects the LANGUAGE in which Saint Matthew wrote his Gospel, and which has been contested among critics with no small degree of acrimony: Erasmus, Paræus, Calvin, Le Clerc, Fabricius, Pfeiffer, Dr. Lightfoot, Beausobre, Basnage, Wetstein, Rumpæus, Dr. Whitby, Edelmann, Hug, Fritsche, Hoffman, Moldenhawer, Viser, Harles, Jones, Drs. Jortin, Lardner, Hey, and Hales, Mr. Hewlett, and others, have strenuously vindicated the GREEK original of Saint Matthew's Gospel. On the other hand, Bellarmin, Grotius, Casaubon, Bishops Walton and Tomline, Drs. Cave, Hammond, Mill, Harwood, Owen, Campbell, and A. Clarke, Simon, Tillemont, Pritius, Du Pin, Calmet, Michaelis, Storr, Alber, Grawitz, and others, having supported the opinion of Papias as cited by Irenæus, Origen, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and other early writers, that this Gospel was written in HEBREW, that is, in the Western Aramæan or Syro-Chaldaic dialect then spoken by the Jews, which Professor Adler[5] terms the Syriac;

[1] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 302.

[2] Dr. Townson's Discourses, disc. iv. sect. iv. Works, vol. i. pp. 116, 117.

[3] See pp. 269, 270. *infra.* [4] See pp. 261. note 3. 262. note 1. *supra.*

[5] Nonnulla Matthæi et Marci enunciata ex indole Linguæ Syriacæ explicantur .... Prolusio J. G. C. Adler. Hauniæ, 1784. 4to.

and which consisted chiefly of words derived from Hebrew origin, and was in fact the Hebrew corrupted by a large mixture of foreign words. A third opinion has been offered by Dr. Townson, and some few modern divines, that there were TWO originals, one in Hebrew, and the other in Greek. He thinks that there *seems* to be more reason for allowing two originals, than for contesting either; the consent of antiquity pleading strongly for the Hebrew, and evident marks of originality for the Greek.

1. The presumption, it must be acknowledged, is in favour of the opinion *first* stated, that Saint Matthew wrote in GREEK: for Greek, as we have already seen [1], was the prevailing language in the time of our Saviour and his apostles. Matthew, too, while he was a collector of customs, and before he was called to be an apostle, would have frequent occasions both to write and to speak Greek, and could not discharge his office without understanding that language. We may therefore (say the advocates for this hypothesis) consider it as highly probable, or even certain, that he understood Greek. Besides, as all the other evangelists and apostles wrote their Gospels and Epistles in that language for the use of Christians (whether Jews or Gentiles) throughout the known world, and as Saint Matthew's Gospel, though in the first instance written for the use of Jewish and Samaritan converts, was ultimately designed for universal dissemination, it is not likely that it was written in any other language than that which was employed by all the other writers of the New Testament. This presumption is corroborated by the numerous and remarkable instances of verbal agreement between Matthew and the other evangelists; which, on the supposition that he wrote in Hebrew, or the vernacular Syro-Chaldaic dialect, would not be credible. Even those who maintain that opinion are obliged to confess that an early Greek translation of this Gospel was in existence before Mark and Luke composed theirs, which they saw and consulted. After all, the main point in dispute is, whether the present Greek copy is entitled to the *authority* of an original or not; and as this is a question of real and serious importance, we shall proceed to state the principal arguments on both sides.

2. The modern advocates for the *second* opinion above noticed, viz. that Saint Matthew wrote in HEBREW, lay most stress upon the testimonies of Papias (Bishop of Hierapolis, A. D. 116), of Irenæus (A. D. 178), and of Origen (A. D. 230); which testimonies have been followed by Chrysostom, Jerome, and others of the early fathers of the Christian church. [2] But these good men, as Wetstein has well observed, do not so properly bear testimony, as deliver their own conjectures, which we are not bound to admit, unless they are supported by good reasons. Supposing and taking it for granted that Matthew wrote for the Jews in Judæa, they concluded that he wrote

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[1] See Vol. II. pp. 13—18.

[2] The various testimonies of the antient fathers concerning the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel are produced and considered at length by J. T. Buslav, in his Dissertatio Historico-Critico Exegetica de Lingua Originali Evangelii secundum Matthæum. Vratislaviæ, 1826. 8vo.

in Hebrew[1]: and because the fathers formed this conclusion, modern writers, relying on their authority, have also inferred that Matthew composed his Gospel in that language. Let us now review their testimonies.

(1.) Papias, as cited by Eusebius, says[2], "Matthew composed the divine oracles in the *Hebrew* dialect, *and each interpreted them as he was able.*"

(2.) Irenæus, as quoted by the same historian[3], says, "Matthew published also a Scripture of the Gospel among the Hebrews, in their own dialect."

(3.) Origen, as cited by Eusebius[4], says, "As I have learned *by tradition* concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the whole church of God under Heaven. — The first was written by Matthew, once a publican, afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for the believers from Judaism, *composed in Hebrew letters.*"

In opposition to these testimonies, it is contended by the advocates for the Greek original of the Gospel,

i. That the testimony of Papias, who was a weak and credulous man[5], is vague and indecisive; that he had not seen the Hebrew Gospel itself: that it could not have been intended for universal circulation by his own account, because every one was not able to interpret it; and that the Greek Gospel was published before his time, as appears from the express or tacit references made by the apostolical fathers, who were all prior to Papias, and all of whom wrote in Greek.

ii. The passage of Irenæus above given, more critically translated, may be understood to signify that, in addition to his Greek Gospel, Matthew published ALSO a Hebrew Gospel, for the benefit of the Hebrews, or converts from Judaism, who used no other language but the vernacular dialect of Palestine. This, Dr. Hales thinks, was most probably the fact.[6] This might be the original basis of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, the Gospel of the Ebionites, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, cited by Origen, Epiphanius, and Jerome, which in process of time became so adulterated by these Judaising converts, as to lose all authority in the church, and be deemed spurious.

iii. The testimony of Origen perfectly corresponds with this: for surely, when he cited *tradition* for the existence of a Hebrew Gospel, written by Matthew for the converts from Judaism, he by no means

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[1] Wetstenii Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 224. *note.*

[2] Ματθαιος μεν ουν ΕΒΡΑΙΔΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩ ΤΑ ΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΥΝΕΓΡΑΨΑΤΟ· ηρμενευσε δ' αυτα ως ηδυνατο εκαστος. Eusebii Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 39. tom. i. p. 133. edit. Reading.

[3] Ο μεν δε Ματθαιος εν τοις ΕΒΡΑΟΙΣ, ΕΝ ΤΗ ΙΔΙΑ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩ, ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΦΗΝ ΕΞΕΝΕΓΚΕΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ. Ibid. lib. v. c. 8. tom. i. p. 219.

[4] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 25. tom. i. p. 290. Ως εν παραδοσει μαθων περι των τεσσαρων ευαγγελιων . . . . οτι πρωτον μεν γεγραπται το κατα . . . . ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ εκδεδωκοτα τοις απο Ιουδαϊσμου πιστευσασι, ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΝ.

[5] See Jortin's Remarks on Eccl. Hist. vol. i. pp. 309, 310. 2d edit.

[6] This conjecture, Dr. Hales remarks, derives additional weight from the incorrect reports of Eutychius and Theophylact, that Matthew wrote his Hebrew Gospel at Jerusalem, which John the Evangelist translated into Greek. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 665.

denied but rather presupposed his Greek Gospel, written for all classes of Christians, *composing the whole church of God under heaven*, for whose use the Hebrew Gospel would be utterly inadequate. In fact, in his treatise on prayer, he intimates that the evangelist published it in Greek also: for, discoursing on the word επιουσιον, he considers it as formed by Matthew himself.[1] That Origen considered the Greek as the only authentic original in his time, is evident for the following reasons: — 1. Origen, in his Hexapla, was accustomed to correct the *Greek* version of the Old Testament by the Hebrew original: but he virtually confesses that he had none by which he could correct the text of Matthew's Gospel[2]; and, 2. He expressly cites[3] "a certain Gospel according to the Hebrews, if any one chooses to receive it, not as of *authority*, but for illustration" of the question he was then discussing. Now, if this Hebrew Gospel had been the production of Saint Matthew, he certainly would have cited it in a different manner.

iv. In the Gospel of Saint Matthew, as we now have it, there is no appearance of its being a translation; but many considerations prove the contrary. For how can we account for the interpretation of Hebrew names, which, by an author writing in Hebrew, was by no means necessary? (Compare Matth. i. 23. xxvii. 33. 46.) Again, why should the testimonies and parallel passages of the Old Testament be cited, not from the original Hebrew, but generally from the Septuagint version, even when that differs from the Hebrew? Lastly, how does it happen, that all the versions which are extant, such as the Latin, the Syriac, the Coptic, the Armenian, and the Ethiopic, are adapted, not to the Hebrew original, but to the Greek translation? These questions are all readily answered, if we admit that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek.[4]

It only remains that we briefly notice the *third* opinion above mentioned; viz. that there were two originals, — one in Hebrew, the other in Greek, but both written by Saint Matthew. This opinion, we believe, was first intimated by Sixtus Senensis[5], from whom it was adopted by Drs. Whitby[6], Benson[7], Hey, and Townson, Bishops Cleaver and Gleig, and some other modern divines. The consent of antiquity pleads strongly for the Hebrew, and evident marks of originality for the Greek. Bishop Gleig thinks, that Saint Matthew, on his departure to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, left with the church of Jerusalem, or at least with some of its members, the Hebrew or

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[1] Origen de oratione, c. 161. p. 150. edit. Reading.

[2] See his Words, Op. tom. iii. p. 671. edit. De la Rue, or in Bishop Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 114, 115., where they are cited and explained.

[3] Dr. Lardner has given the passage at length, Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 505.; 4to. vol. i. p. 553.

[4] Mr. Hewlett's note on Matt. i. 1. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 664—667. Lardner's Supp. to Credibility, chap. 5. (Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 45—65.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 157—167.) Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 298—311. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos, pp. 247—254. Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 112—201. Rumpæi, Com. Crit. in Nov. Test. pp. 81—84. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars ii. pp. 344—352. Dr. Campbell's Preface to Matthew, vol. ii. pp. 1—20. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 17—59. Alber, Hermeneut. Novi Test. vol. i. pp. 239—244.

[5] Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. vii. p. 582.

[6] Preface to Saint Matthew's Gospel, vol. i. p. 1.

[7] Benson's Hist. of the First Planting of the Christian Religion, vol. i. p. 257.

Syriac memorandums of our Lord's doctrines and miracles, which he had made for his own use at the time when the doctrines were taught, and the miracles performed; and that the Greek Gospel was written long after the apostles had quitted Jerusalem, and dispersed themselves in the discharge of the duties of their office. This conjecture receives some countenance from the terms in which Eusebius, when giving his own opinion, mentions Saint Matthew's Gospel. "Matthew," says that historian, "having first preached to the Hebrews, delivered to them, when he was preparing to depart to other countries, his Gospel composed in their native language: that to those, from whom he was sent away, he might by his writings supply the loss of his presence."[1] This opinion is further corroborated by the fact, that there are instances on record of authors who have themselves published the same work in two languages. Thus Josephus wrote the History of the Jewish War in Hebrew and Greek.[2] In like manner we have two originals, one in Latin, the other in English, of the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican church, and also of Sir Isaac Newton's Optics. As Saint Matthew wanted neither ability nor disposition, we cannot think he wanted inducement to "do the work of an evangelist" for his brethren of the common faith, Hellenists as well as Hebrews; to both of whom charity made him a debtor. The popular language of the first believers was Hebrew, or what is called so by the sacred and antient ecclesiastical writers: but those who spoke Greek quickly became a considerable part of the church of Christ.

From a review of all the arguments adduced on this much litigated question, we cannot but prefer the last stated opinion as that which best harmonises with the consent of antiquity, namely, that Saint Matthew wrote first a Hebrew Gospel for the use of the first Hebrew converts. Its subsequent disappearance is easily accounted for, by its being so corrupted by the Ebionites that it lost all its authority in the church, and was deemed spurious, and also by the prevalence of the Greek language, especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Jewish language and every thing belonging to the Jews fell into the utmost contempt. It also is clear, that our present Greek Gospel is an authentic original, and consequently an inspired production of the Evangelist Matthew, written (not as Bishop Gleig and other writers suppose, long after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, but) within a few years after those memorable and important events.[3]

V. Of the GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY of Saint Matthew's Gospel, we have the most satisfactory evidence. There are seven distinct allusions to it in the Epistle of Barnabas; two in Clement's

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[1] Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 24.

[2] Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 28, 29. Bishop Gleig's edit. of Stackhouse, vol. iii. p. 112. Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 30—32.

[3] There are extant in print two editions of a Hebrew Gospel, one published by Jean de Tilet, Bishop of Brieux, at Paris, in 1555, the other published by Munster at Basil, in 1557; but it is certain that neither of these is St. Matthew's original, and that neither of them was used by the Nazarenes or by the Ebionites. See an account of them in Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 195—201.

Epistle to the Corinthians; ten in the Shepherd of Hermas; nine in the genuine Epistles of Ignatius; and five in the Epistle of Polycarp. In the time of Papias, it was well known, and is expressly ascribed to the evangelist by him, and by several antient writers of the first century that were consulted by Eusebius.[1] In the following century it was recognised by Tatian, who composed his harmony of the four evangelists, and by Hegesippus, a Hebrew Christian; and it is repeatedly quoted by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and Clement of Alexandria, and also by Celsus, the most sagacious and inquisitive adversary of Christianity. In the third century, Tertullian, Ammonius, the author of the harmony, Julius Africanus, and Origen, unanimously quote this Gospel as the undoubted production of Matthew, who are followed by a long train of ecclesiastical writers.[2] The fact, therefore, is fully established, that Matthew, the apostle of our Saviour, was the author of that Gospel which is placed first in our editions of the New Testament.

Faustus, a Manichean bishop (who wrote towards the close of the fourth century), *attempted*, indeed to prove that this Gospel was not written by Saint Matthew, on account of the *oblique manner of expression* which occurs in Matt. ix. 9. — *And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a* man *named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, and he saith unto* him, *Follow me. And* he *arose and followed him.* Hence, says Faustus, "Matthew did not write that Gospel, but some other person under his name, as is clear from those words of the pretended Matthew: for who, writing concerning himself, would say, he saw a MAN, and called HIM, and HE followed him; and would not rather say, He saw ME, and called ME, and I followed him?" Nothing, however, can be more weak than this mode of arguing: for it is an undeniable fact that this oblique way of writing is common among profane historians, both antient and modern: who frequently speak of themselves not in the first but in the *third* person. Moses uniformly speaks thus of himself[3], as Jesus Christ, and his disciples also very frequently did.[4] So that the objection of Faustus falls to the ground for want of proof.[5]

VI. But, though we have such a chain of unbroken evidence, the most clear and decisive that can possibly be adduced or desired, to the genuineness of Saint Matthew's Gospel, several attempts have of late years been made by those who deny the miraculous conception

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[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 36.

[2] For an account of these later writers, see Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 49—52.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 159—161. As the references to Dr. L.'s works for the earlier fathers have already been given in the notes to Vol. I. pp. 74—86., it is not necessary to repeat them. The reader who may not possess, or have the opportunity of consulting Dr. Lardner's works, will find the quotations above noticed, in the learned Jeremiah Jones's New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament, vol. iii. pp. 17—42. 8vo. Oxford, 1798.

[3] See Vol. I. pp. 131—133. *supra:* and also compare other instances from the Old Testament, in Gen. iv. 24. xliv. 19. Numb. xxiv. 3, 4, 1 Sam. xii. 11. Jer. xxviii. 5. 10. 15. Jonah i. 1. and throughout that book.

[4] Compare Matt. viii. 20. xi. 19. xviii. 11. Luke xviii. 8. John v. 23. 25—27. xxi. 24.

[5] Augustin contra Faustum, lib. xvii. c. 4. Glassii Philologia Sacra, tom. i. p 649. edit. Dathii; or column 1238 of the Leipsic edition, 4to. 1725.

of our Saviour [1], to expunge the two first chapters from the sacred code, as being a spurious interpolation: and, hence, a recent antagonist of divine revelation has taken occasion (without examining the mass of evidence to the contrary) to affirm that the whole Gospel is a falsehood.[2] We have, however, indisputable evidence, both internal and external, that these chapters form an integral part of that Gospel.

[i.] With regard to the *external* evidence for the genuineness of these chapters: —

1. In the *first* place, the beginning of the third chapter (εν ΔΕ ταις ημεραις εκειναις, *Now in those days*) manifestly shows that something had preceded, to which these words must refer.[3] If we examine the end of the second chapter, where Jesus is said to have come and dwelt with his parents at Nazareth, it will be manifest to what time those words are to be referred. Some, indeed, have objected that the words "*Now in those days*" are not the words of Matthew, but of his Greek translator, who thus connected the first and second chapters with the third. — But this conjecture (for the objection amounts to nothing more) is opposed by the fact that Saint Matthew's Gospel was, as we have already seen, *not* translated into Greek by any person, but was originally written in that language by the evangelist himself. And, to mention no other arguments by which it is opposed, it is contradicted by the following undisputed passage in Matt. iv. 13., where we read "*And Jesus leaving Nazareth.*" Now, how could Saint Matthew have thus recorded his departure from Nazareth, unless chap. ii. 13. had preceded, where we are told that he came and dwelt in that town? [4] Further, in the first and second chapters of Matthew we find quotations made from the Old Testament precisely in the same manner as in other parts of his Gospel. Moreover, the want of a genealogy in this Gospel, which was written for Jewish Christians of Palestine, would be a deficiency in the work.[5]

2. In the *second* place, it is worthy of remark that *the two first chapters of Saint Matthew's Gospel are to be found in* ALL *the antient manuscripts now extant*, which are entire, as well as in many that have come down to us, mutilated by the hand of time [6], and also in all the antient versions without exception. Some of the manuscripts now extant, particularly the Vatican and the Cambridge manuscripts, and the Codex Rescriptus in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin [7], are undoubtedly of very high

[1] Particularly by Dr. Williams in his "Free Inquiry," first published in 1771, and again in 1789. 4to.; and the editors of the Unitarian Version of the New Testament.

[2] Professor Bauer, of Altorf, in Germany, boldly affirms that the narrative of the miraculous conception, recorded by Matthew and Luke, is a *philosophical mythos* or fable of later date!!! Brevarium Theologiæ Biblicæ, p. 248. Lipsiæ, 1803. 8vo.

[3] This was agreeable to the usage of the Hebrew writers; who, when commencing their narratives, were accustomed to add the name of the king, prince, or other person, in whose time any event is said to have come to pass, and to preface it with the formula, *In the days of*..... To mention no other instances, see Isaiah i. 1.

[4] Kuinöel, Comm. in Historicos N. T. Libros, vol. i. p. 15.

[5] Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. ii. p. 149.

[6] The Codex Ebnerianus, a manuscript written at the close of the fourteenth century, begins with Matt. i. 18. Του δε Ιησου Χριστου η γενησις ουτως ην, *Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise.* Since no book can well begin with the particle δε, *now*, we may conclude that in the more antient Greek manuscripts, whence the Codex Ebnerianus was copied, something preceded, viz. the genealogy, as in other Greek manuscripts. Bishop Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part ii. p. 136. See also Griesbach's Επιμετρον to his Commentarius Criticus in Græcum Matthæi Textum, 4to. Jena, 1801.

[7] See an account of these manuscripts, in Vol. II. 122—124. 133—136. 141. 86—89. 96, 97. In the Codex Rescriptus above noticed, we find *the two first chapters of Saint*

antiquity, bearing date from the fifth or sixth centuries at latest, if they are not earlier. The versions carry us still higher. The *Peschito*, or Old Syriac, and what is called the Old Italic, are nearly coeval with the formation of the canon of the New Testament. The Coptic, Arabic, and other versions, also bear marks of high antiquity: and though some of them contain discrepancies of more or less moment from the copies generally received, yet *all* of them have this part of the Gospel of Matthew, as integral portions of the whole.

Much stress, indeed, has been laid upon the genealogy being separated from the other parts of the Gospel in some Latin manuscripts; but the spuriousness of the genealogy is not a necessary consequence of such separation. For, in the first place, as Kuinöel [1], and the learned annotator on Michaelis [2], have both remarked, the transcribers of the Latin manuscripts, who wrote the genealogy detached from the rest of the Gospel, were actuated not by critical but by theological motives. They found difficulty in reconciling the genealogy in Matt. i. with that of Luke iii., and, therefore, *they wished to get rid of it*. And, secondly, although the genealogy is thus separated in some Latin manuscripts, it does not necessarily follow that the copyists either deemed it to be without authority, or were desirous of getting rid of it: for, in the illuminated copies of this Gospel, so far from any stigma being thrown upon the genealogy, (though separated in the way described,) it is in general *particularly* embellished, and as much ornamented by the artists as the succeeding passages.

3. Besides the uncontradicted testimony of manuscripts and versions, we have the clear and undisputed evidence of the *antient Fathers* in favour of the genuineness of these chapters, whence they have cited both words and verses in their writings; to which we may add, that the earliest opposers of Christianity never appear to have doubted their genuineness. As the miraculous conception of our Saviour is a vital and fundamental doctrine of the Christian revelation, we think it right to state these evidences more particularly.

(1.) CLEMENT of Alexandria, who lived towards the close of the second century (A. D. 194), speaking of the order of the Gospels which he had received from the presbyters of more antient times, says expressly that the Gospels containing the genealogies were *first written*.[3] Here, then, we have two things proved, viz. the curiosity and inquisitiveness of the antient Christians concerning the books of the New Testament which they had received, and likewise an assurance of the genuineness of the genealogies in Matt. i. and Luke iii. This testimony to the first chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel is so strong, as to put its antiquity and genuineness beyond all question.

(2.) In a fragment of the ecclesiastical history composed by HEGESIPPUS, a converted Jew, who flourished A. D. 173, which is preserved by Eusebius [4], there is an account of the emperor Domitian's inquiry after the posterity of David, two of whom were brought before him: "*for*," adds the historian, "*he too was afraid of the coming of Christ, as well as*

Matthew's Gospel, with the exception of some verses, which are wanting from mutilation, viz. the first sixteen verses of the first chapter; and from the seventh to the twelfth and from twelfth to the twenty-third verses of the second chapter.

[1] Kuinöel, Comm. in Historicos Libros, Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 13.

[2] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part ii. p. 139.

[3] See the passage at length, both in Greek and English, in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 211, 212. and notes; 4to. vol. i. p. 395.

[4] Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 19, 20. See the original passage in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 142, 143.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 356, 357.

Herod." In this passage there is an explicit reference to the second chapter of Matthew, which plainly shows that this portion of his Gospel was received by this Hebrew Christian, who used our Greek Gospel. Or, if he used only the Hebrew edition of Saint Matthew's Gospel, it is equally certain that the historical fact alluded to must have been extant in it in the time of Hegesippus.

(3.) JUSTIN Martyr, who, we have already seen, flourished about the year 140, has, in his writings, so many and such decisive references to these two chapters, as nearly to supply a recapitulation of all the facts related in them, and in such language as clearly proves that his information was principally derived from those chapters. The very words, also, of Saint Matthew are sometimes quoted with a precision so unequivocal as to determine the source of the quotations. Passages and phrases which occur in Saint Matthew only, and applications of the prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, which are made by no other evangelist, are adopted by him with a literal adherence to Saint Matthew's text; and, what renders the demonstration perfect, with a literal adherence in those very citations from the Old Testament, in which Saint Matthew has departed from the words both of the Hebrew and of the Septuagint.[1]

(4.) IGNATIUS, who flourished A.D. 107, in his epistle to the Ephesians[2], has an express reference to the history of the Virgin Mary's miraculous conception of our Lord, and to the appearance of the star that so wonderfully announced his birth. Now, as this father was contemporary with the apostles, and survived the evangelist John only six or seven years, we have in his testimony what amounts to that of the apostles for the truth and authenticity of Saint Matthew's Gospel.

As the testimonies of Irenæus and all the later fathers are undisputed, it is not necessary to adduce their evidence. Let us appeal in the next place to

4. The *Testimonies of the Enemies of Christianity.*— Three of these are peculiarly distinguished for their enmity to the Christian name and faith; viz. the emperor Julian, who wrote in the middle of the fourth century, Porphyry, who wrote in the third century, and Celsus, who wrote in the middle of the second century. Though their works are lost, their arguments are preserved in the answers of their opponents; and from these it appears that they were by no means deficient in industry to discover means of invalidating any portion of the Gospel history. They stated many objections to particular circumstances in the narrative of the miraculous conception, but never entertained the most remote idea of treating the whole as spurious. They did not contend, as our modern objectors do, that Saint Matthew and Saint Luke never wrote these accounts; but that, in writing them, they committed errors or related falsehoods.[3] That

[1] Archb. Magee on the Atonement, vol. ii. p. 440. In pp. 448—454. he has adduced the passages at length from Justin. See also Dr. Lardner's account of Justin, Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 119—122.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 343—345. The testimony of Justin is also examined at length in Hug's Introduction to the New Test. vol. ii. pp. 282—284., where the words of Matthew and Justin are exhibited in parallel columns.

[2] The following is the passage of Ignatius above alluded to: — "Now the virginity of Mary and her delivery were kept in secret from the prince of this world; as was also the death of our Lord; — Three of the most notable mysteries [*of the Gospel*], yet done in secret by God. How then was [*our Saviour*] manifested to the world? A star shone in heaven beyond all the other stars, and its light was inexpressible; and its novelty struck terror [*into men's minds*]." Ignatii Epist. ad Ephes. sect. 19. Cotelerii Patres Apostolici, tom. ii. p. 51.

[3] See the passage of Julian at length, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. p. 397.; 4to. vol. iv. p. 334.; of Porphyry, in Dr. Mill's Prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament, § 702, 703.: and of Celsus, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 10, 11. 19—22. 58, 59. 63.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 116. 121, 122. 143. 145.

Celsus, in particular, was specifically acquainted with the genealogy contained in the first chapter is evident: for he speaks of historians who trace the genealogy of Jesus from the first father of the human family and from Jewish kings.[1] By the former, Luke must be intended; and by the latter, Matthew. That Celsus should pass over unnoticed the seeming contradiction of the genealogy of Matthew and Luke, is no more remarkable, than that he should omit to mention many other things.[2] Besides the testimonies of these enemies of the Gospel, we can produce another of still higher antiquity—that of Cerinthus, an heresiarch who was contemporary with the evangelist Saint John. Cerinthus received the Gospel of Saint Matthew (though not entire), and Epiphanius expressly states that his followers "*preferred it on account of its genealogy.*" The same father also records, in terms equally explicit, that "*it is* ALLOWED *by all* THAT CERINTHUS MADE USE OF THE BEGINNING *of Saint Matthew's Gospel, and from thence endeavoured to prove that Jesus was the Son of Joseph and Mary.*"[3] To these decisive testimonies of the adversaries of Christianity we add a fact by no means unimportant, as an accessary proof; which is, that no objections were ever brought against these chapters in the early centuries, during the heat of religious contention, when all parties sought to defend themselves, and to assail their opponents, by arguments of all kinds, industriously drawn from every quarter.[4]

[ii.] Against the weight of this *positive* evidence, which so clearly, fully, and decisively, establishes the genuineness of the narratives of the miraculous conception by Matthew and Luke, and places them on the same footing with the other parts of the Gospels, the antagonists of their authenticity have attempted to produce arguments partly external and partly collateral or internal.

1. With regard to the *external evidence*, they affirm, on the authority of Epiphanius and Jerome, that these narratives were wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, that is, by the antient Hebrew Christians, for whose instruction this Gospel was originally written, and consequently formed no part of the genuine narrative. In this statement, the terms Hebrew Christians, Nazarenes, and Ebionites, are classed together as *synonymous*; whereas they were decidedly distinct, as the late Bishop Horsley has long since shown.

The Hebrew Christians, to whom Saint Matthew wrote, were the body of Jewish converts in his time, who laid aside the use of the Mosaic law.

Of the Nazarenes there were two descriptions: 1. The Nazarenes of the better sort, who were orthodox in their creed, though they continued to observe the Mosaic law: but being great admirers of Saint Paul, they could not esteem the law generally necessary to salvation. 2. The Nazarenes of a worse sort were bigotted to the Jewish law, but still orthodox in their creed, for any thing that appears to the contrary. These were the proper Nazarenes mentioned by Epiphanius and Jerome. Both of these classes of Nazarenes believed Jesus Christ to be born of a virgin by the special interposition of God, and consequently received the two first chapters of Saint Matthew's Gospel.

The Ebionites also were divided into two classes: 1. Those who denied

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[1] Stor. Opuscula Academica, tom. iii. p. 106.

[2] Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. ii. p. 148.

[3] See the passage of Epiphanius, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 322. 329.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 565. 570.

[4] Quarterly Review, vol. i. p. 321.

our Lord's divinity, but admitted the fact of the miraculous conception: consequently the two first chapters of Matthew were admitted by them; and, 2. Ebionites of a worse sort, who, though they denied the miraculous conception, still maintained an union of Jesus with a divine being, which commenced upon his baptism. These Ebionites, Epiphanius relates, made use of a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, which was not only defective, but also contained many fabulous stories. The Ebionites, he adds, branched off from the Nazarenes, and did not appear until *after* the destruction of Jerusalem. [1]

Now, since the Ebionites "of a worse sort," as Bishop Horsley terms them, did not make their appearance until the commencement of the *second* century, and as they used a *mutilated* and *corrupted* copy of Matthew's Gospel, the absence of the two first chapters of Matthew from their Gospel, is so far from making any thing against the authenticity of those chapters, that, on the contrary, it affords a strong evidence for it; since we are enabled satisfactorily to account for the omission of those chapters in their copies, and to prove from the united antecedent, concurrent, and subsequent testimonies of various writers, both Christians and adversaries of Christianity, that they did exist in all the other copies of Matthew's Gospel, and were explicitly referred to or cited by them. [2]

2. The collateral or *internal* arguments against the authenticity of these chapters, deduced from their contents, are as follow.

(1.) It has been admitted by many writers that Mark in most places agrees with the method and order both of Matthew and Luke, as also does John, after a short introduction concerning the Logos. Mark begins his Gospel at what we call the third chapter of Matthew, that is, at the time when John came baptising in the wilderness. It is farther urged that, as it is most probable that Luke was the first who published a Gospel; and as he had given the genealogy and a full account of the birth, &c. of Christ, there was no necessity for those who came after him to repeat the same things, as they were not particularly important to the salvation and happiness of man,—the great ends which our Saviour and his disciples had in view. Besides, it is alleged that Luke's account of the birth of Jesus, and of all the subsequent events, till Joseph and Mary carried him home to Nazareth, which he has fully detailed, is totally different from that which is found in the first and second chapters of Matthew's Gospel. No coincidence occurs, excepting Christ's being born at Bethlehem of a virgin. Hence it is inferred by those who oppose the authenticity of these chapters, that the absolute silence of Luke respecting many remarkable events yields a strong negative argument against it.

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[1] See the various passages of Irenæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Jerome and other fathers, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 19—24.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 483—485. Bishop Horsley's Tracts in reply to Dr. Priestley, pp. 378—386. (edition of 1789.) Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians, vol. ii. pp. 194—204. Dr. J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 731—741.

[2] The reader who may be desirous of investigating at length the evidence of the authenticity of Matt. i. and ii. will find it very copiously discussed in Dr. Nares's masterly Remarks on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. 4—27. (2d edit.), Archbp. Laurence's Critical Reflections on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. 14—50. 8vo. Oxford, 1811; Archbp. Magee's Discourses on the Atonement, vol. ii. part i. pp. 419—454.; the Quarterly Review, vol. i. pp. 320—326.; the Sixth Sermon in Mr. Falconer's Bampton Lectures for 1810, pp. 176—207.; Dr. Bell's Arguments in proof of the authenticity of the two first chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke prefixed to his Enquiry into the Divine Missions of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, 8vo. London, 1810; and especially to Mr. Bevan's very complete, and indeed *unanswerable* "Vindication of the authenticity of the Narratives contained in the first two chapters of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, London, 1822." 8vo.

This inference however is more specious than solid; but before we admit its force, let us examine the premises on which it is founded. The agreement of the four evangelists is readily accounted for, by their narrating the life and transactions of one and the same person. Having either been chosen witnesses of our Saviour's discourses and actions (as Matthew and John were), or having derived their information from others who had been eye-witnesses of them (as Mark and Luke had), they were enabled by inspiration to repeat the former, with little or no variation of words, and to relate the latter without any material variation. They did so in their preaching; and, forming the same judgment of the importance of what they had seen and heard, they repeated nearly the same things, and the same words. The reason why Mark begins at what we call the third chapter of Matthew is to be found in the object he had in view in writing his Gospel; which, being in all probability written at Rome, was adapted to the state of the church there.[1] Further, it is *not* probable that Luke's Gospel was first written: we have already proved (as far at least as such a thing can now be proved) that Matthew's Gospel was the first composed[2], and Luke did not write his Gospel until about the year 63 or 64.[3] His account of the birth, &c. of Jesus Christ is totally different from that of Matthew; whose Gospel being designed for the Hebrew Christians, traces the pedigree of our Saviour in the line of Joseph, his *reputed* or legal father, to show the accomplishment of the prophecies contained in the Old Testament respecting the Messiah; and then proceeds to notice the fact that Christ was born in Bethlehem agreeably to the prediction of Micah, without detailing the intermediate circumstances, which, in fact, were not necessary, as he wrote at a time when those events were fresh in the recollections of his countrymen and contemporaries. Luke, on the contrary, writing for *Gentiles* who were ignorant of Jewish affairs, and after Matthew composed his Gospel, begins his history much farther back than the other evangelists; is particularly careful in specifying times and places; and gives the genealogy of Christ according to his natural descent from the Virgin Mary, and carries it up to Adam, to show that he was that very seed of *the woman* who was promised for the redemption of the *whole* world. The silence of Luke, therefore, respecting many remarkable events related by Matthew, admits of an easy and satisfactory solution; and concludes nothing against the authenticity of his two first chapters.

2. The appearance of a star in the east, directing the Magi to the newborn Messiah in Judæa (Matt. ii. 1—12.), it has been said, has more the air of an Eastern invention than of a real history. It is true this has been *said;* but so far is it from being an Oriental fiction, that it is referred to *as a fact* by Ignatius[4], who had conversed familiarly with several of the apostles, and who certainly had better means of ascertaining its reality than any writer of the eighteenth or nineteenth century. The reality of this fact was also admitted by that acute adversary of the Christian faith, Celsus, who flourished towards the close of the second century.[5]

3. It is said to be a circumstance scarcely credible, that "when Herod had heard these things" (the arrival of the Magi, &c.), "he was troubled,

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[1] See this proved, Sect. III. § IV. p. 287. *infra.*

[2] See pp. 261—266. *supra.* [3] See Sect. IV. § IV. p. 302. *infra.*

[4] Ignatii Epist. ad Ephesios, § 19. apud Cotelerii Patres Apost. tom. ii. p. 51.

[5] See the passages at length, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 11. 59. 63.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 116. 143. 145. The circumstances of the coming of the wise men and their worshipping of the infant Jesus are discussed in Mr. Franks's Hulsean Prize Dissertation on the Magi, 8vo. 1814.; and the objections of Professor Schleiermacher are satisfactorily refuted in the British Critic and Theological Review, vol. ii. pp. 385, 386.

and *all Jerusalem* with him." Now this circumstance is so far from being incredible, that it is precisely what we should expect from the well known sanguinary and jealous character of Herod, who had caused the death of his wife, his children, and the greater part of his family, not to mention numbers of his subjects who fell victims to his savage jealousy: so that the Jews, especially the Pharisees, dreaded and hated him.

4. Much stress has been laid on the supposed difficulty of reconciling the genealogies of Christ, as recorded by Matthew and Luke; but the different designs with which those evangelists composed their respective Gospels completely solve this apparent difficulty; which has been considered and explained in the second volume of this work.[1]

5. The slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem is further objected against the authenticity of the second chapter of Matthew, because that event is not mentioned by any writer but by the "supposed Matthew, and by those who quote from him." The credibility of this event, and consequently the authenticity of the evangelist, has likewise been established in Volume II. pp. 549, 550.

6. It is alleged that there are in these two chapters several prophecies cited as being fulfilled, but which cannot easily be made to correspond with the events by which they are declared to be accomplished. A little attention, however, to the Hebrew modes of quoting the prophecies[2] will show the fallacy of this objection. For Isa. vii. 14. cited in Matt. i. 23., and Micah v. 2. cited in Matt. ii. 6., are prophecies quoted as being literally accomplished; and Jer. xxxi. 15. cited in Matt. ii. 17., and Hos. xi. 1. cited in Matt. ii. 15., are passages from those prophets applied to similar facts, introduced with the usual formulas of Jewish writers, *That it might be fulfilled*, and *Then was fulfilled*.

Lastly, It is said that the flight of Joseph with Mary and Jesus into Egypt is inexplicable; that it could not be from Bethlehem, for Luke expressly says, that they continued there forty days (ii. 22.), at the expiration of which he was carried to Jerusalem to be presented to the Lord, and afterwards was taken to Nazareth (39.): and that the flight from this latter place was altogether unnecessary, because the slaughter did not extend so far. A little attention, however, to the different orders pursued by the evangelists in their Gospels, will remove this seeming objection; and the different narratives concerning our Lord's infancy, given us by Matthew and Luke, will appear very consistent, if we only suppose that, immediately after the transactions in the temple, Joseph and Mary went to Nazareth, as Luke says, but only to settle their affairs there, and soon after returned to Bethlehem, where the report of the shepherds, and the favourable impressions it had made on the inhabitants (see Luke ii. 17, 18.), would suggest many cogent motives to fix their abode. There they might have dwelt many months before the arrival of the wise men related by Matthew: for the order issued by Herod for the slaughter of the children, in consequence of the diligent inquiry he had made of the Magi concerning the time when the star appeared, affords us ground to conclude, that a considerable time had intervened between the birth of the child, or the appearance of the star (supposing them to coincide), and the coming of the wise men. It is also worthy of observation, that on Joseph's return from Egypt, his first intention seems to have been to go into Judæa (see Matt. ii. 22.); but, through fear of Archelaus, and by divine direction, he fixed at Nazareth, the place of his first abode. There he and his family were at the time of the only event of our Lord's child-

[1] See Vol. II. pp. 497. 546.

[2] See Vol. II. pp. 260—270.

hood which Luke has recorded, and therefore it was not to his purpose to take notice of any removal or other place of abode.[1]

To sum up the evidence upon this question, the importance of which must apologise for the length of the preceding discussion: — The commencement of the third chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel shews that something had preceded analogous to what we read in chap. ii. All the antient manuscripts now extant, as well as all the antient versions (two of which are of apostolical antiquity) contain the two first chapters. They are found in a genuine epistle of Ignatius, the only apostolical father who had occasion to refer to them. Justin Martyr, Hegesippus, and Clement of Alexandria, who all flourished in the second century, have referred to them: as also have Irænеus and all the fathers who immediately succeeded him, and whose testimony is undisputed. Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, the most acute and inveterate enemies of the Gospel, in the second, third, and fourth centuries, likewise admitted them. "Thus, we have one continued and unbroken series of testimony," of Christians as well as of persons inimical to the Christian faith, "from the days of the apostles to the present time; and in opposition to this we find only a vague report of the state of a Hebrew copy of Matthew's Gospel, *said* to be received amongst an obscure and unrecognised description of Hebrew Christians, who are admitted, even by the very writers who claim the support of their authenticity, to have mutilated the copy which they possessed, by removing the genealogy."[2]

VII. The voice of antiquity accords with Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius[3] in testifying that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Judæa for the Jewish nation, while the church consisted wholly of the circumcision, that is, of Jewish and Samaritan believers, but principally Jewish; and that he wrote it primarily for their use, with a view to confirm those who believed, and to convert those who believed not, we have, besides historical facts, very strong presumptions from the book itself. Every circumstance is carefully pointed out, which might conciliate the faith of that nation; and every unnecessary expression is avoided, that might in any way tend to obstruct it. To illustrate this remark by a few particulars: — There was no sentiment relating to the Messiah, with which the Jews were more strongly possessed, than that he must be of the race of Abraham, and of the family of David. Matthew, therefore, with great propriety, begins his narrative with the genealogy of Jesus; which agreeably to the Jewish custom, he gives according to his legal decent by Joseph his supposed father, deducing it from Abraham through David, to show his title to the kingdom of Israel.

That he should be born at Bethlehem in Judæa was another circumstance in which the learned among the Jews were universally agreed; accordingly, this historian has also taken the first opportu-

[1] Dr. Priestley's Notes on the Bible, vol. iii. p. 31. See also Lightfoot's, Doddridge's, and Macknight's Harmonies on Matt. ii., and Cellérier's Introduction au Nouv. Test. pp. 334—337.

[2] Archbp. Magee on the Atonement, vol. ii. p. 447.

[3] Irenæus adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 1. Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. v. c. 8. Origenis Exposit. in Matt. apud Euseb. lib. vi. c. 25.

nity to mention his birth in that town, together with some very memorable circumstances that attended it. Those passages in the prophets, or other sacred books, which either foretell any thing that should happen to the Messiah, or admit of an allusive application to him, or were in that age generally understood to be applicable to events which respect the Messiah, are never passed over in silence by this evangelist. To the Jews who were convinced of the inspiration of their sacred writings, the fulfilment of prophecy was always strong evidence: accordingly, neither of the evangelists has been more careful than Matthew that no evidence of this kind should be overlooked. [1]

Further, this evangelist very frequently refers to Jewish customs, and relates most of our Saviour's discourses against the errors and superstitions of the Jews, whose most considerable objections he answers. How admirably his Gospel was adapted to that people, will appear from the following considerations: "The Jews were much disposed to consider the letter of the law as the complete rule and measure of moral duty; to place religion in the observance of rites and ceremonies, or in a strict adherence to some favourite precepts, written or traditionary; to ascribe to themselves sufficient power of doing the divine will without the divine assistance; and, vain of a civil or legal righteousness, to contemn all others, and esteem themselves so just that they needed no repentance, nor any expiation but what the law provided. They rested in the covenant of circumcision and their descent from Abraham as a sure title to salvation, whatever lives they led; and though they looked for a Messiah, yet with so little idea of an atonement for sin to be made by his death, that the cross proved the great stumbling-block to them. They expected him to appear with outward splendour, as the dispenser of temporal felicity; the chief blessings of which were to redound to their own nation in an earthly Canaan, and in conquest and dominion over the rest of mankind. A tincture of these delusive notions, which they had imbibed by education and the doctrine of their elders, would be apt to remain with too many, even after their admission into the church of Christ. How necessary then was it, that just principles concerning the way of life and happiness, and the nature and extent of the Gospel, should be infused into the breasts of these sons of Sion, that they might be able to work out their own salvation, and promote that of others: since they were to be the *salt of the earth*, and *the light of the world*; the first preachers of righteousness to the nations, and the instruments of calling mankind to the knowledge of the truth.

"Matthew, therefore, has chosen, out of the materials before him, such parts of our blessed Saviour's history and discourses as were best suited to the purpose of awakening them to a sense of their sins, of abating their self-conceit and overweening hopes, of rectifying their errors, correcting their prejudices, and exalting and purifying their minds. After a short account, more particularly requisite in the first writer of a Gospel, of the genealogy and miraculous birth of Christ,

[1] Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 18. Dr. Townson's Works vol. i. pp. 121—137.

and a few circumstances relating to his infancy, he proceeds to describe his forerunner John the Baptist, who preached the necessity of repentance to the race of Abraham and children of the circumcision; and by his testimony prepares us to expect one mightier than he: mightier as a prophet in deed and word, and above the sphere of a prophet, mighty to sanctify by his spirit, to pardon, reward, and punish by his sovereignty. Then the spiritual nature of his kingdom, the pure and perfect laws by which it is administered, and the necessity of vital and universal obedience to them, are set before us in various discourses, beginning with the sermon on the mount, to which Saint Matthew hastens, as with a rapid pace, to lead his readers. And that the holy light shining on the mind by the word and life of Christ, and quickening the heart by his spirit, might be seconded in his operations by the powers of hope and fear: the twenty-fifth chapter of this Gospel, which finishes the legislation of Christ, exhibits him enforcing his precepts, and adding a sanction to his laws, by that noble and awful description of his future appearance in glory, and the gathering of all nations before him to judgment. Saint Matthew, then, passing to the history of the Passion, shows them that the *new covenant*, foretold by the prophets, was a covenant of spiritual not temporal blessings, established in the sufferings and death of Christ, *whose blood was shed for many*, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS (Matt. xxvi. 28.); which it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away. To purge the conscience from the pollution of dead and sinful works required the blood of Him, *who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God.* With the instructions of Christ are intermixed many hints, that the kingdom of God would not be confined to the Jews, but, while numbers of them were excluded through unbelief, would be increased by subjects of other nations. And thus the devout Israelite was taught, in submission to the will and ordinance of Heaven, to embrace the believing Samaritan as a brother, and to welcome the admission of the Gentiles into the church, which was soon after to commence with the calling of Cornelius. And as they suffered persecution from their own nation, and were to expect it elsewhere in following Christ, all that can fortify the mind with neglect of earthly good, and contempt of worldly danger, when they come in competition with our duty, is strongly inculcated." [1]

VIII. The Gospel of Matthew, which comprises twenty-eight chapters and 1071 verses, consists of four parts, viz.

PART I. *treats on the Infancy of Jesus Christ.*

SECT. 1. The genealogy of Christ. (i. 1—17.)
SECT. 2. The birth of Christ. (i. 18—25.)
SECT. 3. The adoration of the Magi, and slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem and in its vicinity. (ii.)

PART II. *records the Discourses and Actions of John the Baptist, preparatory to our Saviour's commencing his Public Ministry.* (iii. iv. 1—11.)

[1] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 5—7.

SECT. 1. The preaching of John the Baptist, and the baptism of Jesus Christ by him. (iii.)

SECT. 2. The temptation of Christ in the wilderness. (iv. 1—11.)

PART III. *relates the Discourses and Actions of Christ in Galilee, by which he demonstrated that he was the Messiah.* (iv. 12.—xx. 16.)

SECT. 1. Christ goes into Galilee, calls Peter, Andrew, James, and John, and performs various miraculous cures. (iv. 12—25.)

SECT. 2. The sermon on the mount. (v. vi. vii.) showing,

§ i. Who only are truly happy (v. 1—12.), and the duty of Christians to be exemplary. (13—16.)

§ ii. The design of Christ's coming, viz. to ratify the divine law (17—20.), which had been much impaired by the traditions of the Pharisees.—1. IN RESPECT OF ITS EXTENT: —this is exemplified in what concerns, 1. *Murder* (21—26.); 2. *Adultery* (27—30.); 3. *Divorce* (31, 32.); 4. *Oaths* (33—37.); 5. *Retaliation* (38—42.); 6. *The love of our neighbour* (43—48.)—II. IN RESPECT OF MOTIVE;—where the end is applause, the virtue is destroyed. This is exemplified, 1. *In almsgiving* (vi. 1—4.); 2. *In prayer* (5—15.); 3. *In fasting.* (16—18.)

§ iii. Heavenly-mindedness enforced by various considerations. (vi. 19—34.)

§ iv. Cautions against censoriousness in judging of others (vii. 1—5.); admonitions to discretion in dispensing religious benefits (6.); to assiduity in pursuing spiritual good (7—11.); to humanity and equity in our behaviour to all (12.); and to withstand all sinful affections (13, 14.); warnings against false teachers, who are commonly known by their actions (15—20.); the wisdom of adding practice to knowledge, and the insignificancy of the latter without the former. (21—29.)

SECT. 3. A narrative of several miracles, performed by Christ, and of the call of Matthew. (viii. ix.)

SECT. 4. Christ's charge to his twelve apostles, whom he sent forth to preach to the Jews. (x. xi. 1.)

SECT. 5. relates the manner in which the discourses and actions of Jesus Christ were received by various descriptions of men, and the effect produced by his discourses and miracles. (xi. 2.—xvi. 1—12.)

SECT. 6. contains the discourses and actions of Christ, immediately concerning his disciples. (xvi. 13.—xx. 1—16.)

PART IV. *contains the Transactions relative to the Passion and Resurrection of Christ.* (xx. 17.—xxviii.)

SECT. 1. The discourses and miracle of Christ in his way to Jerusalem. (xx. 17—34.)

SECT. 2. The transactions at Jerusalem until his passion.

§ i. *On Palm-Sunday* (as we now call it), or the *first* day of Passion-week, Christ makes his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, where he expels the money-changers, and other traders out of the temple. (xxi. 1—17.)

§ ii. *On Monday*, or the *second* day of Passion-week.—The barren fig-tree withered. (xxi. 18—22.)

§ iii. *On Tuesday*, or the *third* day of Passion-week.

(*a*) *In the Temple.*—The chief priests and elders confuted, 1. By a question concerning John's baptism. (xxi. 23—27.)—2. By the parables of the two sons (28—32.), and of the labourers of the vineyard (33—44.); for which they seek to lay hands on him. (45, 46.) The parable of the marriage-feast. (xxii. 1—14.) Christ confutes the Pharisees and Sadducees by showing, 1. The lawfulness of paying tribute. (xxii. 15—22.)—2. Proving the resurrection. (23—33.)—3. The great commandment (34—40.), and silences the Pharisees (41—46.), against whom he denounces eight woes for their hypocrisy (xxiii. 1—36.); his lamentation over Jerusalem. (37—39.)

(*b*) *Out of the Temple.*—Christ's prophetic discourse concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world (xxiv.); the parables of the ten virgins and of the talents, and the last judgment. (xxv.)

§ iv. *On Wednesday*, or the *fourth* day of Passion-week, Christ forewarns his disciples of his approaching crucifixion: the chief priests consult to apprehend him. (3—5.) A woman anoints Christ at Bethany. (xxvi. 6—13.)

§ v. *On Thursday,* or the *fifth* day of Passion-week. — Judas covenants to betray him (14—16.); the passover prepared. (17—19.)

§ vi. *On the Passover-day,* that is, *from Thursday evening to Friday evening of Passion-week.*

(*a*) *In the evening* Christ eats the Passover (xxvi. 20—25.), and institutes the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. (26—29.)

(*b*) *Towards night* Jesus, 1. Foretells the cowardice of the apostles. (xxvi. 33—35.) — 2. Is in an agony. (36—46.) — 3. Is apprehended, reproves Peter and the multitude, and is forsaken by all. (47—56.)

(*c*) *During the night,* 1. Christ is led to Caiaphas, falsely accused, condemned, and derided. (57—68.) — 2. Peter's denial of Christ and repentance. (69—75.)

(*d*) *On Friday morning.* — 1. Jesus being delivered to Pilate, Judas commits suicide. (xxvii. 1—10.) — 2. Transactions before Pilate. (11—26.) — 3. Christ is mocked and led forth. (27—32.)

(*e*) Transactions of the *third hour.* — The vinegar and gall; the crucifixion; Christ's garments divided; the inscription on the cross; the two robbers; blasphemies of the Jews. (xxvii. 33—44.)

(*f*) *From the sixth to the ninth hour.* — The darkness over the land; Christ's last agony and death; its concomitant events. (xxvii. 45—56.)

(*g*) *Between the ninth hour and sunset,* Christ is interred by Joseph of Arimathea. (xxvii. 57—61.)

Sect. 3. The transactions on the *Sabbath of the Passover-week* (that is, *from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday in Passion-week*). — The sepulchre of Christ secured. (xxvii. 62—66.)

Sect. 4. Transactions after Christ's resurrection, chiefly *on Easter-day.*

§ i. Christ's resurrection testified, first, to the women by an angel xxviii. 1—8.), and afterwards by Christ himself. (9, 10.)

§ ii. The resurrection denied by his adversaries (xxvii. 11—15.), but proved to the apostles. (16—20.)

IX. Except John, the evangelist Matthew enjoyed the best opportunity for writing a regular and connected narrative of the life of Christ, according to the order of time and the exact series of his transactions. His style is every where plain and perspicuous, and he is eminently distinguished for the clearness and particularity with which he has related many of our Saviour's discourses and moral instructions. "Of these, his sermon on the mount, his charge to the apostles, his illustrations of the nature of his kingdom, and his prophecy on Mount Olivet, are examples. He has also wonderfully united simplicity and energy in relating the replies of his master to the cavils of his adversaries." [1] He is the only evangelist who has given us an account of our Lord's description of the process of the general judgment; and his relation of that momentous event is awfully impressive.

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[1] Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 20. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. p. 176. Bishop Cleaver has an excellent Discourse on the Style of Saint Matthew's Gospel in his Sermons on Select Subjects, pp. 189—205.

SECTION III.

ON THE GOSPEL BY SAINT MARK.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author.* — III. *Genuineness and Authenticity of this Gospel.* — IV. *Probable Date.* — V. *Occasion and Scope.* — VI. *In what Language written.* — VII. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — VIII. *Examination of the Question, whether Mark transcribed or abridged the Gospel of Matthew.* — IX. *Observations on his Style.*

I. THE TITLE of the Gospel by Saint Mark is, in the Vatican manuscript, κατα Μαρκον, *according to Mark.* In the Alexandrian MS., the Codex Bezæ, the Codex Regius, 62 (formerly 2862, Stephani η), and some other editions, it is Το κατα Μαρκον Ευαγγελιον, *the Gospel according to Mark;* and in some manuscripts and editions, Το κατα Μαρκον αγιον Ευαγγελιον, *the Holy Gospel according to Mark;* or (as in the authorised English version), *the Gospel according to Saint Mark.*[1] In the Syriac version, in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, it is intitled "The Gospel of the Evangelist Mark;" in the Arabic version, "The Gospel of St. Mark the Apostle, which he wrote in the Roman [tongue] by the inspiration of the Spirit of Holiness;" and in the Persian version, "The beginning of the Gospel of Mark, which was written at Rome, in the Latin tongue."

II. This evangelist was not an apostle or companion of Jesus Christ during his ministry, though Epiphanius and several other fathers affirm that he was one of the seventy disciples. All that we learn from the New Testament concerning him is, that he was "sister's son to Barnabas" (Col. iv. 10.), and the son of Mary, a pious woman of Jerusalem, at whose house the Apostles and first Christians often assembled. (Acts xii. 12.) His Hebrew name was John, and Michaelis thinks, that he adopted the surname of Mark when he left Judæa to preach the Gospel in foreign countries, — a practice not unusual among the Jews of that age, who frequently assumed a name more familiar to the nations which they visited than that by which they had been distinguished in their own country. From Peter's styling him *his son* (1 Pet. v. 13.), this evangelist is supposed to have been converted by Saint Peter; and on his deliverance (A. D. 44, recorded in Acts xii. 12.), Mark went from Jerusalem with Paul and Barnabas, and soon after accompanied them to other countries as their minister (Acts xiii. 5.); but declining to attend them through their whole progress, he returned to Jerusalem, and kept up an intercourse with Peter and the other apostles. Afterwards, however, when Paul and Barnabas settled at Antioch on the termination of their journey, we find Mark with them, and disposed to accompany them in their future journeys. At this time he went with Barnabas to Cyprus (Acts xv. 37—39.); and subsequently accompanied Timothy to Rome, at the express desire of Saint Paul (2 Tim. iv. 11.), during his confinement in that city, whence Mark sent his salutations

[1] Griesbach, Nov. Test. tom. i. on Mark, i. 1.

to Philemon (24.), and to the church at Colosse. (Col. iv. 10.) From Rome he probably went into Asia, where he found Saint Peter, with whom he returned to that city, in which he is supposed to have written and published his Gospel. Such are the outlines of this evangelist's history, as furnished to us by the New Testament. From Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome[1], we learn that Mark, after he had written his Gospel, went to Egypt; and, having planted a church at Alexandria, Jerome states that he died and was buried there in the eighth year of the reign of Nero. Baronius, Cave, Wetstein, and other writers, affirm that Saint Mark suffered martyrdom; but this fact is not mentioned by Eusebius or any other antient writer, and is contradicted by Jerome, whose expressions seem to imply that he died a natural death.

III. That Mark was the author of the Gospel which bears his name, is proved by the unanimous testimony of antient Christians, particularly Papias[2], by several antient writers of the first century consulted by Eusebius[3], by Justin Martyr[4], Tatian[5], Irenæus[6], Clement of Alexandria[7], Tertullian[8], Ammonius[9], Origen[10], and by all the fathers of the third and following centuries.[11] Though not cited by name, this Gospel appears to have been alluded to by Clement of Rome in the first century[12]; but the testimony of antiquity is not equally uniform concerning the order in which it should be placed. Clement of Alexandria affirms that the Gospels containing the genealogies were first written: according to this account, Mark wrote after Luke; but Papias, on the information of John the Presbyter, a disciple of Jesus, and a companion of the apostles, expressly states that it was the second in order; and with him agree Irenæus and other writers.

Satisfactory as is the testimony, to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospel of Mark, generally, some critics have thought that the last twelve verses of the sixteenth chapter were not written by the evangelist.[13] The following is a concise statement of the question. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, in Cappadocia, has said in his second discourse on the resurrection, that this Gospel terminates *in the more correct copies* with the words εφοβοῦντο γαρ, *for they were afraid:* and Jerome has observed[14], that few of the Greek MSS.

[1] See the passages of these writers in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 82—84; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 176, 177.

[2] A. D. 116. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 109. 112.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 338, 339.

[3] Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 33.

[4] A. D. 140. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 120.; 4to. vol. i. p. 344.

[5] A. D. 172. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 138.; 4to. vol. i. p. 354.

[6] A. D. 178. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 158, 159.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 365, 366.

[7] A. D. 194. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 211, 212.; 4to. vol. i. p. 395.

[8] A. D. 200. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 257, 258.; 4to. vol. i. p. 420.

[9] A. D. 220. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 414, *et seq.*; 4to. vol. i. pp. 503, *et seq.*

[10] A. D. 230. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 466, 467.; 4to. vol. i. p. 332.

[11] See the later testimonies in Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 87—90.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 179, 180.

[12] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 31.; 4to. vol. i. p. 294.

[13] Michaelis (Introd. chap. iii. sect. 3. vol. i. pp. 87—97.) has brought forward some strong objections to the canonical authority of the Gospel of Mark. As his objections apply equally to the Gospel of Luke, the reader is referred to pp. 295—299. *infra;* where those objections are considered, and (it is hoped) satisfactorily refuted.

[14] Quæst. ad. Hedib. Quæst. 3.

which he had seen, contained these verses. But the very concise affirmation of Jerome is greatly restricted by what he has himself said of a various reading in the *fourteenth* verse, viz. that it is found *in quibusdam exemplaribus, et maxime Græcis codicibus.* It is evident, therefore, that, in the former passage, he has exaggerated, — which is no unusual occurrence with this writer. With regard to the assertion of Gregory, at this distance of time it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine what he meant by the *most exact manuscripts.* Perhaps he intended MSS. more correctly written, but this merit alone would add nothing to their authority: nor can we now ascertain the recension to which they belonged. We must, therefore, examine the evidences which actually exist. The verses in question are certainly wanting in the Vatican manuscript and in Nos. 137 and 138. of Griesbach's notation, (where, however, they are marked with an asterisk,) as well as in the canons of Eusebius; but, on the other hand, their authenticity is attested by authorities of the greatest importance. These verses are extant in the Codex Alexandrinus; the most considerable portion of the disputed passage (that is, the seven first verses) is in the Codex Bezæ, *à primâ manu,* but the remainder has been added by a later hand, and they are extant in the Greek commentaries of Theophylact. The whole twelve verses are likewise found in the Peschito (or Old Syriac) and Arabic versions, and in those MSS. of the Vulgate Latin Version, which are not mutilated at the end of the second Gospel: and they are cited by Augustine, Ambrose, and Leo bishop of Rome (surnamed the Great), who followed this version. But what is of most importance is, that the manner in which so antient a writer as Irenæus, in the *second* century, refers to this Gospel, renders it highly probable that the whole passage was read in all the copies known to him. His words are these: — *In fine autem Evangelii, ait Marcus: Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in cœlo, et sedet ad dexteram Dei.* [1]

The verse here quoted is the nineteenth, and the chapter contains only twenty verses. Hippolytus, who wrote in the early part of the third century, also bears testimony in favour of the disputed fragment, in the beginning of his book Περι Χαρισματων. It is further worthy of notice, that there is not a single manuscript containing this verse, which has not also the whole passage from the eighth to the end: nor is there a single manuscript, in which this verse is wanting, that does not also want the whole. No authority of equal antiquity has yet been produced on the other side. It has been conjectured that the difficulty of reconciling Mark's account of our Lord's appearances, after his resurrection, with those of the other Evangelists, has emboldened some transcribers to omit them. The plausibility of this conjecture renders it highly probable: to which we may subjoin, that the abruptness of the conclusion of this history, without the words in question, and the want of any thing like a reason for adding them if they had not been there originally, afford a strong collateral proof of their authenticity. Transcribers, Dr. Campbell well remarks, presume to add

[1] Adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 10. (al. 11.)

and alter in order to *remove* contradictions, but not in order to *make* them. The conclusion, therefore, is, that the disputed fragment is an integral part of the Gospel of Mark, and consequently is genuine.[1]

IV. Although the genuineness and authenticity of Mark's Gospel are thus satisfactorily ascertained, considerable uncertainty prevails as to the time when it was composed. It is allowed by all the antient authors that Mark wrote it at Rome; and many of them assert that he was no more than an amanuensis or interpreter to Peter, who dictated this Gospel to him, though others affirm that he wrote it after Peter's death. Hence a variety of dates has been assigned between the years 56 and 65; so that it becomes difficult to determine the precise year when it was written. But as it is evident from the evangelist's own narrative (Mark xvi. 20.), that he did not write until after the apostles had dispersed themselves among the Gentiles, and had preached the Gospel every where, *the Lord working with them and confirming the word with signs following;* and as it does not appear that *all* the apostles quitted Judæa earlier than the year 50[2] (though several of them laboured among the Gentiles with great success), perhaps we shall approximate nearest to the real date, if we place it between the years 60 and 63.

V. Saint Peter having publicly preached the Christian religion at Rome, many who were present intreated Mark, as he had for a long time been that apostle's companion, and had a clear understanding of what Peter had delivered, that he would commit the particulars to writing. Accordingly, when Mark had finished his Gospel, he delivered it to the persons who made this request. Such is the unanimous testimony of antient writers[3], which is further confirmed by internal evidence, derived from the Gospel itself. Thus, the great humility of Peter is conspicuous in every part of it, where any thing is related or might be related of him; his weaknesses and fall being fully exposed to view, while the things which redound to his honour are either slightly touched or wholly concealed. And with regard to Christ, scarcely an action that was done, or word spoken by him, is mentioned, at which this apostle was not present, and with such minuteness of circumstance as shows that the person who dictated the Gospel had been an eye-witness of the transactions recorded in it.[4]

From the Hebraisms discoverable in the style of this Gospel, we should readily conclude that its author was by birth and education a Jew: but the numerous Latinisms[5] it contains, not only show that it was composed by a person who had lived among the Latins, but also that it was written beyond the confines of Judæa. That this Gospel was designed principally for Gentile believers (though we know that

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[1] Griesbach, Comm. Crit. in Text. Nov. Test. Particula II. p. 199. Dr. Campbell, on the Gospels, note on Mark xvi. (vol. ii. p. 405. 3d edit.) Cellérier, Introd. au N. T. pp. 344—352. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 285—295.

[2] See Dr. Lardner's Supplement to his Credibility, chap. 7., where this subject is amply discussed. Works, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 65—77.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 167—173.

[3] Clemens Alexandr. apud Eusebii Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 14. Jerome, de Viris Illustribus, cap. viii. Tertulliani Opera, p. 505. edit. Rigaltii.

[4] See several instances of this adduced in Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 151—163.

[5] Several of these Latinisms are specified in Vol. II. pp. 28, 29.

there were some Jewish converts in the church at Rome), is further evident from the explanations introduced by the evangelist, which would have been unnecessary, if he had written for Hebrew Christians exclusively. Thus, the first time the Jordan is mentioned, the appellation "*river*," is added to the name. (Mark i. 5.) Again, as the Romans could not understand the Jewish phrase of "*defiled* or *common hands*," the evangelist adds the parenthetical explanation of "*that is, unwashen.*" (vii. 2.) When he uses the word *corban*, he subjoins the interpretation, "*that is, a gift*" (vii. 11.); and instead of the word *mammon*, he uses the common term χρηματα, "riches." Again, the word Gehenna, which in our version is translated *hell* (ix. 43.), originally signified the valley of Hinnom, where infants had been sacrificed to Moloch, and where a continual fire was afterwards maintained to consume the filth of Jerusalem. As this word could not have been understood by a foreigner, the evangelist adds the words "unquenchable fire" by way of explanation. These particularities corroborate the historical evidence above cited, that Mark designed his Gospel for the use of Gentile Christians. [1]

Lastly, the manner in which Saint Mark relates the life of our Saviour, is an additional evidence that he wrote for Gentile Christians. His narrative is clear, exact, and concise, and his exordium is singular; for while the other evangelists style our Saviour the "*Son of Man*," Saint Mark announces him at once as the *Son of God* (i. 1.); an august title, the more likely to engage the attention of the Romans; omitting the genealogy of Christ, his miraculous conception, the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, and other particulars, which could not be essentially important in the eyes of foreigners.

VI. That this evangelist wrote his Gospel in Greek is attested by the uninterrupted voice of antiquity; nor was this point ever disputed until the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, and, after them, the Jesuit Inchofer, anxious to exalt the language in which the Latin Vulgate version was executed, affirmed that Mark wrote in Latin. [2] This assertion, however, not only contradicts historical evidence, but (as Michaelis has well observed) is in itself almost incredible: for, as the Latin Church, from the very earliest ages of Christianity, was in a very flourishing state, and as the Latin language was diffused over the whole Roman empire, the Latin original of Mark's Gospel, if it had ever existed, could not have been neglected in such a manner as that no copy of it should descend to posterity. The only *semblance* of testimony, that has been produced in support of this opinion, is the subscription annexed to the old Syriac version, that Mark wrote in the Romish, that is, in the Latin language, and that in the Philoxenian version, which explains Romish by *Frankish*. But subscriptions of this kind are of no authority whatever: for the authors of them are unknown, and some of them contain the most glaring errors. Besides, as the Syriac version was made in the East, and taken immediately from the Greek, no appeal can be made to a Syriac subscription in regard to the language in which Mark wrote at

[1] Dr. Campbell's Pref. to Mark, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.
[2] Pritii, Introd. ad Lect. Nov. Test. p. 311.

Rome.[1] The advocates for the Latin original of this Gospel have appealed to a Latin manuscript pretended to be the autograph of the evangelist himself, and said to be preserved in the library of Saint Mark at Venice. But this is now proved to be a mere fable: for the Venetian manuscript formerly made part of the Latin manuscript preserved at Friuli, most of which was printed by Blanchini in his Evangeliarum Quadruplex. The Venice manuscript contained the first forty pages, or five quaternions of Mark's Gospel; the two last quaternions or sixteen pages, are preserved at Prague, where they were printed by M. Dobrowsky, under the title of *Fragmentum Pragense Evangelii S. Marci vulgo autographi.* 1778. 4to.[2]

VII. The Gospel of Mark consists of sixteen chapters, which may be divided into three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Transactions from the Baptism of Christ to his entering on the more public part of his Ministry.* (ch. i. 1—13.)

PART II. *The Discourses and Actions of Jesus Christ to his going up to Jerusalem to the fourth and last Passover.* (i. 14—x.)

SECT. 1. The transactions between the first and second passovers. (i. 14—45. ii. 1—22.)

SECT. 2. The transactions between the second and third passovers. (ii. 23—28. iii.—vi.)

SECT. 3. The transactions of the third passover to Christ's going up to Jerusalem to the fourth passover. (vii.—x.)

PART III. *The Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ.* (xi.—xvi.)

SECT. 1. The *first day* of Passion-week, or Palm Sunday — Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. (xi. 1—11.)

SECT. 2. The transactions on the *second day*, or Monday. (xi. 12—19.)

SECT. 3. The transactions on the *third day*, or Tuesday —

§ i. In the morning. (xi. 20—33. xii.)

§ ii. In the evening. (xiii.)

SECT. 4. The transactions of the *fourth day*, or Wednesday. (xiv. 1—9.)

SECT. 5. The transactions of the *fifth day*, or Thursday. (xiv. 10—16.)

SECT. 6. The transactions of the *Passover-day*, that is, from Thursday evening to Friday evening of the Passion-week; including the institution of the Lord's Supper, Christ's agony in the garden, his being betrayed by Judas, his trial, crucifixion, and burial. (xiv. 17—72. xv.)

SECT. 7. The transactions after the resurrection of Christ. (xvi.)

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[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 225. See also Jones on the Canon of the New Test. vol. iii. pp. 67—69.

[2] The history of the pretended autograph manuscript of St. Mark is briefly as follows. There was, at Aquileia, a very antient Latin MS. of the four Gospels; two quaternions or sixteen pages of which the emperor Charles IV. obtained in 1534, from Nicholas, patriarch of Aquileia, and sent them to Prague. The remaining five quaternions the canons of the church at Aquileia, during the troubles which befell that city, carried to Friuli, together with other valuable articles belonging to their church, A. D. 1420.; and from the inhabitants of Friuli the Venetian Doge, Tomaso Macenico obtained these five quaternions, which were subsequently passed for the original autograph of St. Mark. (Alber, Hermeneut. Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 238.) There is a particular account of the Prague Fragment of St. Mark's Gospel, by Schœpflin, in the third volume of the Historia et Commentationes Academiæ Electoralis Theodoro-Palatinæ, 8vo. Manheim, 1773.; in which a fac-simile is given. The account is abridged, and the fac-simile copied in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1778, vol. xlvi. pp. 321, 322.

VIII. From the striking coincidence between the Gospel of Mark and that of Matthew, several learned men have imagined that Mark compiled his Gospel from him. Augustine was the first who asserted that Mark was a servile copyist (*pedissequus*) and epitomiser of Matthew, and his opinion has been adopted by Simon, Calmet, Adler[1], Owen, Harwood, and others.

In the year 1782, Koppe published a dissertation[2], in which he has proved that this hypothesis is no longer tenable, and Michaelis has acquiesced in the result of his inquiries. The following observations are chiefly abridged from both these writers.

The assertion, that Mark abridged the Gospel of Matthew, contradicts the unanimous voice of antiquity; which states that Mark wrote his Gospel under the inspection and dictation of Peter; and, although there is a coincidence between these two evangelists, yet it does not thence necessarily follow that he abridged the Gospel of Matthew. For, in the first place, he frequently deviates from Matthew in the order of time, or in the arrangement of his facts[3], and likewise adds many things of which Matthew has taken no notice whatever.[4] Now, as Matthew was an apostle, and eye-witness of the facts which he related, Mark could not have desired better authority; if, therefore, he had Matthew's Gospel before him when he wrote his own, he would scarcely have adopted a different arrangement, or have inserted facts which he could not have found in his original author.

Again, although there are several parts of Matthew's Gospel which an evangelist, who wrote chiefly for the use of the Romans, might not improperly omit—such as the genealogy—the healing of the centurion's servant at Capernaum—Christ's argument to John's disciples, to prove that he was the Messiah—the sermon on the mount—some prophecies from the Old Testament—and the narrative of the death of Judas Iscariot;—yet, on the other hand, there are several relations in Matthew's Gospel, for the omission of which it is very difficult to assign a reason, and which therefore lead to the conclusion that his Gospel was not used by Mark.—See particularly the discourses and parables related in Matt. viii. 18—22.; x. 15—22.; xi. 20—30.; xii. 33—45.; xiii. 1—39.; xviii. 10—35.; xix. 10—12.; xx. 16.; and xxii. 1—14.[5]

Lastly, Mark's imperfect description of Christ's transactions with the apostles, after his resurrection, affords the strongest proof that

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[1] Prof. Adler's hypothesis is, that Mark first epitomised the Gospel of Matthew into Greek, omitting those topics which the heathens (for whom he wrote) would not understand; such as the Genealogy, the Discourse delivered on the Mount, the 23rd chapter, which was addressed to the Pharisees, some references to the Old Testament, and a few parables. After which he imagines (for the hypothesis is utterly destitute of proof) that the whole was translated into Greek, for the use of the Greek or Hellenistic Jews.

[2] The title of this tract is *Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi.* It was reprinted by Pott and Ruperti in the first volume of their Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum. Helmstadt, 1800. 8vo.

[3] Koppe has given *thirteen* instances. See Pott's Sylloge, vol. i. pp. 55—57.

[4] Koppe has given *twenty three* instances of these additions. Ibid. pp. 59—64.

[5] Koppe has specified several other omissions in the Gospel of St. Mark, which we have not room to enumerate. See Pott's Sylloge, vol. i. pp. 49—53.

he was totally unacquainted with the contents of Matthew's Gospel. The latter evangelist has given us a very circumstantial description of Christ's conversation with his apostles on a mountain in Galilee, yet the former, though he had before related Christ's promise that he would go before them into Galilee, has, in the last chapter of his Gospel, no account whatever of Christ's appearance in Galilee. Now, if he had read Matthew's Gospel, this important event could not have been unknown to him, and consequently he would not have neglected to record it.

Michaelis further observes, that if Mark had had Matthew's Gospel before him, he would have avoided every appearance of contradiction to the accounts given by an apostle and an eye-witness. His account of the call of Levi, under the very same circumstance as Matthew mentions his own call, is at least a variation from Matthew's description; and this very variation would have been avoided, if Mark had had access to Matthew's Gospel. The same may be observed of Mark x. 46., where only one blind man is mentioned, whereas Matthew, in the parallel passage, mentions two. In Mark's account of Peter's denial of Christ, the very same woman, who addressed Peter the first time, addressed him likewise the second time, whereas, according to Matthew, he was addressed by a different person: for Mark (xiv. 69.) uses the expression ἡ παιδισκη, *the maid*, which, without a violation of grammar, can be construed only of the same maid who had been mentioned immediately before, whereas Matthew (xxvi. 71.) has αλλη, *another maid*.[1] Now, in whatever manner harmonists may reconcile these examples, there will always remain a difference between the two accounts, which would have been avoided, if Mark had copied from Matthew. But what shall we say of instances, in which there is no mode of reconciliation? If we compare Mark iv. 35. and i. 35. with Matt. viii. 28—34., we shall find not only a difference in the arrangement of the facts, but such a determination of time, as renders a reconciliation impracticable. For, according to Matthew, on the day after the sermon on the mount, Christ entered into a ship, and crossed the lake of Gennesareth, where he encountered a violent tempest: but, according to Mark, this event took place on the day after the sermon in parables; and, on the day which followed that on which the sermon on the mount was delivered, Christ went, not to the sea-side, but to a desert place,

[1] The whole difficulty, in reconciling this apparent discrepancy between the two evangelists, "has arisen from the vain expectation that they must always agree with each other in the most minute and trivial particulars: as if the credibility of our religion rested on such agreement, or any reasonable scheme of inspiration required this exact correspondency. The solution, which Michaelis afterwards offered in his *Anmerkungen*, affords all the satisfaction which a candid mind can desire. After stating that Matthew had said 'another maid,' Mark 'the maid,' and Luke 'another *man*' (ἑτερος), he observes, the whole contradiction vanishes at once, if we only attend to John, the quiet spectator of all which passed. For he writes (xviii. 25.) '*They* said unto him, Wast thou not also one of his disciples?' Whence it appears that there were several who spake on this occasion, and that all which is said by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, may very easily be true. There might probably be more than the three who are named; but the maid, who had in a former instance recognised Peter, appears to have made the deepest impression on his mind; and hence, in dictating this Gospel to Mark, he might have said *the* maid." Bishop Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article, p. 285. first edition.

whence he passed through the towns and villages of Galilee. Another instance, in which we shall find it equally impracticable to reconcile the two evangelists, is Mark xi. 28. compared with Matt. xxi. 23. In both places the Jewish priests propose this question to Christ, εν ποια εξουσια ταυτα ποιεις; alluding to his expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple. But, according to what Saint Mark had previously related in the same chapter, this question was proposed on the third day of Christ's entry into Jerusalem: according to Matthew, it was proposed on the second. If Mark had copied from Matthew, this difference in their accounts would hardly have taken place.[1]

Since, then, it is evident that Saint Mark did not copy from the Gospel of Saint Matthew, the question recurs, how are we to reconcile the striking coincidences between them, which confessedly exist both in style, words, and things? Koppe, and after him Michaelis, endeavoured to account for the examples of verbal harmony in the three first Gospels, by the supposition that in those examples the evangelists retained the words which had been used in more antient Gospels, such as those mentioned by Luke in his preface.[2] But there does not appear to be any necessity for resorting to such an hypothesis: for, in the first place, it contradicts the accounts given from the early Christian writers above cited; and, secondly, it may be accounted for from other causes. Peter was, equally with Matthew, an eye-witness of our Lord's miracles, and had also heard his discourses, and on some occasions was admitted to be a spectator of transactions to which all the other disciples were not admitted. Both were Hebrews, though they wrote in Hellenistic Greek. Peter would therefore naturally recite in his preaching the same events and discourses which Matthew recorded in his Gospel; and the same circumstance might be mentioned in the same manner by men, who sought not after "excellency of speech," but whose minds retained the remembrance of facts or conversations which strongly impressed them, even without taking into consideration the idea of supernatural guidance.[3]

IX. Simplicity and conciseness are the characteristics of Mark's Gospel, which, considering the copiousness and majesty of its subject,—the variety of great actions it relates, and the surprising circumstances that attended them, together with the numerous and important doctrines and precepts which it contains,—is the shortest and clearest, the most marvellous, and at the same time the most satisfactory history in the whole world.[4]

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[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 220. Koppe (*ut supra*, pp. 57—59.) has given several additional examples of seeming contradictions between the two evangelists, proving that Mark could not have copied from Matthew. On the subject above discussed, the reader will find much important information in Jones's Vindication of the former part of Saint Matthew's Gospel from Mr. Whiston's Charge of Dislocations, pp. 47—86., printed at the end of his third volume on the Canon: and also in the Latin thesis of Bartus van Willes, entitled Specimen Hermeneuticum de iis, quæ ab uno Marco sunt narrata, aut copiosius et explicatius, ab eo, quam a cæteris Evangelistis exposita. 8vo. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1811.

[2] Pott's Sylloge Comment. vol. i. pp. 65—69. Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 214, 215.

[3] Pritii, Introd. ad Lectionem Nov. Test. p. 179. Bishop Tomline's Element of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 319.

[4] Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. p. 293.

SECTION IV.

ON THE GOSPEL BY SAINT LUKE.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author.* — III. *General Proofs of the Genuineness and Authenticity of this Gospel.* — 1. *Vindication of its Genuineness from the Objections of Michaelis in particular.* — 2. *Genuineness of the First Two Chapters, and of Chapters* viii. 27—39., *and* xxii. 43, 44. — IV. *Date, and where written.* — V. *For whom written.* — VI. *Occasion and Scope of this Gospel.* — VII. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — VIII. *Observations on this Gospel.*

I. THE TITLE of this Gospel in manuscripts and early editions is nearly the same as that of the Gospel by St. Mark. In the Syriac version it is called "The Holy Gospel, the preaching of Luke the evangelist, which he spoke and published (or announced) in Greek, in Great Alexandria:" in the Arabic version, it is "The Gospel of St. Luke the physician, one of the seventy, which he wrote in Greek, the Holy Spirit inspiring [him]:" and, in the Persian version, "The Gospel of Luke, which he wrote in the Egyptian Greek tongue, at Alexandria."

II. Concerning this evangelist, we have but little certain information: from what is recorded in the Scriptures, as well as from the circumstances related by the early Christian writers, the following particulars have been obtained.

According to Eusebius, Luke was a native of Antioch, by profession a physician, and for the most part a companion of the apostle Paul. The report, first announced by Nicephoras Callisti, a writer of the fourteenth century, that he was a painter, is now justly exploded, as being destitute of foundation, and countenanced by no antient writers. From his attending Paul in his travels, and also from the testimony of some of the early fathers, Basnage, Fabricius, Dr. Lardner, and Bishop Gleig have been led to conclude that this evangelist was a Jew, and Origen, Epiphanius, and others have supposed that he was one of the seventy disciples; but this appears to be contradicted by Luke's own declaration that he was not an eye-witness of our Saviour's actions.[1] Michaelis is of opinion that he

[1] Bishop Gleig, however, has argued at great length, that the construction of Luke i. 2. leads to the conclusion that he was himself an eye-witness and personal attendant upon Jesus Christ; and that, as he is the only evangelist who gives an account of the appointment of the seventy, it is most probable that he was one of that number. He adds, that the account of Christ's commencement of his ministry at Nazareth (iv. 16—32.), which is only slightly referred to by Matthew, and is related by none other of the evangelists, is given with such particularity of circumstances, and in such a manner, as evinces that they actually passed in the presence of the writer; and, further, that, as he mentions Cleopas by name in his very particular and interesting account of all that passed between Christ and the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, we can hardly suppose him to be ignorant of the name of the other disciple, which Dr. Gleig understands to be Luke himself, and thinks that he concealed his name for the same reason that John conceals his own name in the Gospel. (Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels, in Bp. G.'s edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. pp. 89—93., and also in his Directions for the Study of Theology, pp. 366—377.) But this hypothesis, which is proposed and supported with great ability, is opposed by the facts that the name of the evangelist is NOT Jewish; and that since Jesus Christ employed only native Jews as his apostles and mis-

was a Gentile, on the authority of Paul's expressions in Col. iv. 10, 11. 14. The most probable conjecture is that of Bolten, adopted by Kuinöel, viz. that Luke was descended from Gentile parents, and that in his youth he had embraced Judaism, from which he was converted to Christianity. The Hebraic-Greek style of writing observable in his writings, and especially the accurate knowledge of the Jewish religion, rites, ceremonies, and usages, every where discernible both in his Gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles, sufficiently evince that their author was a Jew; while his intimate knowledge of the Greek language, displayed in the preface to his Gospel, which is composed in elegant Greek, and his Greek name Λουκας, evidently show that he was descended from Gentile parents. This conjecture is further supported by a passage in the Acts, and by another in the Epistle to the Colossians. In the former (Acts xxi. 27.) it is related that the Asiatic Jews stirred up the people, because Paul had introduced Gentiles into the temple, and in the following verse it is added, that they had before seen with him in the city, Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple. No mention is here made of Luke, though he was with the apostle. Compare Acts xxi. 15. 17., where Luke speaks of himself among the companions of Paul. Hence we infer that he was reckoned among the Jews, one of whom he might be accounted, if he had become a proselyte from Gentilism to the Jewish religion. In the Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 11. 14.), after Paul had written the salutations of Aristarchus, Marcus, and of Jesus surnamed Justus, he adds, "*who are of the circumcision. These only,*" he continues, "*are my fellow-workers* (meaning those of the circumcision) *unto the kingdom of God.*" Then in the fourteenth verse, he adds, "*Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas, salute you.*" As the apostle in this passage opposes them to the Christians who had been converted from Judaism, it is evident that Luke was descended from Gentile parents.

The first time that this evangelist is mentioned in the New Testament, is in his own history of the Acts of the Apostles. We there find him (Acts xvi. 10, 11.) with Paul at Troas; thence he attended him to Jerusalem; continued with him in his troubles in Judæa; and sailed in the same ship with him, when he was sent a prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome, where he stayed with him during his two years' confinement. As none of the antient fathers have mentioned his suffering martyrdom, it is probable that he died a natural death.[1]

III. The genuineness and authenticity of Luke's Gospel, and of his history of the Acts of the Apostles, are confirmed by the unanimous testimonies of the antient writers. — The Gospel is alluded to

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sionaries (for in this light we may consider the seventy disciples), it is not likely that he would have selected one who was not a Hebrew of the Hebrews, in other words, a Jew by descent from both his parents, and duly initiated into the Jewish church. Besides, the words ἐν ἡμιν — *among us* (i. 1.) authorise the conjecture that he had resided for a considerable time in Judæa: and, as he professes that he derived his information from eye-witnesses and ministers of Jesus Christ, this circumstance will account for the graphic minuteness with which he has recorded particular events.

[1] Lardner's Supplement to his Credibility, chap. viii. Works, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 105—107.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 187, 188.

by the apostolical fathers, Barnabas [1], Clement of Rome [2], Hermas [3], and Polycarp.[4] In the following century it is repeatedly cited by Justin Martyr [5], by the martyrs of Lyons [6], and by Irenæus.[7] Tertullian [8], at the commencement of the third century, asserted against Marcion the genuineness and integrity of the copies of Luke's Gospel, which were admitted to be canonical by himself and Christians in general, and for this he appealed to various apostolical churches. Origen [9], a few years after, mentions the Gospels in the order in which they are now generally received; the third of which he says, "is that according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, published for the sake of the Gentile converts." These testimonies are confirmed by Eusebius, the pseudo-Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and a host of later writers; whose evidence, being collected by the accurate and laborious Dr. Lardner [10], it is not necessary to repeat in this place.

Notwithstanding this unbroken chain of testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of Luke's Gospel, its canonical authority together with that of the Gospel by Mark) has been called in question by Michaelis; while various attempts have been made to impugn the authenticity of particular passages of St. Luke. The celebrity of Michaelis, and the plausibility and boldness of the objections of other assailants, will, it is hoped, justify the author for giving to their objections a full and distinct consideration.

1. The objections of Michaelis to the canonical authority of the Gospels of Mark and Luke are as follow: —

Objection 1. The two books in question were written by assistants of the apostles. This circumstance, he affirms, affords no proof of their inspiration, even if it could be shown that St. Mark and St. Luke were endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit (as appears to have been the case with Timothy and the deacons mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles) [11], of which, however, there is no historical proof: because a disciple might possess these gifts, and yet his writings not be inspired. And if we ground the argument for their inspiration on the character of an apostle's assistant, then we must receive as canonical the genuine Epistle of Clement of Rome, and the writings of other apostolical fathers.[12]

Answer. "It will be admitted, that Mark and Luke were humble, pious men; also, that they were intelligent, well-informed men, and must have known that the committing to writing the facts and doctrines comprehended in the gospel, was not left to the discretion or caprice of every

[1] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 15.; 4to. vol. i. p. 285.
[2] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 31.; 4to. vol. i. p. 294.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 55.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 307, 308.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 93.; 4to. vol. i. p. 328.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 120.; 4to. vol. i. p. 344.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 150.; 4to. vol. i. p. 361.
[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 159, 160.; 4to. vol. i. p. 366.
[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 258.; 4to. vol. i. p. 420.
[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 466.; 4to. vol. i. p. 532.
[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 107—112.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 181—191.
[11] 2 Tim. i. 6. Acts vi. 3—8.
[12] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 87, 88.

disciple, but became the duty of those only, who were inspired by the Holy Ghost to undertake the work. Now, if these two disciples had been uninspired, or not under the immediate direction of apostles who possessed plenary inspiration, it would have argued great presumption in them, without any direction, to write gospels for the instruction of the church. The very fact of their writing is, therefore, a strong evidence, that they believed themselves to be inspired. There is then little force in the remark of the learned professor, that neither St. Mark nor St. Luke have declared, in any part of their writings, that they were inspired: for such a declaration was unnecessary; their conduct in undertaking to write such books, is the best evidence that they believed themselves called to this work." [1]

OBJECTION 2. It has been said that the apostles themselves have in their epistles recommended these Gospels as canonical. That the passages depended upon for proof do refer to these or any other written Gospels, Michaelis denies: but even if they did so recommend these Gospels, the evidence (he affirms) is unsatisfactory; because they *might* have commended a book as containing genuine historical accounts, without vouching for its inspiration. And the testimony of the fathers, who state that these Gospels were respectively approved by Peter and Paul, Michaelis dismisses with very little ceremony: and, finally, he demurs in regard to the evidence of the canonical authority of these books, derived from the testimony of the whole primitive church, by which they were undoubtedly received into the canon; and suggests that the apostles *might* have recommended them, and the primitive church *might* have accepted them, as works indispensable to a Christian, on account of the importance of their contents, and that by insensible degrees they acquired the character of being inspired. [2]

ANSWER 1. The objection drawn from the writings of other apostolical men is not valid; "for none of them ever undertook to write GOSPELS, for the use of the church. All attempts at writing other Gospels, than THE FOUR, were considered by the primitive church as impious; because, the writers were uninspired men. But

"2. The universal reception of these books by the whole primitive church, as canonical, is, we think, conclusive evidence that they were not mere human productions, but composed by divine inspiration. That they were thus universally received, is manifest, from the testimonies which have already been adduced. There is not in all the writings of antiquity, a hint, that any Christian belonging to the church, ever suspected that these Gospels were inferior in authority to the others. No books in the canon appear to have been received with more universal consent, and to have been less disputed. They are contained in every catalogue, which has come down to us. They are cited as Scripture, by all that mention them; and are expressly declared by the fathers, to be canonical and inspired books. Now, let it be remembered, that this is the best evidence which we can have that any of the books of the New Testament were written by inspiration. Michaelis, indeed, places the whole proof of inspiration

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[1] "The Canon of the Old and New Testaments ascertained by Archibald Alexander, Professor of Theology at Princeton, New Jersey," pp. 202, 203. (Princeton and New York, 1826. 12mo.)

[2] Michaelis's Introduction, vol i. pp. 88—94. Alexander on the Canon, p. 201.

on the promise made by Christ to his apostles; but while it is admitted that this is a weighty consideration, it does not appear to us to be equal in force to the testimony of the universal church, including the apostles themselves, that these writings were penned under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; for it is not perfectly clear, that the promise referred to was confined to the twelve. Certainly, Paul, who was not of that number, was inspired in a plenary manner, and much the larger part of the twelve never wrote any thing for the canon. There is nothing in the New Testament which forbids our supposing, that other disciples might have been selected to write for the use of the church. We do not wish that this should be believed, in regard to any persons, without evidence, but we think that the proof exists, and arises from the undeniable fact, that the writings of these two men were, from the beginning, received as inspired. And this belief must have prevailed before the death of the apostles; for all the testimonies concur in stating, that the gospel of Mark was seen by Peter, and that of Luke by Paul, and approved by them respectively. Now, is it credible that these apostles, and John who survived them many years, would have recommended to the Christian church the productions of uninspired men? No doubt, all the churches, at that time, looked up to the apostles for guidance, in all matters that related to the rule of their faith, and a general opinion that these Gospels were canonical, could not have obtained, without their concurrence. The hypothesis of Michaelis, that they were recommended as useful human productions, and by degrees came to be considered as inspired writings, is in itself improbable, and repugnant to all the testimony which has come down to us on the subject. If this had been the fact, they would never have been placed among the books, universally acknowledged, but would have been doubted of, or disputed by some. The difference made between inspired books, and others, in those primitive times, was as great as at any subsequent period; and the line of distinction was not only broad, but great pains were taken to have it drawn accurately; and when the common opinion of the church, respecting the Gospels, was formed, there was no difficulty in coming to the certain knowledge of the truth. For thirty years and more, before the death of the apostle John, these two Gospels were in circulation. If any doubt had existed respecting their canonical authority, would not the churches and their elders have had recourse to this infallible authority? The general agreement of *all* Christians, over the whole world, respecting most of the books of the New Testament, doubtless, should be attributed to the authority of the apostles. If, then, these Gospels had been mere human productions, they might have been read privately, but never could have found a place in the sacred canon. The objection to these books comes entirely too late to be entitled to any weight. The opinion of a modern critic, however learned, is of small consideration, when opposed to the testimony of the whole primitive church; and to the suffrage of the universal church, in every age, since the days of the apostles. The rule of the learned Huet, is sound, viz. 'that all those books should be deemed canonical and inspired, which were received as such, by those who lived nearest to the time when they were published.'

"3. But if we should, for the sake of argument, concede, that no books should be considered as inspired, but such as were the productions of apostles, still these Gospels would not be excluded from the canon. It is a fact, in which there is a wonderful agreement among the fathers, that Mark wrote his Gospel from the mouth of Peter; that is, he wrote down what he had heard this apostle every day declaring, in his public ministry. And Luke did the same, in regard to Paul's preaching. These Gospels,

therefore, may, according to this testimony, be considered, as more probably belonging to these two apostles, than to the evangelists who penned them. They were little more, it would seem, if we give full credit to the testimony which has been exhibited, than amanuenses to the apostles, on whom they attended. Paul, we know, dictated several of his epistles to some of his companions; and if Mark and Luke heard the Gospel from Peter and Paul, so often repeated, that they were perfect masters of their respective narratives, and then committed the same to writing, are they not, virtually, the productions of these apostles which have been handed down to us? And this was so much the opinion of some of the fathers, that they speak of Mark's Gospel, as Peter's, and of Luke's, as Paul's. But this is not all. These Gospels were shown to these apostles, and received their approbation. Thus speak the antients, as with one voice, and if they had been silent, we might be certain, from the circumstances of the case, that these evangelists would never have ventured to take such an important step, as to write and publish the preaching of these inspired men, without their express approbation. Now, let it be considered, that a narrative prepared by a man well acquainted with the facts related, may be entirely correct without inspiration; but of this we cannot be sure, and, therefore, it is of great importance to have a history of facts from men, who were rendered infallible by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. It should be remembered, however, that the only advantage of inspiration in giving such a narrative, consists in the proper selection of facts and circumstances, and in the infallible certainty of the writing. Suppose, then, that an uninspired man should prepare an account of such transactions as he had seen, or heard from eye-witnesses, of undoubted veracity, and that his narrative should be submitted to the inspection of an apostle, and receive his full approbation; might not such a book be considered as inspired? If in the original composition, there should have crept in some errors, (for to err is human,) the inspired reviewer would, of course, point them out and have them corrected; now such a book would be, for all important purposes, an inspired volume; and would deserve a place in the canon of Holy Scripture. If any credit, then, is due to the testimony of the Christian fathers, the Gospels of Mark and Luke are canonical books; for, as was before stated, there is a general concurrence among them, that these evangelists submitted their works to the inspection, and received the approbation, of the apostles Peter and Paul.

"4. Finally, the internal evidence is as strong in favour of the Gospels under consideration, as of any other books of the New Testament. There is no reason to think that Mark or Luke were capable of writing with such perfect simplicity and propriety, without the aid of inspiration, or the assistance of inspired men. If we reject these books from the canon, we must give up the argument derived from internal evidence for the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, altogether. It is true, the learned professor, whose opinions we are opposing, has said, 'the oftener I compare their writings (Mark's and Luke's) with those of St. Matthew and St. John, the greater are my doubts.' And speaking in another place of Mark he says, 'in some immaterial instances he seems to have erred,' and he gives it as his opinion, 'that they who undertake to reconcile St. Mark with St. Matthew, or to show that he is no where corrected by St. John, experience great difficulty, and have not seldom to resort to unnatural explanations.' But the learned professor has not mentioned any particular cases of irreconcileable discrepancies between this evangelist and St. Matthew; nor does he indicate in what statements he is corrected by St. John. Until something of this kind is exhibited, general remarks

of this sort are deserving of no consideration. To harmonise the evangelists has always been found a difficult task, but this does not prove that they contradict each other, or that their accounts are irreconcileable. Many things, which, at first sight, appear contradictory, are found, upon closer examination, to be perfectly harmonious; and if there be some things, which commentators have been unable satisfactorily to reconcile, it is no more than what might be expected, in narratives so concise, and in which, a strict regard to chronological order did not enter into the plan of the writers. And if this objection be permitted to influence our judgment, in this case, it will operate against the inspiration of the other evangelists as well as Mark; but in our apprehension, when the discrepancies are impartially considered, and all the circumstances of the facts candidly and accurately weighed, there will be found no solid ground of objection to the inspiration of any of the Gospels; — certainly nothing, which can counterbalance the strong evidence arising from the style and spirit of the writers. In what respects these two evangelists fall short of the others, has never been shown; upon the most thorough examination and fair comparison of these inimitable productions, they appear to be all indited by the same spirit, and to possess the same superiority to all human compositions.

"Compare these Gospels with those which are acknowledged to have been written by uninspired men, and you will need no nice power of discrimination to see the difference: the first appear in every respect worthy of God; the last betray, in every page, the weakness of man."[1]

2. Besides the preceding objections of Michaelis to the canonical authority of this Gospel in general, the genuineness of some particular passages has been questioned, the evidence for which is now to be stated.

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[1] Alexander on the Canon, pp. 208—210. The importance of the subject and the conclusive vindication of the Gospels of Luke and Mark, contained in the preceding observations, will, we trust, compensate for the length of the quotation above given: especially as the learned translator of Michaelis, whose annotations have so frequently corrected the statements and assertions of the German Professor, has offered no refutation of his ill-founded objections to the canonical authority of these Gospels. "There is," indeed, — Professor Alexander remarks with equal truth and piety, — "something reprehensible, not to say impious, in that bold spirit of modern criticism, which has led many eminent Biblical scholars, especially in Germany, first to attack the authority of particular books of Scripture, and next to call in question the inspiration of the whole volume. To what extent this licentiousness of criticism has been carried, we need not say; for it is a matter of notoriety, that of late, the most dangerous enemies of the Bible, have been found occupying the places of its advocates; and the critical art, which was intended for the correction of the text, and the interpretation of the sacred books, has, in a most unnatural way, been turned against the Bible; and finally, the inspiration of all the sacred books, has not only been questioned, but scornfully rejected, *by Professors of Theology!* And these men, while living on endowments which pious benevolence had consecrated for the support of religion, and openly connected with churches whose creeds contain orthodox opinions, have so far forgotten their high responsibilities, and neglected the claims which the church had on them, as to exert all their ingenuity and learning, to sap the foundation of that system which they were sworn to defend. They have had the shameless hardihood, to send forth into the world, books under their own names, which contain fully as much of the poison of infidelity, as [was] ever distilled from the pens of the most malignant deists, whose writings have fallen as a curse upon the world. The only effectual security which we have against this new and most dangerous form of infidelity, is found in the spirit of the age, which is so superficial and cursory in its reading, that however many elaborate critical works may be published in foreign languages, very few of them will be read, even by theological students, in this country. May God overrule the efforts of these enemies of Christ and the Bible, so that good may come out of evil!" (Alexander on the Canon, pp. 212, 213.) In this prayer, we are persuaded, every candid and devout critical student of the Scriptures will most cordially concur.

(1.) The authenticity of the first two chapters has of late years been impugned by those who deny the miraculous conception of the Lord Jesus Christ; but with how little real foundation, will readily appear from the following facts: —

[i.] These two chapters are found in ALL the antient manuscripts and versions at present known.

[ii.] The *first* chapter of Luke's Gospel is connected with the second, precisely in the same manner as we have seen (p. 272. *supra*) that the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel are connected: Εγενετο ΔΕ ταις ημεραις — *Now it came to pass in those days*, &c. (Luke ii. 1.) And the *second* chapter of Saint Luke's Gospel is in a similar manner connected with the *third*: — Εν ετει ΔΕ πεντεκαιδεκατω — *Now, in the fifteenth year*, &c. (Luke iii. 1.) This Gospel, therefore, *could not* possibly have begun with the third chapter, but must have been preceded by some introduction.

[iii.] But because the first chapters of it were not found in the copies used by Marcion, the founder of the sect of Marcionites in the second century, it is affirmed that they are spurious interpolations.

A little consideration will show the falsehood of this assertion. The notions entertained by Marcion were among the wildest that can be conceived; — that our Saviour was man only in outward form; and that he was not born like other men, but appeared on earth full grown. He rejected the Old Testament altogether, as proceeding from the Creator, who, in *his* opinion, was void of goodness; and of the New Testament he received only one Gospel (which is supposed, but without foundation, to bs the Gospel of Saint Luke [1]) and ten of Paul's Epistles, all of which he mutilated and disguised by his alterations, interpolations, and omissions. [2]

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[1] The Gospel used by Marcion certainly did not contain the first two chapters of Luke; but neither did it contain the third chapter, nor more than one half of the fourth; and in the subsequent parts, (as we are informed by Dr. Lardner, who had examined this subject with his usual minuteness and accuracy,) it was "mutilated and altered in a great variety of places. He would not allow it to be called the Gospel of Saint Luke, erasing the name of that evangelist from the beginning of his copy." (Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 393—401.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 611—615.) His alterations were not made on any critical principles, but in the most arbitrary manner, in order to suit his extravagant theology. Indeed, the opinion that he used Luke's Gospel at all, rests upon no sufficient foundation. So different were the two works, that the most distinguished biblical scholars of modern times, particularly Semler, Eichhorn, Griesbach, Loeffler, and Marsh, have rejected that opinion altogther. Griesbach maintained that Marcion compiled a work of his own, for the service of his system and the use of his followers, from the writings of the evangelists, and particularly of Luke. (Hist. Text. Gr. Epist. Paul. p. 92.) "That Marcion used St. Luke's Gospel at all," says Bp. Marsh, "is a position which has been taken for granted without the least proof. Marcion himself never pretended that it was the Gospel of Luke; as Tertullian acknowledges, saying, *Marcion evangelio suo nullum adscribit autorem.* (Adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 2.) It is probable therefore that he used some apocryphal Gospel, which had much matter in common with that of St. Luke, but yet was not the same." (Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 159.) Dr. Loeffler has very fully examined the question in his Dissertation, entitled *Marcionem Paulli Epistolas et Lucæ Evangelium adulterasse dubitatur.* Frankfort on the Oder, 1788. The conclusions of his minute investigation are, (1.) That the Gospel used by Marcion was anonymous: (2.) Marcion rejected all our four Gospels, and maintained the authenticity of his own in opposition to them: (3.) His followers afterwards maintained, that Christ himself and Paul were the authors of it: (4) Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, had no reason for regarding Marcion's Gospel as an altered edition of Luke's, and their assertion is a mere conjecture, resting upon none but frivolous and absurd allegations: (5.) The difference of Marcion's Gospel from Luke's is inconsistent with the supposition: (6.) There are no just grounds for believing that Marcion had any pressing motives to induce him to adopt a garbled copy of Luke; and the motives assigned by the fathers are inconsistent and self-destructive." — Dr. J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

[2] Epiphanius has given a long account of Marcion's alterations, &c. of the New Tes-

This conduct of Marcion's completely invalidates any argument that may be drawn from the omission of the two first chapters of Luke's Gospel in *his* copy; and when it is added that his arbitrary interpolations, &c. of it were exposed by several contemporary writers, and particularly by Tertullian [1], we conceive that the genuineness and authenticity of the two chapters in question are established beyond the possibility of doubt. [2]

(2.) From the occurrence of the word Λεγεων (*Legio*, that is, a *Legion*), in Greek characters, in Luke viii. 30., a suspicion has been raised that the whole paragraph, containing the narrative of Christ's healing the Gadarene Demoniac (viii. 27—39.) is an interpolation. This doubt is grounded on the *assertion* that this mode of expression was not customary, either with Luke, or with any classic writer in the apostolic age. But this charge of interpolation is utterly groundless; for the passage in question is found in all the manuscripts and versions that are extant, and the mode of expression alluded to *is* familiar both with the evangelist, and also with classic writers who were contemporary with him. Thus,

[i.] In Luke x. 35. we meet with Δηναρια, which is manifestly the Latin word *Denaria* in Greek characters. In xix. 20. we also have Σουδαριον; which word, though acknowledged in the Greek language, is nothing more than the Latin word *Sudarium*, a napkin or handkerchief; and in Acts xvi. 12. we also have ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑ (*Colonia*) a COLONY.

[ii.] That the mode of expression, above objected to, *was* customary with classic authors in the apostolic age, is evident from the following passage of Plutarch, who was born not more than ten years after Jesus Christ. He tells us that, when the city of Rome was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse; and (the historian adds) Εκληθε δε ΛΕΓΕΩΝ, τω λογαδας ειναι τους μαχιμους παντων, that is, *It was called a* LEGION, *because the most warlike persons were "selected."* A few sentences afterwards, we meet with the following Latin words in Greek characters, viz. ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥΣ (*Patricios*), PATRICIANS; ΣΕΝΑΤΟΣ (*Senatus*), the SENATE; ΠΑΤΡΩΝΑΣ (*Patronos*), PATRONS; ΚΛΙΕΝΤΑΣ (*Clientes*), CLIENTS [3]; and in a subsequent page of the same historian, we meet with the word ΚΕΛΕΡΕΣ (*Celeres*), CELERES. [4] Again, in Dion Cassius [5], we meet with the following sentence: Των γαρ ΚΕΛΕΡΙΩΝ αρχων ειμι, — *for I am chief*, or commander, *of the Celeres*. Whether these are Latin words in Greek characters or not, the common sense of the reader must deter-

tament. See Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 369—393.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 610—624.

[1] See the passage at length in Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 256—288.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 419, 420.

[2] Much stress has been laid upon the apparent discrepancy between the genealogies of Jesus Christ in Luke iii. and Matt. i., and also on the *supposed* chronological difficulty in our Saviour's age; but as these seeming contradictions have already been satisfactorily explained in Vol. II. pp. 497. 546. 510. it is not necessary to repeat those solutions in this place. See also Dr. Nares's Remarks on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, p. 27. et seq.; Archbp. Laurence's Critica lReflections on the Misrepresentations contained the Unitarian Version, pp. 51—73.; and Dr. Hales on Faith in the Trinity, vol. i. pp. 88—110.

[3] Plutarchi Vitæ, in Romulo, tom. i. pp. 51, 52. edit. Bryani.

[4] Plutarchi Vitæ, vol. i. p. 71. In the same page also occurs the word ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΙΟΝ (*Capitolium*), the CAPITOL.

[5] Dion Cassius, lib. iv. cited by Mr. Rennell (to whom we are principally indebted for the observations above stated), in his Animadversions on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, p. 52.

mine. The word ΑΕΓΕΩΝ is not so barbarous, but that it has been acknowledged by the two Lexicographers, Hesychius and Suidas. [1]

We have, therefore, every reasonable evidence that can be desired for the genuineness of this passage of Luke's Gospel.

(3.) The forty-third and forty-fourth verses of Luke xxii. are wanting in the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts, in the Codex Leicestrensis, in the Codex Vindobonensis Lambecii 31., and in the Sahidic version: and in the Codices Basiliensis B. VI. and Vaticanus 354. (of the ninth or tenth century), and some other more recent manuscripts, these verses are marked with an asterisk, and in some of the MSS. collated by Matthæi with an obelisk. Their genuineness, therefore, has been disputed.

Epiphanius, Hilary, and Jerome bear testimony that, in their time, these verses were wanting in some Greek and Latin MSS. But, on the other hand, they are found in by far the greater number of MSS (as Rosenmüller remarks), *without an obelisk*, and in all the antient versions except the Sahidic. They are also recognised by Justin Martyr, Hippolytus, Irenæus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Titus of Bostra, and Cæsarius. The reasons for the omission of these verses in some MSS. and for their being marked as suspected in others, are obvious: they were rejected by some of the more timid, lest they should appear to favour the Arians.

The verses in question are certainly genuine, and they are accordingly retained by Griesbach in the text, without any mark to indicate that they are either spurious or suspected. [2]

IV. With regard to the time when this Gospel was written, there is some difference of opinion; Dr. Owen and others referring it to the year 53, while Jones, Michaelis, Lardner, and the majority of biblical critics, assign it to the year 63 or 64, which date appears to be the true one, and corresponds with the internal characters of time exhibited in the Gospel itself. But it is not so easy to ascertain the place where it was written. Jerome says, that Luke, the third evangelist, published his Gospel in the countries of Achaia and Bœotia; Gregory Nazianzen also says, that Luke wrote for the Greeks, or in Achaia. Grotius states, that about the time when Paul left Rome, Luke departed to Achaia, where he wrote the books we now have. Dr. Cave was of opinion that they were written at Rome before the termination of Paul's captivity, but Drs. Mill and Grabe, and Wetstein, affirm that this Gospel was published at Alexandria in Egypt, in opposition to the pseudo-Gospel circulated among the Egyptians. Dr. Lardner has examined these various opinions at considerable length, and concludes that, upon the whole, there is no good reason for supposing that Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, or that he preached at all in Egypt: on the contrary, it is more probable that when he left Paul, he went into Greece, and there composed or finished and published his Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles. [3]

[1] See their Lexicons, in voce; their elucidations of this word are cited by Schleusner, in his Lexicon in Nov. Test. voce Αεγεων.

[2] Griesbachii et Schulzii Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 470. Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, and Bloomfield on Luke xxii. 43, 44. Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 19, 20. Lipsiæ, 1764.

[3] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 130—136.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 199—202.

V. That Luke wrote his Gospel for the benefit of Gentile converts, is affirmed by the unanimous voice of Christian antiquity, and it may also be inferred from his dedicating it to one of his Gentile converts. This, indeed, appears to have been its peculiar design; for, writing to those who were far remote from the scene of action, and ignorant of Jewish affairs, it was requisite that he should descend to many particulars, and touch on various points, which would have been unnecessary, had he written exclusively for Jews. On this account he begins his history with the birth of John the Baptist (i. 5—80.), as introductory to that of Christ; and in the course of it he notices several particulars, mentioned by Matthew. (ii. 1—9, &c.) Hence, also, he is particularly careful in specifying various circumstances of facts that were highly conducive to the information of strangers; but which it could not have been necessary to recite to the Jews, who could easily supply them from their own knowledge. On this account, likewise, he gives the genealogy of Christ not as Matthew had done, by showing that Jesus was the son of David, from whom the Scriptures taught the Jews that the Messiah was to spring; but he traces Christ's lineage up to Adam, agreeably to the mode of tracing genealogies in use among the Gentiles, by ascending from the person whose lineage was given to the founder of his race (iii. 23—38.); and thus shows that Jesus is the seed of the woman, who was promised for the redemption of the whole world. Further, as the Gentiles had but little knowledge of Jewish transactions, Luke has marked the æras when Christ was born, and when John began to announce the Gospel, by the reigns of the Roman emperors (iii. 1, 2.) — to which point Matthew and the other evangelists have not attended. Luke has likewise introduced many things not noticed by the other evangelists, which encouraged the Gentiles to hearken to the Gospel, and, when their consciences were awakened by it, to turn to God in newness of life with a pleasing prospect of pardon and acceptance. Of this description are the parables of the publican praying in the temple (xviii. 10.), and of the lost piece of silver (xv. 8—10.), and particularly the prophetic parable of the prodigal son; which, besides its spiritual and universal application, beautifully intimates that the Gentile, represented by the younger or prodigal son, returning at length to his heavenly father, would meet with the most merciful, gracious, and affectionate reception. (xv. 11. *et seq.*) Christ's visit to Zaccheus the publican (xix. 5.) and the pardon of the penitent thief on the cross (xxiii. 40—43.), are also lively illustrations of the mercy and goodness of God to penitent sinners.

Lest, however, doubts should arise whether any but the lost sheep of the house of Israel were interested in these good tidings, other parables and facts are introduced which cannot be taken in this limited sense. Thus Luke recites a parable in praise of a merciful Samaritan (x. 33.); he relates that another Samaritan was healed and commended for his faith and gratitude (xvii. 19.); and, when a village of this people proved rude and inhospitable, that the zeal of the two apostles who wished to consume them by fire from heaven

was reproved (ix. 52—56.); and they were told that "*the Son of man came, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.*"

Lastly, this evangelist inserts examples of kindness and mercy shewn to the Gentiles. Thus, our Saviour, in the very first public discourse recorded in Luke's Gospel, takes notice that such favours were vouchsafed to the widow of Sarepta and Naaman the Syrian, both Gentiles, as were not conferred, in like circumstances, on any of the Israelites. (iv. 25—27.) And the prayer upon the cross (xxiii. 34.), "*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,*" is placed between the act of crucifying our Lord and that of parting his raiment, both of which were performed by the Roman soldiers; to whom, therefore, this prayer must have respect, as much as to any of his persecutors.[1]

VI. Great and remarkable characters always have many biographers. Such appears to have been the case with our Saviour, whose life was so beautiful, his character so sublime and divine, his doctrine so excellent, and the miracles by which he confirmed it were so illustrious and so numerous, that it was impossible but many should undertake to write evangelical narrations, or short historical memoirs concerning his life, doctrines, and transactions, which are now lost. This we infer from Saint Luke's introduction to his Gospel: — *Forasmuch*, says he, *as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of* THE WORD, *delivered them unto us; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest learn the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.* (i. 1—4.) From these introductory sentences we learn, in the first place, that the writers alluded to were not our evangelists Matthew and Mark, who were the only evangelists that can be supposed to have written before Luke; for Matthew was an eye-witness, and wrote from personal knowledge, not from the testimony of others; and *two* cannot with propriety be called *many*. In the next place, it is to be observed that these narrations consisted of *those things which are most surely believed among us*—that is, of the things performed by Jesus Christ, and confirmed by the fullest evidence, among the first professors of the Christian faith, of which number Luke reckons himself. Lastly, it appears that these narrations were received either from the apostles themselves, or from their assistants in the work of the Gospel, who were eye-witnesses of the life and miracles of Jesus Christ, to whom Luke (as well as the apostle John) gives the emphatic appellation of the THE WORD[2]: and that they were composed with an upright intention, though they were inaccurate and defective. What these imperfect and incorrect histories of

[1] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 181—196.

[2] That this is the true meaning of Luke i. 2. is evident from the following considerations, which are transcribed from Mr. Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists demonstrated by a comparative View of their Histories. "It has long appeared to me," he observes, "that St. John is not, as is commonly thought, the only evangelist who thus

our Saviour were, it is impossible now to determine, as they are not mentioned by any contemporary writer, and probably did not survive the age when they were composed.[1]

The *scope* of Luke's Gospel therefore was, to supersede the defective and unauthentic narratives which were then in circulation, and to deliver to Theophilus[2] a true and genuine account of the life, doctrines, miracles, death, and resurrection of our Saviour. Irenæus and some of the fathers imagined that Luke derived his information chiefly from the apostle Paul, and that he wrote his Gospel at his command[3]; but this conjecture is contradicted by the evangelist's own words; whence we are authorised to conclude that he obtained his intelligence principally from those who had both heard and wit-

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speaks of the *Word*, or *Logos*, as a person.* St. Luke surely personifies him quite as much, when he says, that the facts which he collected were related to him by those *who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers or attendants of the* WORD (Luke i. 2.); that is the *Logos* (Του Λογου). For how could they behold or attend upon that, which was not visible, or had no personal existence? Observe particularly, that the word in the original (ὑπηρετης) denotes a personal attendant, even more properly than the word *ministers*, employed by the translators. The expression *ministers of the word* conveys, to the English reader at least, the idea of the *ministers of the Gospel*; but *eye-witnesses of, attendants upon, or servants of the Word*, cannot fail to imply that the Word was a person capable of being seen, and of receiving attendance. In any language, *eye-witnesses* of a thing not visible must be a very harsh and unintelligible expression. When St. John also says, *the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory*; he comes very near indeed to St. Luke's *eye-witness of the Word*. I am well aware that this idea is not new. † How indeed should it be new? being so very obvious, upon the inspection of the Greek text, that it is more extraordinary for it to be overlooked than remarked. But in this country it has been little noticed. It has been thought by some, that the same writer, St. Luke, has again given the personal sense to the term *Logos*, or Words in the xxth chapter of the Acts, ver. 32.; and if so, it is also the expression of St. Paul, whose speech is there recited. *And now, brethren, I commend you to God and to the Word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.* By the *Word of his grace* is thus supposed to be meant our Lord Jesus Christ; in which case, it would be better to render it '*who* is able, &c.' This, however, is by no means so clear as the former passage. But the Word whom the apostles *saw*, and upon whom they attended, according to St. Luke, cannot, I think, be any other than OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." Nares on the Veracity of the Evangelists, pp. 40—43. 2d edit. Lond. 1819.

[1] Mill's Proleg. § 35—37. Doddridge's Fam. Expos. vol. i. p. 1. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 142—145.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 205, 206.

[2] As the literal import of this name is *friend of God*, some have imagined that, under this appellation, St. Luke comprised all the followers of Christ, to whom as *friends of God*, he dedicated this faithful history of our Saviour. But this interpretation appears to have little solidity in it: for, if all the followers of Christ are addressed, why is the *singular* number used? And what good end could there be accomplished by using a feigned name? Augustine, Chrysostom, and many others, have understood Theophilus to be a real person; and Theophylact has well remarked that he was a man of senatorial rank, and possibly a prefect or governor, because he gives him the same title of κρατιστε, *most excellent*, which St. Paul used in his addresses to Felix and Festus. Dr. Cave supposed him to have been a nobleman of Antioch, on the authority of the pretended Clementine Recognitions, but these are of no weight, being composed at the end of the second century, and not from the writer's personal knowledge. The most probable opinion is that of Dr. Lardner, now generally adopted, viz. that as St. Luke composed his Gospel in Greece, Theophilus was a man of rank of the same country. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 138, 139.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 203, 204. Doddridge, Campbell, Whitby, &c. on Luke i. 1—4. Du Veil's Literal Explication of the Acts, pp. 4—7. English edition, London, 1685.

[3] See Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. p. 91.

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* In the opening of the Revelations, it is particularly said of Saint John, that he bore witness to the Logos. Ος εμαρτυρησε τον Λογον του Θεου, και την μαρτυριαν Ιησου Χριστου, ch. i. v. 2. Again, in the nineteenth chapter of the same book, the person who sits on the horse is called *the Word of God*, καλειται το ονομα αυτου Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ του Θεου, v. 13.

† See Wolfii Curæ Philol. in Luc. i. 2.

nessed the discourses and miracles of Jesus Christ. Now it is manifest that St. Paul was not of this number, for he was not converted to the Christian faith until the end of the year 36, or perhaps the beginning of the year 37. It was from conversing with some of the apostles or immediate disciples of our Lord, that Luke was enabled to trace every thing from the beginning, in order that Theophilus might know the certainty of those truths of which he had hitherto received only the first elements.

VII. From some striking coincidences between certain passages in Luke's Gospel and the parallel passages in that of Matthew[1], Rosenmüller and some other critics have imagined that the former had seen the Gospel of the latter, and that he transcribed considerably from it. But this conjecture does not appear to have any solid foundation: for, in the first place, it is contradicted by the evangelist Luke himself, who expressly says that he derived his information from persons who had been eye-witnesses; which sufficiently accounts for those coincidences. Further, Luke has related many interesting particulars[2], which are not at all noticed by Matthew. And lastly, the order of time, observed by these two evangelists, is different. Matthew relates the facts recorded in his Gospel, *chronologically*; Luke, on the contrary, appears to have paid but little attention to this order, because he proposed to make a *classification* of events, referring each to its proper class, without regard to chronological arrangement.

The Gospel of Luke, which consists of twenty-four chapters, is divided by Rosenmüller and others into five distinct classes, viz.

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[1] Compare Luke iii. 7—9. 16, 17. with Matt. iii. 7—12.; Luke v. 20—38. with Matt. ix. 2—17.; Luke vi. 1—5. with Matt. xii. 1—5.; Luke vii. 22—28. with Matt. xi. 4—11.; and Luke xii. 22—31. with Matt. vi. 25—33. Rosenmüller says that Bengel's mode of comparing and harmonising the Gospels of Matthew and Luke is the best.

[2] Thus Luke has recorded the circumstances relating to the birth of John the Baptist; the annunciation; and other important circumstances concerning the nativity of the Messiah; the occasion of Joseph's being then in Bethlehem; the vision granted to the shepherds; the early testimony of Simeon and Anna; the wonderful manfestation of our Lord's proficiency in knowledge, when only twelve years old; and his age at the commencement of his ministry, connected with the year of the reigning emperor. He has given us also an account of several memorable incidents and cures which had been overlooked by the rest; the conversion of Zaccheus the publican; the cure of the woman who had been bowed down for eighteen years; and of the dropsical man; the cleansing of the ten lepers; the repulse he met with when about to enter a Samaritan city; and the instructive rebuke he gave, on that occasion, to two of his disciples for their intemperate zeal: also the affecting interview he had, after his resurrection, with two of his disciples, in the way to Emmaus, and at that village. Luke has likewise added many edifying parables to those which had been recorded by the other evangelists. Of this number are the parables of the creditor who had two debtors; of the rich fool who hoarded up his increase, and, when he had not one day to live, vainly exulted in the prospect of many happy years; of the rich man and Lazarus; of the reclaimed profligate; of the Pharisee and the Publican praying in the temple; of the judge who was prevailed on by a widow's importunity, though he feared not God, nor regarded men; of the barren fig-tree; of the compassionate Samaritan; and several others. It is worthy of remark, that most of these particulars were specified by Irenæus, in the second century as peculiarly belonging to the Gospel of Luke; who has thus, undesignedly, shown to all succeeding ages, that it is, in every thing material, the very *same* book which had ever been ditinguished by the name of this evangelist till his day, and remains so distinguished to our times. Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 126. See the passage of Irenæus in Dr. Lardner's works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 160, 161.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 366, 367.

CLASS I. *contains the Narrative of the Birth of Christ, together with all the Circumstances that preceded, attended, and followed it.* (i. ii. 1—40.)

CLASS II. *comprises the Particulars relative to our Saviour's Infancy and Youth.* (ii. 41—52.)

CLASS III. *includes the Preaching of John, and the Baptism of Jesus Christ, whose Genealogy is annexed.* (iii.)

CLASS IV. *comprehends the Discourses, Miracles, and Actions of Jesus Christ, during the whole of his Ministry.* (iv.—ix. 50.)

This appears evident: for, after St. Luke had related his temptation in the wilderness (iv. 1—13.), he immediately adds, that Christ returned to Galilee (14.), and mentions Nazareth (16.), Capernaum (31.), and the lake of Genesareth (v. 1.); and then he proceeds as far as ix. 50. to relate our Saviour's transactions in Galilee.

SECT. 1. The temptation of Christ in the wilderness. (iv. 1—13.)

SECT. 2. Transactions between the first and second passovers, A. D. 30, 31.

§ i. Christ teaches at Nazareth, where his townsmen attempt to kill him. (iv. 14—30.)
§ ii. Christ performs many miracles at Capernaum, where he teaches, as also in other parts of Galilee. (iv. 31—44.)
§ iii. The call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John; and the miraculous draught of fishes. (v. 1—11.)
§ iv. Christ heals a leper and a paralytic. (v. 12—26.)
§ v. The call of Matthew. (v. 27—32.)
§ vi. Christ shews why his disciples do not fast. (v. 33—39.)

SECT. 3. Transactions from the second passover, to a little before the third passover, A. D. 31, 32.

§ i. Christ justifies his disciples for plucking corn on the Sabbath day; and heals a man who had a withered hand. (vi. 1—11.)
§ ii. Christ ordains the twelve apostles. (vi. 12—16.)
§ iii. Christ descends from a mountain into the plain (vi. 17—19.), where he repeats a considerable part of his sermon on the mount (20—49.); which is related at length in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel.
§ iv. Christ heals the centurion's servant, and restores to life the widow's son at Nain. (vii. 1—17.)
§ v. Christ's reply to the inquiry of John the Baptist's disciples, and his discourse to the people concerning John. (vii. 18—35.)
§ vi. A woman who had been a sinner, anoints the feet of Jesus, at the house of Simon the Pharisee. (vii. 36—50.)
§ vii. Christ preaches again through Galilee (viii. 1—3.), where he delivers the parable of the sower. (4—15.)
§ viii. Christ declares the duty of the apostles, and also of all Christians, as the lights of the world (viii. 16—18.), and shews who, in his esteem, are his mother and brethren. (19—21.)
§ ix. Christ stills a tempest by his command (viii. 22—25.), and expels a legion of demons, at Gadara. (26—39.)
§ x. Christ cures the issue of blood, and raises the daughter of Jairus to life. (viii. 40—56.)
§ xi. The apostles sent forth to preach. — Herod the Tetrarch desires to see Christ. (ix. 1—9.)
§ xii. Christ miraculously feeds five thousand men. — Their different opinions concerning him, and the duty of taking up the cross enforced. (ix. 10—27.)
§ xiii. The transfiguration of Christ on a mountain. (ix. 28—36.)
§ xiv. On his descent into the plain, Christ casts out a demon, which his disciples could not expel. (ix. 37—42.)
§ xv. Christ forewarns his disciples of his sufferings and death; exhorts them to humility; and shows that such as propagate the Gospel are not to be hindered. (ix. 43—50.)

CLASS V. *contains an account of our Saviour's last Journey to Jerusalem, including every Circumstance relative to his Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension.* (ix. 51—62. x.—xxiv.)

SECT. 1. Transactions from Christ's departure out of Galilee to Jerusalem, to keep the feast of Tabernacles, to his departure from Jerusalem after the feast.

§ i. In his way to Jerusalem, the Samaritans refuse to receive Christ. — His answer to several persons about following him. (ix. 51—62.)
§ ii. The seventy disciples sent forth to preach. (x. 1—16.)

SECT. 2. Transactions between Christ's departure from Jerusalem after the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 32., and his return thither to the feast of Dedication, in the same year.

§ i. The return of the seventy disciples to Christ. (x. 17—24.)
§ ii. Jesus shows who is to be esteemed our neighbour. (x. 25—37.)
§ iii. Christ is entertained by Martha and Mary. (x. 38—42.)
§ iv. Christ teaches his disciples to pray, and inculcates the necessity of importunity in prayer, as also implicit reliance on the paternal goodness of God. (xi. 1—13.)
§ v. Christ's reply to the Jews, who ascribed his expulsion of demons to Beelzebub. (xi. 14—28.)
§ vi. His answer to the Jews, who demanded a sign from heaven. (xi. 29—36.)
§ vii. The Pharisees reproved for their hypocrisy. (xi. 37—54.)
§ viii. Christ warns his disciples, *first*, to avoid hypocrisy (xii. 1—3.); and, *secondly*, not to neglect their duty to God, for fear of man. (4—12.)
§ ix. Cautions against covetousness or worldly-mindedness, and exhortations to be chiefly solicitous for spiritual welfare. (xii. 13—34.)
§ x. Admonition to be always prepared for death. — The reward of such as are careful to do their duty, according to their stations and the opportunities offered to them. (xii. 35—48.)
§ xi. Christ reproaches the people for not knowing the time of Messiah's coming (xii. 49—56.); and shows that common reason is sufficient to teach men repentance. (57—59.)
§ xii. God's judgments on some are designed to bring others to repentance. — The parable of the fig-tree. (xiii. 1—9.)
§ xiii. Christ cures an infirm woman on the Sabbath day (xiii. 10—17.); and delivers the parable of the mustard seed. (18—21.)
§ xiv. Christ's journey towards Jerusalem to keep the feast of Dedication; in the course of which he shows that repentance is not to be deferred (xiii. 22—30.); reproves Herod, and laments the judicial blindness of Jerusalem. (31—35.)

SECT. 3. Transactions subsequently to the feast of Dedication, after Christ's departure from Jerusalem, and before his return thither to keep his last passover, A. D. 32, 33.

§ i. Christ heals a dropsical man on the Sabbath day, and inculcates the duties of humility and charity. (xiv. 1—14.)
§ ii. The parable of the great supper. (xiv. 15—24.)
§ iii. Courage and perseverance shown to be requisite in a true Christian. The unprofitableness of an unsound Christian. (xiv. 25—35.)
§ iv. Christ illustrates the joy of the angels in heaven over repenting sinners, by the parables, 1. Of the lost sheep (xv. 1—7.); 2. Of the lost piece of money (8—10.); and, 3. Of the prodigal son. (11—32.)
§ v. The parable of the unjust steward. (xvi. 1—13.)
§ vi. The Pharisees reproved for their covetousness and hypocrisy. (xvi. 14—18.)
§ vii. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus. (xvi. 19—31.)
§ viii. The duty of not giving offence. (xvii. 1—10.)
§ ix. In his last journey to Jerusalem, Christ cures ten lepers (xvii. 11—19.); and discourses concerning his second coming. (20—37.)
§ x. Encouragement to perseverance in prayer, illustrated by the parable of the importunate widow. (xviii. 1—8.)
§ xi. Self-righteousness reproved, and humility encouraged, by the parable of the Pharisee and publican or tax-gatherer. (xviii. 9—14.)
§ xii. Christ encourages young children to be brought to him (xviii. 15—17.); and discourses with a rich young man. (18—30.)
§ xiii. Christ again foretells his death to his disciples (xviii. 31—34.); and cures a blind man near Jericho. (35—42.)
§ xiv. The conversion of Zaccheus. (xix. 1—10.)
§ xv. The parable of a nobleman going into a distant country to receive a kingdom. (xix. 11—28.)

SECT. 4. The transactions at Jerusalem, until the passion of Christ, A. D. 33.

§ i. On *Palm-Sunday* (as we now call it), or the *first* day of Passion-week, Christ makes his lowly yet triumphal entry into Jerusalem, weeps over the city, and expels the traders out of the temple. (xix. 29—46.)

§ ii. On *Monday*, or the *second* day of Passion-week, Christ teaches during the day in the temple. (xix. 47, 48.)

§ iii. On *Tuesday*, or the *third* day of Passion-week,

(*a*) *In the day time and in the Temple*, Christ confutes the chief priests, scribes, and elders, 1. By a question concerning the baptism of John. (xx. 1—8.) — 2. By the parable of the labourers in the vineyard. (9—19.) — 3. By showing the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar. (20—26.) — The Sadducees confuted, and the resurrection proved. (27—40.) — The scribes confounded, and the disciples of Christ warned not to follow their example. (41—47.) — The charity of a poor widow commended. (xxi. 1—4.)

(*b*) *In the evening, and principally on the Mount of Olives*, Christ discourses concerning the destruction of the temple, and of the last judgment (xxi. 5—28.); delivers another parable of the fig-tree (29—33.); and enforces the duty of watchfulness. (34—38.)

§ iv. On *Wednesday*, or the *fourth* day of Passion-week, the chief priests consult to kill Christ. (xxii. 1—3.)

§ v. On *Thursday*, or the *fifth* day of Passion-week, Judas covenants to betray Christ (xxii. 4—6.); and Christ sends two disciples to prepare the Passover. (7—13.)

§ vi. On the *Passover-day*, — that is, *from Thursday evening to Friday evening of Passion week*,

(*a*) *In the evening*, Christ eats the Passover; institutes the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; discourses on humility, and foretells his being betrayed by Judas, his abandonment by his disciples, and Peter's denial of him. (xxii. 14—38.)

(*b*) *Towards night*, after eating the Passover with his apostles, Jesus goes to the Mount of Olives; where, after being some time in an agony, he is apprehended. (xxii. 39—53.)

(*c*) *During the night*, Christ having been conducted to the high priest's house (whither Peter followed and denied him,) is derided. (xxii. 54—65.)

(*d*) *At day-break on Friday morning*, Christ is tried before the Sanhedrin (xxii. 66—71.); from whose tribunal,

(*e*) *On Friday morning*, 1. he is delivered first to Pilate (xxiii. 1—7.), who sends him to Herod (8—12.); by whom he is again sent to Pilate, and is by him condemned to be crucified. (13—25.) — 2. Christ's discourse to the women of Jerusalem as he was led forth to be crucified. (26—31.)

(*f*) The transactions of the *third hour*. — The crucifixion; Christ's garments divided; the inscription on the cross; his address to the penitent robber. (xxiii. 32—43.)

(*g*) *From the sixth to the ninth hour*. — The preternatural darkness, rending of the veil; death of Christ, and its concomitant circumstances. (xxiii. 44—49.)

(*h*) *Between the ninth hour and sun-set*, Jesus Christ is interred by Joseph of Arimathea. (xxiii. 50—56.)

SECT. 5. Transactions after Christ's resurrection on *Easter Day*.

§ i. Christ's resurrection testified to the women by the angel. (xxiv. 1—11.)

§ ii. Christ appears to two disciples in their way to Emmaus, and also to Peter (xxiv. 12—35.)

§ iii. His appearance to the apostles, and his instructions to them. (xxiv. 36—49.)

SECT. 6. The Ascension of Christ, and the Apostles' return to Jerusalem. (xxiv. 50—52.)

The plan of classifying events, adopted by Luke, has been followed by Livy, Plutarch, and other profane historical writers. Thus Suetonius, after exhibiting a brief summary of the life of Augustus, previous to his acquiring the sovereign power, announces his intention of recording the subsequent events of his life, not in order of time, but arranging them into *distinct* classes; and then proceeds to give an account of his wars, honours, legislation, discipline, and pri-

vate life.[1] In like manner, Florus intimates that he would not observe the strict order of time; but in order that the things, which he should relate, might the better appear, he would relate them distinctly and separately.[2]

VIII. If Paul had not informed us (Col. iv. 14.) that Luke was by profession a physician, and consequently a man of letters, his writings would have sufficiently evinced that he had had a liberal education; for although his Gospel presents as many Hebraisms, perhaps, as any of the sacred writings, yet his language contains more numerous Græcisms, than that of any other writer of the New Testament. The style of this evangelist is pure, copious, and flowing, and bears a considerable resemblance to that of his great master, Paul. Many of his words and expressions are exactly parallel to those which are to be found in the best classic authors; and several eminent critics have long since pointed out the singular skill and propriety with which Luke has named and described the various diseases which he had occasion to notice. As an instance of his copiousness, Dr. Campbell has remarked, that each of the evangelists has a number of words, which are used by none of the rest: but in Luke's Gospel, the number of such words as are used in none of the other Gospels, is greater than that of the peculiar words found in all the other three Gospels, put together; and that the terms peculiar to Luke are for the most part long and compound words. There is also more of composition in his sentences than is found in the other three Gospels, and consequently less simplicity. Of this we have an example in the first sentence, which occupies not less than four verses. Further, Luke seems to approach nearer to the manner of other historians, in giving what may be called his own verdict in the narrative part of his work. Thus he calls the Pharisees φιλαργυροι, *lovers of money* (xvi. 14.); and in distinguishing Judas Iscariot from the other Judas, he uses the phrase ος και εγενετο προδοτης, *who also proved a traitor*. (vi. 16.) Matthew (x. 4.) and Mark (iii. 19.) express the same sentiment in milder language — *who delivered him up*. Again, the attempt made by the Pharisees, to extort from our Lord what might prove matter of accusation against him, is expressed by Saint Luke in more animated language than is used by either of the rest (xi. 53.): "*They began vehemently to press him with questions on many points.*" And, on another occasion, speaking of the same people, he says, that *they were filled with madness.* (vi. 11.) Lastly, in the moral instructions given by our Lord, and recorded by this evangelist, especially in the parables, no one has surpassed him in uniting affecting sweetness of manner with genuine simplicity, particularly in the parables of the benevolent Samaritan and the penitent prodigal.[3]

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[1] Suetonius in Augusto, c. ix. (al. xii.) p. 58. edit. Bipont. This historian has pursued the same method in his life of Cæsar.

[2] Flori, Hist. Rom. lib. ii. c. 19.

[3] Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 126—129. Rosenmüller, Scholia in Nov. Test. vol. ii. pp. 3—6. Kuinöel, Comment. in Libros Hist. Nov. Test. vol. ii. pp. 213—220. Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 228—271. Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 181—195. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars i. pp. 333—339. pars ii.

SECTION V.

ON THE GOSPEL BY SAINT JOHN.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author.* — III. *Date.* — IV. *Genuineness and Authenticity of this Gospel.* — V. *Its Occasion and Design.* — *Account of the Tenets of Cerinthus.* — *Analysis of its Contents.* — VI. *The Gospel of John, a Supplement to the other Three.* — VII. *Observations on its Style.*

I. THE TITLE of this Gospel varies greatly in the manuscripts, editions, and versions. In the Codex Vaticanus it is simply κατα Ιωαννην, *according to John;* in many other MSS. and editions, Ευαγγελιον το κατα Ιωαννην, *the Gospel according to John,* or το κατα Ιωαννην (αγιον) Ευαγγελιον, *the Gospel according to (Saint) John*; in the Codex Bezæ, Αρχεται Ευαγγελιον κατα Ιωαννην, *the Gospel according to John beginneth.* To omit minor variations in manuscripts of less antient date, — in the Syriac version, in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, this Gospel is intitled, "The Holy Gospel, the preaching of St. John, which he delivered in Greek, and published at Ephesus:" in the Arabic version it is, "The Gospel of Saint John the son of Zebedee, one of the twelve apostles, which he wrote in Greek by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit;" and in the Persian version, "The Gospel of John, one of the twelve apostles, which was spoken in the Greek-Roman tongue at Ephesus."

II. John, the evangelist and apostle, was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman of the town of Bethsaida, on the sea of Galilee, and the younger brother of James the elder. His mother's name was Salome. Zebedee, though a fisherman, appears to have been in good circumstances; for the evangelical history informs us that he was the owner of a vessel, and had hired servants. (Mark i. 20.) And therefore we have no reason to imagine that his children were altogether *illiterate,* as some critics have imagined them to have been, from a misinterpretation of Acts iv. 13., where the terms αγραμματοι and ιδιωται, in our version rendered *unlearned* and *ignorant* men, simply denote persons in private stations of life, who were neither rabbis nor magistrates, and such as had not studied in the schools of the Pharisees, and consequently were ignorant of the rabbinical learning and traditions of the Jews. John and his brother James were, doubtless, well acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, having not only read them, but heard them publicly explained in the synagogues; and, in common with the other Jews, they entertained the expectation of the Messiah, and that his kingdom would be a temporal one. It is not impossible, though it cannot be affirmed with certainty, that John had been a disciple of John the Baptist, before he became a disciple of Christ. At least, the circumstantial account, which he has given in ch. i. 37—41. of the two disciples who followed Christ, might induce us to suppose that he was one of the two. It is, however,

pp. 205—209. 221. *et seq.* 264. Rumpæi, Comm. Crit. in Libros Nov. Test. pp. 81. 88. Bp. Cleaver's Discourse on the Style of St. Luke's Gospel, in his Sermons, pp. 209—224. 8vo. Oxford, 1808.

certain that he had both seen and heard our Saviour, and had witnessed some of his miracles, particularly that performed at Cana in Galilee. (ii. 1—11.) John has not recorded his own call to the apostleship; but we learn from the other three evangelists that it took place when he and James were fishing upon the sea of Galilee.[1] And Mark, in enumerating the twelve apostles (iii. 17.), when he mentions James and John, says that our Lord, "surnamed them Boanerges, which is, sons of thunder," from which appellation we are not to suppose that they were of particularly fierce and ungovernable tempers (as Dr. Cave has conjectured)[2]; but, as Dr. Lardner and others have observed, it is rather to be considered as prophetically representing the resolution and courage with which they would openly and boldly declare the great truths of the Gospel when fully acquainted with them. How appropriate this title was, the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of John abundantly show.[3] From the time when John and his brother received their immediate call from Christ, they became his constant attendants; they heard his discourses, and beheld his miracles; and, after previous instruction, both public and private, they were honoured with a selection and appointment to be of the number of the apostles.

What the age of John was at this time, his history does not precisely ascertain. Some have conjectured that he was then twenty-two years old; others that he was about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age; and others again think that he was about the age of our Saviour. Dr. Lardner is of opinion that none of the apostles were much under the age of thirty, when they were appointed to that important office. Whatever his age might have been, John seems to have been the youngest of the twelve, and, (if we may judge from his writings,) to have possessed a temper singularly mild, amiable, and affectionate. He was eminently the object of our Lord's regard and confidence; and was, on various occasions, admitted to free and intimate intercourse with him, so that he was characterised as "the disciple whom Jesus loved." (John xiii. 23.) Hence we find him present at several scenes, to which most of the other disciples were not admitted. He was an eye-witness, in company with only Peter and James, to the resurrection of Jairus's daughter to life, to our Saviour's transfiguration on the mount, and to his agony in the garden. John repaid this attention by the most sincere attachment to his master; for though, in common with the other apostles, he had betrayed a culpable timidity in forsaking him during his last conflict, yet he afterwards recovered his firmness, and was the only apostle who followed Christ to the place of his crucifixion. He was also present at the

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[1] Matt. iv. 21, 22. Mark i. 19, 20. Luke v. 1—10. Lampe has marked what he thinks are three degrees in the call of Saint John to be a follower of Christ, viz. 1. His call to the discipleship (John i. 37—42.), after which he continued to follow his business for a short time; 2. His call to be one of the immediate companions of Christ (Matt. iv. 21, 22.); and, 3. His call to the apostleship, when the surname of Boanerges was given to him and his brother. Lampe, Comment. in Evangelium Johannis Prolegom. cap. ii. pp. 17—21.

[2] Cave's Life of Saint James the Great. § 5. p. 142.

[3] Lampe, *ut supra*, p. 21—30.

several appearances of our Saviour after his resurrection, and has given his testimony to the truth of that miraculous fact; and these circumstances, together with his intercourse with the mother of Christ (whom our Saviour had commended to his care) (xix. 26, 27.), qualified him, better than any other writer, to give a circumstantial and authentic history of Jesus Christ.

In one of our Saviour's interviews with his apostles, after his resurrection, he prophetically told this evangelist that he would survive the destruction of Jerusalem, and intimated, not obscurely, that Peter would suffer crucifixion, but that he would die a natural death. (xxi. 18—24.) After the ascension of Christ, and the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, John became one of the chief apostles of the circumcision, and exercised his ministry at Jerusalem and its vicinity, in the manner and with the success related in the Acts of the Apostles.[1] He was present at the council held in that city (Acts xv.) about the year 49 or 50. Until this time he probably remained in Judæa, and had not travelled into any foreign countries. From ecclesiastical history we learn, that after the death of Mary, the mother of Christ, John proceeded to Asia Minor, where he founded and presided over seven churches in as many cities, but resided chiefly at Ephesus. Thence he was banished to the Isle of Patmos towards the close of Domitian's reign, where he wrote his Revelation. (Rev. i. 9.) On his liberation from exile, by the accession of Nerva to the imperial throne, John returned to Ephesus, where he wrote his Gospel and Epistles, and died in the hundredth year of his age, about the year of Christ 100, and in the third year of the reign of the emperor Trajan.[2]

III. The precise time when this Gospel was written, has not been ascertained, though it is generally agreed that John composed it at Ephesus. Basnage and Lampe suppose it to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem; and, in conformity with their opinion, Dr. Lardner fixes its date in the year 68; Dr. Owen in 69; Michaelis in 70. But Chrysostom and Epiphanius, among the antient fathers, and Dr. Mill, Fabricius, Le Clerc, and Bishop Tomline, among the moderns, refer its date, with greater probability, to the year 97, Mr. Jones to the year 98, and Bertholdt to the last decad of the first century. The principal argument for its early date is derived from John v. 2., where the apostle says, "*Now there* IS *at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.*" From these words it is urged, that Jerusalem was standing when they were written; and that, if they had been written *after* the destruction of Jerusalem, the evangelist would have used the past tense instead of the present, and would have said, *There* WAS *at Jerusalem a pool*, &c. But this argument is more specious than forcible; for, though Jerusalem was demolished, it does not necessarily follow that the pool of Bethesda was dried up. On

[1] See particularly Acts iii. iv. 1—22. and viii. 5—26.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 156—170.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 212—220. Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 272—274. Lampe, Proleg. in Joan. Evangel. pp. 31—102. Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 101—110.

the contrary, there are much stronger reasons for supposing that it escaped the general devastation; for, when Vespasian ordered the city to be demolished, he permitted some things to remain for the use of the garrison which was to be stationed there [1]; and he would naturally leave this bathing-place, fitted up with recesses or porticoes for shade and shelter, that he might not deprive the soldiers of a grateful refreshment. [2] Now, since the evangelist's proposition may simply regard Bethesda, we cannot be certain that it looks further, or has any view to the state of Jerusalem. The argument, therefore, which is deduced from the above passage in favour of an early date, is inconclusive.

But, besides this argument, we have strong evidence from the contents and design of the Gospel itself, that it was not written until the year 97. It is evident, as Bishop Tomline has forcibly remarked, that the evangelist considers those to whom he addresses his Gospel as but little acquainted with Jewish customs and names; for he gives various explanations which would be unnecessary, if the persons for whom he wrote were conversant with the usages of the Jews. [3] Similar explanations occur in the Gospels of Mark and Luke; but in this of John they are more marked, and occur more frequently. The reason of which may be, that, when John wrote, many more Gentiles, and of more distant countries, had been converted to Christianity; and it was now become necessary to explain to the Christian church, thus extended, many circumstances which needed no explanation while its members belonged only to the neighbourhood of Judæa, and while the Jewish polity was still in existence. It is reasonable to suppose that the feasts and other peculiarities of the Jews would be but little understood by the Gentiles of Asia Minor, thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. [4]

IV. The Gospel by John has been universally received as genuine. The circumstantiality of its details proves that the book was written by a *hearer* and *eye-witness* of the discourses and transactions it records; and, consequently, could not be written *long afterwards* by a Platonic Christian, as it has been recently asserted, contrary to all evidence. But, besides this incontestable internal evidence, we have the external and uninterrupted testimony of the antient fathers of the Christian church. His Gospel is alluded to, once by Clement of Rome, and once by Barnabas [5]; and four times by Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, who had been a disciple of the evangelist, and had conversed familiarly with several of the apostles. [6] It was also received by Justin Martyr [7], Tatian, the churches of Vienne and Lyons [8],

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[1] See Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. i. § i.

[2] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. p. 224. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that Vespasian soon after erected magnificent public baths at Rome. Suetonius in Vespasiano, c. vii.

[3] See particularly John i. 38. 41., ii. 6. 13., iv. 9., and xi. 55.

[4] Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. pp. 335. Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 113—116.

[5] See Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118.

[6] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 120, 121.; 4to. vol. i. p. 344.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 139.; 4to. vol. i. p. 355.

[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 150.; 4to. vol. i. p. 361.

Irenæus [1], Athenagoras [2], Theophilus of Antioch [3], Clement of Alexandria [4], Tertullian [5], Ammonius [6], Origen [7], Eusebius [8], Epiphanius, Augustine, Chrysostom, and, in short, by all subsequent writers of the antient Christian church. [9] The Alogi or Alogians, a sect which is *said* to have existed in the second century, are reported to have rejected this Gospel, as well as the rest of John's writings; but we have no information concerning these Alogi, on which any dependance can be placed: for, in strictness, we have no account of them except the later and uncertain accounts of Philaster and Epiphanius; Irenæus, Eusebius, and other ancient writers before them, being totally silent concerning the Alogi. The probability, therefore, is, that there never was any such heresy. [10]

With such decisive testimonies to the genuineness of John's Gospel, it is not a little surprising, that an eminent critic on the continent [11] should have asserted that his Gospel and Epistles exhibit clear evidence, that it was not written by an eye-witness, but was compiled by some Gentile Christian in the beginning of the second century, after the death of the evangelist John, for whom he passed himself. It is also astonishing that, with such testimonies to the genuineness of this Gospel, so distinguished a critic as Grotius should have imagined that the evangelist terminated his history of our Saviour with the twentieth chapter, and that the twenty-first chapter was added after his death by the church at Ephesus. But this opinion is contradicted by the universal consent of manuscripts and versions; for, as this Gospel was published before the evangelist's death, if there had been an edition of it without the twenty-first chapter, it would in all probability have been wanting in some copies. To which we may add that the genuineness of the chapter in question was never doubted by any one of the antient Christian writers. Finally, the style is precisely the same as that of the rest of his Gospel. [12]

Some doubts have been entertained concerning the genuineness of the portion of this Gospel comprised between ch. vii. 53. and viii. 1—11. Its authenticity has been questioned by Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Semler, Schulze, Morus, Haenlein, Paulus, Schmidt, and various other writers who are mentioned

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1 Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 161.; 4to. vol. i. p. 367.

2 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 183.; 4to. vol. i. p. 379.

3 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 193.; 4to. vol. i. p. 384.

4 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 212. 220.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 395. 399.

5 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 256.; 4to. vol. i. p. 419.

6 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 414—417.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 503—505.

7 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 469, 470.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 533, 534.

8 Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 225—227.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 368, 369.

9 See their several testimonies in Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 187—190.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 227, 228.

10 Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. ix. pp. 515, 516.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 690, 691.

11 Dr. Bretschneider, in his *Probabilia de Evangelii et Epistolarum Johannis Apostoli Indole, et Origine.* 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1820. In justice to Dr. Bretschneider it must now be stated that, in the preface to the second edition of his Handbuch der Dogmatik (Manual of Dogmatic Theology), he has declared himself satisfied concerning the genuineness of this passage. (Jena Literary Gazette for January 1827, Supplt. No. 1.)

12 The genuineness of the twenty-first chapter of St. John's Gospel is satisfactorily vindicated against the objections of Grotius, and of some modern critics, by Professor Weber in his "Authentia capitis ultimi Evangelii Johannis, &c." Halis, 1823. 8vo.

by Wolfius[1], and by Koecher[2]; Griesbach and Schulz have remarked it as a passage which ought probably to be omitted; and its genuineness has been advocated by Drs. Mill and Whitby, Bp. Middleton, Heumann, Michaelis, Storr, Langius, Dettmers, Staeudlin,[3] Kuinöel, and Mr. Bloomfield. The limits necessarily prescribed to this section, forbid us to enter into a review of all that has been said on this subject; but it may be permitted to remark that the evidence is in favour of the genuineness of the passage in question. For, though it is not found in several antient versions, and is not quoted or illustrated by Chrysostom, Theophylact, Nonnus (who wrote commentaries or explanations of this Gospel), nor by Tertullian, or Cyprian, both of whom treat copiously on chastity and adultery, and therefore had abundant opportunity of citing it, if it had been extant in their copies; yet *it is found in the greater part of the manuscripts* (Griesbach has enumerated *more than eighty*) that are extant, though with great diversity of readings. If it had not been genuine, how could it have found its way into these manuscripts? Moreover, there is nothing in the paragraph in question that militates either against the character, sentiments, or conduct of Jesus Christ: on the contrary, the whole is perfectly consistent with his meekness, gentleness, and benevolence. To which we may add that this passage is cited as genuine by Augustine, who assigns the reason why it was omitted by some copyists, viz. lest any offence should be taken by supposing that our Lord suffered a guilty woman to go unpunished. But, in reply to this supposition or objection, we may remark, 1. That, according to his own declaration, *he came not into the world to condemn the world* (John iii. 17. viii. 15. xii. 47. Luke xii. 14.), and to execute the office of a judge (and it is but reasonable to try him by his own principles, in which *no* inconsistency can be found); and, 2. Any exercise of judicial authority would have given a direct contradiction to that deference and subordination which he constantly shewed and inculcated to the power of the civil magistrate. An additional evidence in favour of the disputed clause is found in the seventh verse of John viii., where λιθον has the article τον prefixed.—*He that is without sin among you let him first cast* THE [not *a* stone, as in our authorised version] STONE *at her;* ΤΟΝ ΛΙΘΟΝ επ' αυτω βαλετω. The allusion, Bishop Middleton remarks, is to the particular manner of stoning, which required that one of the witnesses (for two at the least were necessary, see Deut. xvii. 6.) should throw *the* stone, which was to serve as a signal to the by-standers to complete the punishment. There is therefore strict propriety in calling this stone ΤΟΝ λιθον, in order to distinguish it from *other* stones. It is not probable that an interpolator would have been thus exact in his phraseology, or would have adverted to this apparently trifling circumstance; especially since the expression of βαλλειν τον λιθον is not elsewhere found in the New Testament. A few manuscripts (Griesbach and Schulz specify eleven) omit the article: but this, Dr. M. is of opinion,

[1] Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ, in loc. [2] Koecheri Analecta, in loc.
[3] Staeudlin, Prolusio quâ Pericopæ de Adulterâ, Joh. vii. 53. viii. 1—11., Veritas et Authentia defenditur. Gottingæ, 1806. 4to.

only proves that the copyists knew not what to make of it; and that, had they undertaken to interpolate the passage, they would have done it less skilfully than did the present interpolator, supposing we must consider the passage to be spurious.[1]

Upon a review therefore of the whole evidence respecting this disputed clause, we may safely conclude that it preponderates in favour of its genuineness.

V. The design of St. John in writing his Gospel was "to convey to the Christian world just and adequate notions of the real nature, character, and office of that great Teacher, who came to instruct and redeem mankind. For this purpose, he studiously selected, for his narrative, those passages of our Saviour's life, which most clearly displayed his divine power and authority: and those of his discourses, in which he spoke most plainly of his own nature, and of the efficacy of his death, as an atonement for the sins of the world. The object, which this Evangelist had in view, is very clearly stated in chap. xx. verse 31. It was not to accumulate as many instances as possible of the miraculous power exerted by Jesus; but only those, which most distinctly illustrated his peculiar office and nature: *Many other signs truly did Jesus, in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book. But* THESE *are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name.* This expression seems to prove, that those persons are wrong, who suppose that St. John wrote his Gospel, merely to supply the defects and omissions of the other Evangelists. The real difference between them is, that *they* wrote a history of our Saviour's life; but St. John, of his person and office."[2]

But, besides this more general design of the evangelist, we are informed by Irenæus, and other antient writers, that there were two especial motives that induced John to compose his Gospel. One was, that he might refute the heresies of Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans, who had attempted to corrupt the Christian doctrine: the other motive was, that he might supply those important events in our Saviour's life, which the other evangelists had omitted. Respecting the former of these motives, Irenæus gives us the following account.[3]

"John being desirous to extirpate the errors sown in the minds of men by Cerinthus, and some time before by those called Nicolaitans, published his Gospel: in which he acquaints us that there is one God, who made all things by his word; and not, as they say, one who is the Creator of the world, and another who is the Father of the Lord: one the son of the Creator, and another the Christ from the super-celestial abodes, who descended upon Jesus the Son of the Creator, but remained impassible, and afterwards fled back to his own plerōma or fulness."

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[1] Kuinöel, Comment. in Libros Nov. Test. Historicos, pp. 379—396. Titmanni Commentarius in Evang. Johannis, pp. 818—822. Bishop Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article, on John viii. 7. Griesbachii et Schulzii Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. *555, 556.* Bloomfield's Annotations, vol. iii. pp. 275—284., in which Mr. B. has given a copious statement of the evidence for and against this section of St. John's Gospel.

[2] Bp. Blomfield's Lectures on the Gospel of St. John, pp. 4, 5.

[3] Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 11.

This testimony of Irenæus has been opposed by Lampe, Lardner, Tittmann, Kuinöel, and adopted by Buddeus, Michaelis, Moldenhawer, Mosheim, Bishop Tomline, Dr. Owen, and other later divines. The principal objections against the declaration of Irenæus may be reduced to the two following: viz.

1. That Irenæus is at variance with himself: for in another passage he says, "as John the disciple of our Lord assures us, saying, *But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name; foreseeing* these blasphemous notions that divide the Lord, so far as it is in their power."[1] Now, if Irenæus here meant to say, that John only *foresaw* the errors, which were propagated by Cerinthus and the Gnostics, it must appear very extraordinary that he should say, in the passage above quoted, that John wrote against the errors which had been propagated by Cerinthus. But the contradiction is only apparent; for *providens*, the expression of Irenæus, does not signify "foreseeing," but *guarding against.* The latter passage, therefore, when properly explained, does not confute but confirm the former. Besides, as Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy speaks of Gnostic errors, it is evident that they must have been propagated long before John wrote his Gospel.

2. The second argument, relied upon by those learned men who dissent from the common opinion, is, that the early fathers, in their catalogues of heretics, for the most part place Cerinthus after Carpocrates, who unquestionably lived and taught in the second century. This circumstance would certainly possess considerable weight, if it appeared that the early fathers had paid due attention to the regular order of time in their enumeration of heretics: but, instead of this, we know the fact to be, that the names of heretics are set down by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, and others, at random, and without paying any regard to the times in which they lived. "But even if Irenæus had not asserted that St. John wrote his Gospel against the Gnostics and particularly against Cerinthus, the contents of the Gospel itself would lead to this conclusion. The speeches of Christ, which John has recorded, are selected with a totally different view from that of the three first evangelists, who have given such as are of a moral nature, whereas those which are given by John are chiefly dogmatical, and relate to Christ's divinity, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, the supernatural assistance to be communicated to the apostles, and other subjects of a like import. In the very choice of his expressions, such as '*light*,' '*life*,' &c. he had in view the philosophy of the Gnostics, who used or rather abused these terms. That the fourteen first verses of John's Gospel are merely historical, and contain only a short account of Christ's history before his appearance on earth, is a supposition devoid of all probability. On the contrary, it is evident that they are purely doctrinal, and that they were intro-

[1] Quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat, dicens, "Hæc autem scripta sunt, ut credatis quoniam Jesus est filius Dei, et ut credentes, vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus;" *providens* has blasphemas regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum quantum ex ipsis attinet. Advers. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 16.

duced with a polemical view, in order to confute errors, which prevailed at that time respecting the person of Jesus Christ. Unless John had an adversary to combat who made particular use of the words '*light*,' and '*life*,' he would not have thought it necessary after having described the Creator of all things, to add, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men, or to assert that John the Baptist was not that light. The very meaning of the word '*light*,' would be extremely dubious, unless it were determined by its particular application in the oriental Gnosis. For without the supposition, that John had to combat with an adversary who used this word in a particular sense, it might be applied to any divine instructor, who by his doctrines enlightened mankind. Further, the positions contained in the fourteen first verses are antitheses to positions maintained by the Gnostics, who used the words λογος, ζωη, φως, μονογενης, πληρωμα, &c. as technical terms of their philosophy. Lastly, the speeches of Christ, which Saint John has selected, are such as confirm the positions laid down in the first chapter of his Gospel: and therefore we must conclude that his principal object throughout the whole of his Gospel was to confute the errors of the Gnostics."[1]

In addition to the preceding arguments and proofs, there is one circumstance highly worthy of remark, which greatly strengthens the testimony of Irenæus as to the object of John in writing his Gospel; viz. that he delivered it within a century after that Gospel was written. Now, as Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, who was personally acquainted with the evangelist, he consequently had the best means of procuring information on this subject. The evidence of a credible writer of the second century, uncontradicted by contemporary writers, or by those who lived in the following century, is surely preferable to the conjectures offered by critics of the eighteenth or nineteenth century.[2] In order to understand the design and arrangement of John's Gospel, it will be necessary to take a brief review of the tenets of Cerinthus, in opposition to which the evangelist purposely wrote it. This will not only reflect considerable light on particular passages, but make the whole appear a complete work,—regular, clear, and conclusive.

Cerinthus was by birth a Jew, who lived at the close of the first century: having studied literature and philosophy at Alexandria, he attempted at length to form a new and singular system of doctrine and discipline, by a monstrous combination of the doctrines of Jesus Christ with the opinions and errors of the Jews and Gnostics. From the latter he borrowed their *Plerōma* or fulness, their *Æons* or spirits, their *Demiurgus* or creator of the visible world, &c. and so modified and tempered these fictions as to give them an air of Judaism, which must have considerably favoured the progress of his heresy. He taught that the most high God was utterly unknown

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. p. 280.

[2] Lampe, Prolegom. in Johannis Evangelium, vol. i. p. 179. *et seq.* Buddeus de Ecclesia Apostolica, p. 412. *et seq.* Mosheim's Commentaries on the affairs of Christians, vol. i. pp. 337, 338. *note.* Michaelis, vol. iii. part. i. pp. 278, 279. Tittmanni Meletemata Sacra in Evangelium Johannis, pp. 14—24. Kuinöel, Comment. in Hist. Libros Nov. Test. vol. iii. pp. 42. *et seq.*

before the appearance of Christ, and dwelt in a remote heaven called ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ (*Plerōma*) with the chief spirits or Æons — That this supreme God first generated an *only begotten* SON, ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ, who again begat the word, ΛΟΓΟΣ, which was inferior to the first-born. That CHRIST was a still lower æon, though far superior to some others — That there were two higher æons, distinct from Christ; one called ΖΩΗ, or LIFE, and the other ΦΩΣ, or the LIGHT — That from the æons again proceeded inferior orders of spirits, and particularly one *Demiurgus*, who created this visible world out of eternal matter — That this Demiurgus was ignorant of the supreme God, and much lower than the Æons, which were wholly invisible — That he was, however, the peculiar God and protector of the Israelites, and sent Moses to them; whose laws were to be of perpetual obligation — That Jesus was a mere man of the most illustrious sanctity and justice, the real son of Joseph and Mary — That the Æon Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove when he was baptized, revealed to him the unknown father, and empowered him to work miracles — That the Æon, LIGHT, entered John the Baptist in the same manner, and therefore that John was in some respects preferable to Christ — That Jesus, after his union with Christ, opposed himself with vigour to the God of the Jews, at whose instigation he was seized and crucified by the Hebrew chiefs, and that when Jesus was taken captive, and came to suffer, Christ ascended up on high, so that the man Jesus alone was subject to the pains of an ignominious death — That Christ will one day return upon earth, and, renewing his former union with the man Jesus, will reign in Palestine a thousand years, during which his disciples will enjoy the most exquisite sensual delights.[1]

Bearing these dogmas in mind, we shall find that Saint John's Gospel is divided into three parts; viz.

PART I. *contains Doctrines laid down in Opposition to those of Cerinthus.* (John i. 1—18.)

The doctrines laid down in this first part, as contra-positions to the tenets of Cerinthus, may be reduced to the following heads, in which the evangelist asserts,

1. That Christ is the Logos or Word of God.
2. That the Logos and Monogenes are not distinct beings, but one and the same person. (i. 14.)
3. That Christ or the Logos is not an inferior Æon, but God. (i. 1.)
4. That he perfectly knew the supreme God, being always with him in the Plerōma. (i. 18.)
5. That he is not to be distinguished from the Demiurgus; for he is the creator of the whole world. (i. 3. 10.)
6. That life and light are not particular and separate spirits, but the same with the Logos and Christ. (i. 4. 7—9. 17.) And, therefore, that Christ, the Logos,

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[1] Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 337—347. Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 325—327.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 567—569. Dr. Owen's Observations on the Four Gospels, pp. 88—92. To this learned writer we are chiefly indebted for the preceding observations. The sentiments of Basilides, of Alexandria, (who was nearly contemporary with Cerinthus,) concerning the Logos, were not very unlike the tenets of that hæresiarch. Mr. Townsend has given an interesting abstract of them in his New Testament arranged in chronological order, &c. vol. i. pp. 19—21.

Life, Light, the Only-Begotten, are not distinct Æons, but one and the same divine person. [1]

7. That no particular Æon entered into John the Baptist by the name of Light, to communicate to him a superior knowledge of the divine will (i. 8.); but that he was a mere man, and, though inspired, much inferior to Jesus, being only the forerunner of him. (i. 6. 8. 15.)
8. That the supreme God was not entirely unknown before the time of Christ; for men had received such lights on this head, under the various dispensations through which they passed, that it was their own fault if they remained ignorant. (i. 9, 10.)
9. That the Jews were not the peculiar people of an inferior God, such as the Demiurgus; but of Christ himself, the only begotten son of God. (i. 11.)
10. That in the fulness of time the son of God took upon him human nature, and became man. (i. 14.)
11. That he abolished the Law of Moses, which was only the shadow of good things to come, and in its stead introduced the substance, or the very things signified by it. (i. 17.)

And lastly,

12. That the Jew has no more right in this divine person, and the privileges conferred through him, than the Gentile [2]; for whoever believes in him, becomes thereby a child of God, and is entitled by that adoption to a glorious inheritance. (i. 12, 13.)

These propositions being settled, the evangelist proceeds in

PART II. *To deliver the Proofs of these Doctrines in an Historical Manner* (i. 19.—xx. 29.), *as being all expressed or plainly implied in the Discourses and Transactions of Jesus Christ*, which may conveniently be divided into eighteen Sections; viz.

SECT. 1. John the Baptist himself confesses to the Jewish priests, that he is much inferior to Jesus, refers his own disciples to him, who acknowledge him to be the Messiah, and are confirmed in this faith by the miracle of water converted into wine, at Cana in Galilee. (i. 19.—ii. 11.)

SECT. 2. Jesus conducts himself at Jerusalem as the lord of the temple (ii. 12—25.), reveals himself to Nicodemus as the only begotten Son of God; shows the design of his coming into the world, and the necessity of believing in him. (iii. 1—21.)

SECT. 3. An additional testimony of John the Baptist to the superiority of Christ, and the excellency of his ordinances. (iii. 22—36.)

SECT. 4. Jesus visits the Samaritans, declares himself to be the Christ, and foretells the abolition of the Levitical worship. (iv. 1—42.)

SECT. 5. By a second miracle, (the curing of a nobleman's dying child,) Christ demonstrates his divine mission in his own country, where it was most disputed. (iv. 43—54.)

SECT. 6. As a further proof of the future abrogation of the ceremonial law, Jesus works a miracle on the Sabbath, by healing an impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, and vindicates his conduct; declares himself to be the Son of God, and exhibits various evidences of his mission. (v. 1—47.)

SECT. 7. To show that he was the end of the law, Jesus substitutes himself in the room of the legal sacrifices; and commands the people, who were used to feast on some of those sacrifices, to eat his flesh and drink his blood. And to convince them that he was truly the bread of life, he miraculously feeds above five thousand of them with five barley loaves. The people being disposed by this miracle to make him a king, Jesus disclaims all temporal views. (vi. 1—71.)

[1] Unus et idem ostenditur Logos et Monogenes, et Zoe et Phōs, et Soter et Christus filius Dei, et hic idem incarnatus pro nobis. Iren. lib. i. c. i. § 20.

[2] Origen. Philocal. c. i. p. 17. ed. Spencer.

SECT. 8. Jesus reproves the ambition of his kinsmen; and going up to Jerusalem at the feast of tabernacles, promises the assistance of the Holy Spirit to all true believers. (vii. 1—53.)

SECT. 9. He declares himself to be the light of the world; reproves the Jews for rejecting him; promises immortality to his followers; and speaks of his own existence as prior to that of Abraham. (viii. 12—59.)

SECT. 10. A woman taken in adultery is brought to Jesus, who avoids giving judgment in her case, and turns the consciences of his enemies on themselves. (viii. 1—11.)

SECT. 11. In proof of his being the light of the world, he restores a blind man to sight[1], and warns the Jews of that judicial darkness under which they were soon to be sealed up, for perverting so basely those means of knowledge, which were graciously offered to them. (ix. 1—41.)

SECT. 12. After this he represents himself as the door of the sheepfold, and tells the Pharisees, who called themselves the shepherds of the people, that they "who entered not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbed up some other way," whatever character they might assume, were in reality no better than thieves and robbers. A reflection which the Christians of those days could hardly avoid applying to Cerinthus and other heresiarchs. Then follows a description of a good shepherd and an hireling, which may be regarded as a kind of test, by which to judge of the different conduct of the apostles and heretics, &c. (x. 1—42.)

SECT. 13. Jesus performs a signal miracle, by restoring Lazarus to life, after he had been dead four days[2], in the presence of a large number of people; which was attended with this peculiar circumstance, that it was wrought after an express invocation of God, that he would apply it to the confirmation of what our Saviour had taught. (xi. 1—44.) Observe particularly ver. 41, 42.

SECT. 14. A brief account of the different effects which this miracle produced on the minds of the Jews; so different, that though it won upon many of the people, it exasperated most of the priests. (xi. 45—57. xii. 1—11.)

SECT. 15. Christ rides in triumph to Jerusalem, and is proclaimed king of Israel. The Greeks, who may be considered as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, apply to him and are admitted. He addresses them in terms suitable to the occasion, and his doctrine is confirmed by a voice from heaven. (xii. 12—36.)

SECT. 16. Some intimation being now given, that the Gentiles were to be admitted into the Christian church, Jesus institutes the law of hospitality[3], and delivers to his disciples a new commandment, that they should love one another as brethren, without distinction, and as members of the same church. (xiii. 1—35.)

SECT. 17. Christ informs his disciples, in a long discourse, that a per-

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[1] See a critical examination of this miracle, *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 256, 257.

[2] See a critical examination of this miracle, *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 260—262.

[3] Washing the feet (as we have seen in the preceding volume) was commonly, in the eastern countries, the first kindness shown to a traveller, who was to be hospitably received (Gen. xviii. 4. xix. 2. xliii. 24.): whence it came to be used for hospitality in general. (1 Tim. v. 10.) When our Saviour therefore washed the feet of his disciples, and taught them to condescend in like manner to their inferiors, it amounted to the same thing, as if he had instituted and established the law of hospitality among all his future followers. Now, as strangers are the objects of this law, and not persons who live in the same community, it was indeed, in the strictest sense, a NEW commandment to *them*, who thought it their duty "to avoid those of another nation." (Acts x. 28.)

petual and intimate union with him, their head, is indispensably necessary to salvation; and that, after his departure, he would send down the Holy Spirit, who should guide them into all truth, and enable them to fulfil his commandments. (xiv.—xvi.)

Sect. 18. After this, Jesus recommends his disciples, and all who should in future ages believe in him, to the Father, in a pathetic and memorable prayer; and at the same time testifies, that not one of his apostles was lost, but Judas Iscariot. (xvii. 1—26.) As this prayer was favourably heard, and the apostles were afterwards endowed with extraordinary powers, it afforded an argument against Cerinthus of the divine authority of the doctrines they taught.

Sect. 19. contains a particular account of our Saviour's passion, adapted to prove that he did not die as a mere man (xviii. 1. xix. 42.); and also of his resurrection, in opposition to those who denied that he was risen. (xx. 1—29.)

§ i. The apprehension of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. (xviii. 1—11.)
§ ii. His mock trial before the high priests, in the house of Caiaphas, and Peter's denial of him there. (xviii. 12—27.)
§ iii. The accusation of Christ before Pilate the Roman governor, who having in vain attempted to rescue him from the envy of the Jews, scourged him, and delivered him to be crucified. (xviii. 28—40. xix. 1—16. former part of the verse.)
§ iv. Narrative of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. (xix. 16. latter part of the verse, to v. 37.)
§ v. The burial of Christ by Joseph of Arimathea. (xix. 38—42.)
§ vi. The resurrection (xx. 1—10.), and Christ's appearances, first to Mary (11—18.), and, secondly, to the disciples on the same day. (19—23.)
§ vii. Christ's appearance eight days after to the disciples, Thomas being present. (24—29.)

Part III. *contains an Account of the Person of the Writer of this Gospel, and of his Design in writing it.* (xx. 30, 31. xxi.)

Sect. 1. comprises a declaration of the end which Saint John had in view in composing his Gospel; viz. that his readers might be convinced that *Jesus is* the Christ, *the Son of God* (xx. 31.); and consequently that the tenets and notions of Cerinthus were altogether false and heretical. In this section is related Christ's appearance to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias, and his discourse to the apostle Peter. (xxi. 1—19.)

Sect. 2. relates to the evangelist John himself; Christ checks Peter's curiosity concerning his death. (xxi. 20—23.) The conclusion. (24, 25.)

This section seems to have been added, as a confutation of the opinion entertained by some, that Saint John was not to die: — an opinion which might have weakened his authority, if he had suffered it to pass unrefuted.

Besides refuting the errors of Cerinthus and his followers, Michaelis is of opinion that John also had in view to confute the erroneous tenets of the Sabeans, a sect which claimed John the Baptist for its founder. He has adduced a variety of terms and phrases, which he has applied to the explanation of the first fourteen verses of John's Gospel in such a manner as renders his conjecture not improbable.[1] Perhaps we shall not greatly err if we conclude with Rosenmüller, that John had both these classes of heretics in view, and that he wrote to confute their respective tenets. Yet, though he composed his Gospel principally with this design, he did not wholly confine himself to it; but took occasion to impart correct views of

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 285—302.

the nature and offices of Jesus Christ both to Jews and Gentiles. Should this opinion be acceded to, it will reconcile the various opinions of learned men concerning the real scope of John's Gospel.

VI. It is obvious to every attentive reader of this Gospel, that John studiously omits to notice those passages in our Lord's history and teaching, which had been related at length by the other evangelists, or if he mentions them at all, it is in a very cursory manner. By pursuing this method he gives his testimony that their narratives are faithful and true, and at the same time leaves himself room to enlarge the Gospel history. This confirms the unanimous declarations of antient writers, that the first three Gospels were written and published before John composed his evangelical history. In the account of our Saviour's passion, death, and resurrection, all the four Gospels coincide in many particulars; though here John has several things peculiar to himself. In his Gospel, many things recorded by the other evangelists are omitted. He has given no account of our Saviour's nativity, nor of his baptism by John. He takes no notice of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness; nor of the call or names of the twelve apostles; nor of their mission during the ministry of Christ; nor of his parables, or other discourses recorded by the first three evangelists; nor of his journeys; nor of any of his predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, which are related by them; nor has John repeated any of Christ's miracles recorded by them, except that of feeding five thousand people, which was probably repeated for the sake of the discourse to which it gave birth. But, on the other hand, John mentions several incidents, which the other evangelists have not noticed. Thus, he gives an account of our Lord's cleansing the temple at the *first* passover, when he went to Jerusalem; but all the other evangelists give a similar account of his cleansing the temple at his *last* passover. These two acts, however, are widely different. He relates the Acts of Christ before the imprisonment of John the Baptist; the wedding at Cana; the cure of the man who had been blind from his birth; the resurrection of Lazarus; the indignation of Judas against the woman who anointed our Lord with ointment; the visit of the Greeks to Jesus; his washing the feet of his disciples; and his consolatory discourse to them previously to his passion. John's Gospel also contains more plain and frequent assurances than those occurring in the other Gospels, that Jesus is not only a prophet and messenger of God, but also that he is the Messiah, the Son of God: and asserts his pre-existence and Deity in the clearest and most distinct terms.[1]

VII. Salmasius, Grotius, Bolten, and other critics have imagined that John did not write his Gospel originally in Greek, but in the Syriac language. This hypothesis, however, is contradicted by the unanimous consent of Christian antiquity, which affirms that he wrote it in Greek. In addition to the observations already offered, respect-

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 303—315. On the decisive testimony of Saint John's Gospel to the Divinity of our Saviour, see Bishop Blomfield's "Five Lectures, delivered on the Fridays during Lent, 1823."—London, 1823. 12mo.

ing the original language of the New Testament [1], we may remark, that the Hebraisms occurring inthis Gospel clearly prove that it was originally written by a Jew. His style is pronounced by Michaelis [2] to be better and more fluent than that of the other evangelists; and he ascribes this excellence to the facility and taste in the Greek language, which the apostle seems to have acquired from his long residence at Ephesus. His narrative is characterised by singular perspicuity, and by the most unaffected simplicity and benevolence. There are few passages in Holy Writ more deeply affecting than this evangelist's narrative of the resurrection of Lazarus.[3]

SECTION VI.

ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

I. *Title.* — II. *Author and Date.* — III. *Genuineness and Authenticity.* — IV. *Scope.* — V. *Chronology.* — VI. *Analysis of the Contents of this Book.* — VII. *Observations on its Style.* — VIII. *On the Importance of this Book, as an Evidence for the Truth of Christianity.*

I. THE book of the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES forms the fifth and last of the historical books of the New Testament, and connects the Gospels with the Epistles: being an useful postscript to the former, and a proper introduction to the latter. On this account it has been generally placed after the four Gospels, though (as Michaelis has remarked) in several antient manuscripts and versions it is very frequently placed after the Epistles of Saint Paul, because it is necessary to the right understanding of them.

Various TITLES have been given to this book which are noticed in the critical editions of the New Testament. Thus, in the Codex Bezæ, or Cambridge manuscript, it is called ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, *the Acts* or *Transactions of the Apostles.* In the Codex Alexandrinus, and many other manuscripts, it is entitled ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, *the Acts of the Holy Apostles*, which title is also adopted by most of the Greek and Latin fathers. The first of these various titles is that which is adopted in the printed editions, and in all modern versions; but by whom it was prefixed, it is now impossible to ascertain. In the Syriac version, according to the edition in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, the title is: "The Book of the Acts, that is, of the History of the Blessed Apostles, composed by my holy lord Luke the Evangelist:" — in the Arabic version it is, "The beginning of the Book of the Acts of the [holy] Apostles;" — and in the Ethiopic version, "The Acts of the Apostles, the transactions of the ministers, that is, the History of the holy Apostles." This book contains great part of the lives and transactions of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and of the history of

[1] See Vol. II. pp. 15—19. *supra.* [2] Introd. vol. iii. part i. p. 316.

[3] Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 192—195. Kuinöel, Comm. in Hist. Lib. Nov. Test. vol. iii. p. 33. *et seq.* Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 203—226. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars i. p. 340. pars ii. pp. 265—268.

the Christian church; commencing at the ascension of our Saviour, and being continued down to Saint Paul's arrival at Rome, after his appeal to Cæsar, comprising a period of about thirty years.

II. That Saint Luke was the author of the Acts of the Apostles, as well as of the Gospel which bears his name, is evident both from the introduction, and from the unanimous testimonies of the early Christians. Both are inscribed to Theophilus; and in the very first verse of the Acts there is a reference made to his Gospel, which he calls *the former Treatise.* On this account Dr. Benson and some other critics have conjectured that Saint Luke wrote the Gospels and Acts in one book, and divided it into two parts. From the frequent use of the first person plural, it is clear that he was present at most of the transactions he relates. He appears to have accompanied Saint Paul from Troas to Philippi; he also attended him to Jerusalem, and afterwards to Rome, where he remained two years, during that apostle's first confinement. Accordingly we find Saint Luke particularly mentioned in two of the epistles written by Saint Paul, from Rome, during that confinement.[1] As the book of Acts is continued to the end of the second year of Saint Paul's imprisonment, it could not have been written before the year 63; and, as the death of that apostle is not mentioned, it is probable that the book was composed before that event, which is supposed to have happened A. D. 65. For these reasons, Michaelis, Dr. Lardner, Dr. Benson, Rosenmüller, Bishop Tomline, and the generality of critics, assign the date of this book to the year 63.

III. To the genuineness and authenticity of this book, the early Christian fathers bear unanimous testimony. Not to mention the attestations of the apostolic fathers, in the first century, which have been collected by Mr. Jones, Drs. Benson and Lardner[2], we may remark that Irenæus[3] and Tertullian[4], in the second century, both ascribed the Acts of the Apostles to Saint Luke. And their evidence is corroborated by that of Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Eusebius, and all subsequent ecclesiastical writers.[5] Further, Chrysostom and other fathers inform us, that this book was annually read in the churches, every day between the festivals of Easter and Pentecost or Whitsuntide.[6] The Valentinians, indeed, as well as the Marcionites, Severians, and some Manicheans, rejected the Acts of the Apostles, not from historical reasons, but because they militated against their opinions: for the Gnostics (of which sect the Valentinians and Marcionites were a branch) affirmed that the God of the Old Testament was different from the God of the New Testament: and that another Christ, different from our Saviour, was promised. The Severians

[1] Col. iv. 14. Philem. 24.

[2] Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 129—136. Dr. Benson's Hist. of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. ii. pp. 325—330. 2d edit. Dr. Lardner's Works, Index, voce *Acts of the Apostles.*

[3] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 162, 163.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368. Benson, vol. ii. p. 330.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 261, 262.; 4to. vol. i. p. 452. Benson, vol. ii. p. 331.

[5] Benson, vol. ii. pp. 321—324. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 145—147.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 206, 207.

[6] Benson, vol. ii. pp. 332. Lardner, 8vo. vol. v. pp. 133, 134.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 605.

and Encratites strenuously insisted upon abstinence from certain articles of food; whereas, in the book of Acts, the promiscuous use of food is allowed. Lastly, Manes wished himself to be taken for the "Comforter," who had been promised by Christ to his apostles: but in the Acts it is related that the Comforter that had been so promised was the Holy Spirit, who had been sent. The reasons, therefore, why the book was rejected by the above-mentioned sects, were not historical, but doctrinal; because the narrative of the sacred historian contradicted their dogmas; and as their errors were detected and refuted by contemporary writers [1], the unqualified and unsupported assertions of these heretics are so far from impugning the veracity and genuineness of the Acts of the Apostles, that, on the contrary, they afford a decisive and collateral testimony in favour of the book.

IV. Saint Luke does not appear to have intended to write a complete ecclesiastical history of the Christian church, during the first thirty years after our Saviour's ascension, nor even of Saint Paul's life during that period; for he has almost wholly omitted what passed among the Jews after the conversion of that apostle, and is totally silent concerning the spread of Christianity in the East and in Egypt, as well as the foundation of the church of Christ at Rome, Saint Paul's journey into Arabia, and many other topics, though the labours and sufferings of the other apostles could not but have afforded the most interesting materials, had it fallen within his design to have composed an entire history of the church.

If we carefully examine the Acts of the Apostles, we shall perceive that Saint Luke had two objects in view: — 1. To relate in what manner the gifts of the Holy Spirit were communicated on the day of Pentecost, and the subsequent miracles performed by the apostles, by which the truth of Christianity was confirmed. An authentic account of this matter was absolutely necessary, because Christ had often assured his disciples, that they should receive the Holy Spirit. Unbelievers, therefore, whether Jews or Heathens, might have made objections to our religion, if it had not been shown that Christ's declarations was really fulfilled. — 2. To deliver such accounts as proved the claim of the Gentiles to admission into the church of Christ, — a claim disputed by the Jews, especially at the time when Saint Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles. And it was this very circumstance which excited the hatred of the Jews against Saint Paul, and occasioned his imprisonment in Rome, with which Saint Luke closes his history. Hence we see the reason why he relates (ch. viii.) the conversion of the Samaritans, and (ch. x. xi.) the story of Cornelius, whom Saint Peter (to whose authority the adversaries of Saint Paul had appealed in favour of circumcision [2]) baptised, though he was not of the circumcision. Hence also Saint Luke relates the determination of the first council in Jerusalem relative to the Levitical law: and for the same reason he is more diffuse in his account of Saint Paul's conversion, and Saint Paul's preaching

[1] Irenæus adversus Hæreses, lib. iii. c. 12. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 21. Augustine epist. 251. et contra Faustum, lib. xix. c. 31.

[2] See Galat. ii. 6—21.

the Gospel to the Gentiles, than on any other subject. It is true that the whole relation, which Saint Luke has given (ch. xii.), has no connection with the conversion of the Gentiles: but during the period, to which that chapter relates, Saint Paul himself was present at Jerusalem (see Acts xi. 30. xii. 25.), and it is probable, for that reason, that Saint Luke has introduced it. But there is, 3. A third opinion which Michaelis thinks not devoid of probability, viz. that Saint Luke might design to record only those facts, which he had either seen himself or had heard from eye-witnesses.[1]

V. The Acts of the Apostles, Michaelis observes, were evidently written with a tolerably strict attention to chronological order; though Saint Luke has not affixed a date to any one of the facts recorded by him. There are, however, several parts of this book, in which ecclesiastical history is combined with political facts, the dates of which are known: and these Michaelis has endeavoured to determine, because the chronology will not only contribute to illustrate the Acts of the Apostles, but also will assist us in fixing the year when many of Saint Paul's Epistles were written. Taking for granted, therefore, that this book commences with the year 33 of the Christian æra (in which calculation he follows Archbishop Usher), he has given us the following series of dates.

1. "The *First epoch*, after the commencement of the book, is at ch. ix. 29, 30.; for what happened between the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension and this period is without any marks of chronology. But at ch. xi. 29, 30. we have a date: for the famine which took place in the time of Claudius Cæsar, and which induced the disciples at Antioch to send relief to their brethren in Judæa, happened in the fourth year of Claudius's reign, that is, in the year 44 of the Christian æra.

2. *Second epoch.* Herod Agrippa dies soon after he had put to death the apostle Saint James: and about that time Saint Paul and Saint Barnabas return from Jerusalem to Antioch. (ch. xii. 21—25.) This is still in the year 44.

3. *Third epoch.* (ch. xviii. 2.) Shortly after the banishment of the Jews from Italy by Claudius Cæsar, Saint Paul arrives at Corinth. Commentators affix the date of 54 to this event; but it is uncertain, for Suetonius, the only historian who has noticed this banishment of the Jews, mentions it without date.

4. *Fourth epoch.* Saint Paul comes to Jerusalem, where he is imprisoned by the Jews, not long after the disturbances which were excited by the Egyptian. (ch. xxi. 37—39.) This imprisonment of Saint Paul happened in the year 60, for it was two years before Felix quitted his government of Judæa. (ch. xxiii. 26. xxiv. 27.)

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[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 327—331. Dr. Benson, however, is of opinion that Saint Luke designed his book to be only a concise specimen of the doctrines preached by the apostles, and that he was chiefly desirous of describing the manner in which the Jews, proselytes of the gate, or devout Gentiles, and the idolatrous Gentiles, were respectively converted. Hence this learned author divides the book into three parts or books, viz. 1. The *first* part contains an account of the propagation of the Gospel among the Jews only, from A.D. 33. to A.D. 41. including chapter ii. to x. 2. The *second* comprises an account of the spreading of Christianity among the devout Gentiles, together with its farther progress among the Jews, A. D. 41. to A. D. 44. (Acts x.—xiii.) 3. And the *third* part comprehends the diffusion of Christianity among the idolatrous Gentiles, together with its further progress among the two preceding classes of persons, A. D. 44. to A. D. 63. (Acts xiii.—xxviii.) Benson's Hist. of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 22—24.

5. *Fifth epoch.* Two years after the commencement of Saint Paul's imprisonment, Festus is appointed governor of Judæa, A. D. 62. (ch. xxiv. 27. xxv. 1.)

From this period the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles is clear. Saint Paul is sent prisoner to Rome in the autumn of the same year in which Festus arrived in Judæa: he suffers shipwreck, passes the winter in Malta, and arrives in Rome in the following year, that is, in 63. (ch. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.)

The Acts of the Apostles close with the end of the second year of Saint Paul's imprisonment in Rome: consequently, in the year 65. (ch. xxviii. 30.)"

It is difficult to determine the date of the events that happened between the epochs 33 and 34, and between 44 and 60, especially the time of Saint Paul's conversion and of the council at Jerusalem: Archbishop Usher places the first of these transactions A. D. 35, others in 38. But, though we cannot attain to absolute certainty, a probable conjecture may be formed. Thus, Michaelis remarks, Saint Stephen hardly suffered martyrdom before Pilate was recalled from the government of Judæa; because, under that procurator, the Jews had not the power of inflicting capital punishments. Now, according to Usher, the year in which Pilate was recalled, was the thirty-sixth of the Christian æra, Saint Stephen's martyrdom therefore probably happened after 36. If this be true, Saint Paul's conversion must have happened likewise after 36, and therefore 35 is too early a date. But how long after 36, whether in 38, cannot be determined.

In what manner the chapters iii. iv. v. vi. are to be arranged between 33 and 36, Michaelis cannot determine: for what chronologers have said is mere conjecture, and not calculation. The same uncertainty prevails in respect to ch. viii. and x.: for we can affirm nothing more, than that the one must be placed before, the other after 36. We are likewise in the dark with respect to ch. xiii. xiv. and several other chapters. Of ch. xvi. we may assert, that it belongs to a period at least six years prior to the fourth epoch, or the year 60: for a year and an half at Corinth, three years at Ephesus, and the time spent on several journies, can hardly be pressed into a smaller compass than that of six years. To ch. xvi., therefore, the latest date which can be assigned is 54: and it is not improbable that it should be dated still earlier.[1]

VI. The Acts of the Apostles, as they appear in our copies, may be divided into three principal parts; viz.

PART I. *contains the Rise and Progress of the Mother Church at Jerusalem from the Time of our Saviour's Ascension to the First Jewish Persecution.* (ch. i.—viii.)

SECT. 1. The transactions before and after Jesus Christ's ascension into heaven. (i.)

SECT. 2. The descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles at the feast of

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 336—338. The chronology of the Acts of the Apostles is discussed at considerable length in Hug's Introduction to New Test. vol. ii. pp. 312—334., and (so far as concerns the travels and writings of Saint Paul,) by the reviewer of that work in the British Critic for April 1828, pp. 261—317.

Pentecost, and Peter's discourse to the people in consequence of it. (ii.)

Sect. 3. A lame man healed by Peter and John — Peter's discourse to the people — Events that befel the apostles in consequence of that miracle. (iii. iv.)

Sect. 4. The death of Ananias and Sapphira — Miracles of the apostles, — who are scourged and dismissed. (v.)

Sect. 5. The institution of deacons, — the discourse and martyrdom of Stephen, — and the first Jewish persecution. (vi. vii. viii. 1—4.)

Part II. *comprises the Dispersion of the Disciples — the Propagation of Christianity among the Samaritans — the Conversion of Saint Paul, and the Foundation of a Christian Church at Antioch.* (viii. 5.—xii.)

Sect. 1. The planting of the church at Samaria. (viii. 5—25.)

Sect. 2. The conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch. (viii. 26—40.)

Sect. 3. The conversion, baptism, and first preaching of Saint Paul. (ix.)

Sect. 4. Account of two miracles performed by Peter, and the conversion of Cornelius and his family. (x. xi. 1—18.)

Sect. 5. The first Gentile church founded at Antioch. (xi. 19—30.)

Sect. 6. The apostle James put to death by Herod Agrippa, — relation of his miserable death. (xii.)

Part III. *describes the Conversion of the more remote Gentiles, by Barnabas and Paul, and, after their Separation, by Paul and his Associates, among whom was Luke himself during the latter Part of Paul's Labours.* (xii.—xxviii.)

Sect. 1. The planting of several churches in the isle of Cyprus, at Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe — The return of Saint Paul to Antioch. (xiii. xiv.)

Sect. 2. Discussion of the question by the apostles at Jerusalem, concerning the necessity of circumcision and of observing the law — Their letter to the churches on this subject. (xv. 1—35.)

Sect. 3. Paul's second departure from Antioch — He preaches the Gospel in various countries, particularly at Philippi in Macedonia — The conversion of the Philippian gaoler. (xv. 36—41. xvi.)

Sect. 4. The journies and apostolical labours of Paul and his associates at Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens — His masterly apology before the court of the Areopagites. (xvii.)

Sect. 5. Paul's journey to Corinth, and thence to Antioch. (xviii. 1—22.)

Sect. 6. Paul's third departure from Antioch — Consequences of his preaching at Ephesus. (xviii. 23—28. xix.)

Sect. 7. The labours of Paul in Greece and Asia Minor, and his journey towards Jerusalem. (xx.)

Sect. 8. The persecution of Paul at Jerusalem — He is sent a prisoner to Cæsarea. (xxi.—xxiii. 1—30.)

Sect. 9. Paul's arrival at Cæsarea — The charges of the Jews against him — His defence before Felix — Appeal to Cæsar — His defence before Agrippa, at whose request his cause was reheard. (xxiii. 31—35. xxiv.—xxvi.)

Sect. 10. Narrative of Paul's voyage from Cæsarea — His shipwreck on the isle of Malta — His voyage thence to Rome, where he preaches the Gospel to the Jews, and resides for two years. (xxvii. xxviii.)

In perusing the Acts of the Apostles, it will be desirable con-

Map of
THE TRAVELS OF THE APOSTLES,
INCLUDING THE
more remote places from the Holy Land,
which are mentioned in the
NEW TESTAMENT.
DACIA
ILLYRIA
THRACIA
MACEDONIA
ACHAIA
ITALY
SICILY
CRETE
CYPRUS
EGYPT
LIBYA
ARABIA
SYRIA
ARMENIA
MESOPOTAMIA
CAPPADOCIA
GALATIA
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
PAMPHYLIA
PISIDIA
LYCAONIA
LYCIA
TAURICA
SARMATIA
EUXINE
OR
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Rome
Melita
Cyrene
Alexandria
Antioch
Jerusalem
Ephesus
Corinth
Athens
Philippi
Thessalonica
Troas
Miletus
Rhodes
Tarsus
Damascus
Samaria
Sidon
Sinope
Amasia
Iconium
Derbe
Lystra
Antioch
Pisidia
Perga
Attalia
Cyprus
Paphos
Salamis
Tyre
Ptolemais
Caesarea
Joppa
Gaza
Petra
Arabia
Egypt
Babylon
Babylonia
Longitude East from Greenwich
Published by Longhill & W. Darton, Strand, May 1, 1818.
Hamilton Sculp.

stantly to refer to the accompanying map of their respective journeys, particularly those of Saint Paul. In constructing this map, the accurate geographer D'Anville has principally been followed; the courses of the several winds that usually blow in the Levant or Mediterranean sea, together with their antient names, are inserted from Dr. Shaw.[1]

VII. The narrative of the Acts of the Apostles is perspicuous and noble. Though it is not entirely free from Hebraisms, it is in general much purer than that of most other books of the New Testament, particularly in the speeches delivered by Saint Paul at Athens, and before the Roman governors. It is further worthy of remark, that Saint Luke has well supported the character of each person whom he has introduced as speaking. Thus the speeches and discourses of Saint Peter are recorded with simplicity, and are destitute of all those ornaments which usually occur in the orations of the Greeks and Romans. Nearly similar are the speeches of Saint Paul, which were addressed to the Jews, while those delivered by the same apostle before an heathen audience are widely different. Thus, in his discourse delivered at Antioch in Pisidia[2], he commences with a long periphrasis, which would not have been either instructive or entertaining in any other place than a Jewish synagogue. On the contrary, the speech of the martyr Stephen (Acts vii.) is altogether of a different description. It is a learned but unpremeditated discourse, pronounced by a person totally unacquainted with the art of oratory; and though he certainly had a particular object in view, to which the several parts of his discourse were directed, yet it is difficult to discover this object, because his materials are not regularly disposed. Lastly, Saint Paul's discourses before assemblies that were accustomed to Grecian oratory, are totally different from any of the preceding. Though not adorned with the flowers of rhetoric, the language is pointed and energetic, and the materials are judiciously selected and arranged, as is manifest in his speech delivered at Athens (Acts xvii. 22—31.), and in his two defences of himself before the Roman governors of Judæa. (xxiv. xxvi.) Dr. Benson and Michaelis, however, are both of opinion, that Saint Luke has given abstracts only, and not the whole, of Saint Paul's speeches; for in his speech before Felix, he must certainly have said more than is recorded by Saint Luke (xxiv. 12, 13.); unless we suppose that Saint Paul merely denied the charge which had been laid against him, without confuting it. Michaelis adds, that in his opinion, Saint Luke has shown great judgment in these abstracts; and that, if he has not retained the very words of Saint Paul, he has adopted such as were well suited to the polished audiences before which the apostle spoke.[3]

VIII. The Acts of the Apostles afford abundance evidence of the truth and divine original of the Christian religion; for we learn from

[1] Travels in Barbary, vol. ii. p. 131. 3d edit.

[2] Acts xiii. 16—41.

[3] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 331—335. Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 258.

this book, that the Gospel was not indebted for its success to deceit or fraud, but that it was wholly the result of the mighty power of God, and of the excellence and efficacy of the saving truths which it contains. The general and particular doctrines, comprised in the Acts of the Apostles, are perfectly in unison with the glorious truths revealed in the Gospels, and illustrated in the apostolic Epistles; and are admirably suited to the state of the persons, whether Jews or Gentiles, to whom they were addressed. And the evidences which the apostles gave of their doctrine, in their appeals to prophecies and miracles, and the various gifts of the Spirit, were so numerous and so strong, and at the same time so admirably adapted to every class of persons, that the truth of the religion, which they attest, cannot be reasonably disputed.

Further, the history itself is credible. It was written by a person who was acquainted with the various circumstances which he relates, and who was both able and disposed to give a faithful narrative of every thing that occurred. Saint Luke was a companion of the apostles; he was himself an eye and ear-witness of the facts, and was personally concerned in many of the incidents he has recorded. In the history itself there are no inconsistencies or contradictions; the miraculous facts related in it are neither impossible, when we consider the almighty power of God to which they are ascribed, nor improbable, when we consider the grand design and occasion on account of which they were performed. The plainness and simplicity of the narrative are also strong circumstances in its favour. The writer appears to have been very honest and impartial, and to have set down fairly the objections which were made to Christianity both by Jews and Heathens, and the reflections which were cast upon it, as well as upon its first preachers. He has, likewise, with a just and ingenuous freedom, mentioned the weaknesses, faults, and prejudices, both of the apostles and of their converts. The occasional hints, which are dispersed through the epistles of Saint Paul, harmonise with the facts related in the history of the Acts of the Apostles; so that this history is the best guide we can have in studying the epistles. The other parts of the New Testament are in perfect unison with the history, and tend to confirm it; for the doctrines and principles are every where the same. The Gospels close with references to the facts recorded in the Acts, particularly the promise of the Holy Spirit, which we know from the Acts was poured out by Christ upon his disciples after his ascension; and the Epistles, generally, plainly suppose that those facts had actually occurred, which the history relates. So that the history of the Acts is one of the most important parts of sacred history; for, without it, neither the Gospels nor the Epistles could have been so clearly understood; but by the aid of this book the whole scheme of the Christian revelation is set before us in a clear and easy view.[1] Lastly, the incidental circumstances, mentioned by Saint Luke, correspond so exactly, and without any

[1] The subject of these coincidences has already been noticed in Vol. I. pp. 99—103. *supra*. Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ amplifies the argument above suggested, and is indispensably necessary to a critical study of the Epistles.

previous view to such a correspondence (in cases, too, where it could not possibly have been premeditated and precontrived), with the accounts that occur in the Epistles, and with those of the best antient historians, both Jews and Heathens, that no person who had *forged* such a history, in later ages, could have had the same external confirmation; but he must have betrayed himself, by alluding to some customs or opinions which have since sprung up, or by misrepresenting some circumstances, or using some phrase or expression not then in use. The plea of forgery, therefore, in later ages, cannot be allowed; and if Saint Luke had published such a history at so early a period, when some of the apostles, or many other persons concerned in the transactions which he has recorded, were alive, and his account had not been true, he would only have exposed himself to an easy confutation, and to certain infamy.

Since, therefore, the Acts of the Apostles are in themselves consistent and uniform; the incidental relations agreeable to the best antient historians that have come down to us; and the main facts supported and confirmed by the other books of the New Testament, as well as by the unanimous testimony of so many of the antient fathers, we are justly authorised to conclude, that, if any history of former times deserves credit, the Acts of the Apostles ought to be received and credited; and if the history of the Acts of the Apostles is true, Christianity cannot be false; for a doctrine, so good in itself, so admirably adapted to the fallen state of man, and attended with so many miraculous and divine testimonies, has all the possible marks of a true revelation. [1]

CHAPTER III.

ON THE EPISTOLARY OR DOCTRINAL WRITINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF SAINT PAUL.

SECTION I.

ACCOUNT OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

I. *The Birth and Education of Paul — his Persecution of the Disciples of Christ — and his Conversion. — Observations upon it.* — II. *His subsequent Travels and Labours, to his second Visit to Jerusalem.* — III. *His third Visit to Jerusalem, and subsequent Labours, to his fourth Visit to Jerusalem.* — IV. *His Journies and Labours, to his fifth Visit to Jerusalem.* — V. *To his first Imprisonment at Rome.* — VI. *His subsequent Journies, second Imprisonment, and Martyrdom.* — VII. *Character of Paul.* — VIII. *Observations on the Style of his Writings.*

1. SAUL, also called PAUL, (by which name this illustrious apostle was generally known after his preaching among the Gentiles, espe-

[1] Dr. Benson's Hist. of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 333—341.

cially among the Greeks and Romans,) was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a descendant of the patriarch Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin [1], and a native of Tarsus, then the chief city of Cilicia. By birth he was a citizen of Rome [2], a distinguished honour and privilege, which had been conferred on some of his ancestors for services rendered to the commonwealth during the wars. [3] His father was a Pharisee, and he himself was educated in the most rigid principles of that sect. [4] His sister's son and some others of his relations were Christians, and had embraced the Gospel before his conversion. [5] That he was early educated in Greek literature at Tarsus, may be inferred from that place being celebrated for polite learning [6] and eloquence [7], and also from his quotations of several Greek poets. [8] From Tarsus, Saul removed to Jerusalem, where he made considerable proficiency in the study of the law, and the Jewish traditions, under Gamaliel, a celebrated teacher of that day. [9] He appears to have been a person of great natural abilities, of quick apprehension, strong passions, and firm resolution; and was thus qualified for signal service, as a teacher of whatever principles he might embrace. He was also blameless in his life, and strictly faithful to the dictates of his conscience, according to the knowledge which he possessed: this is evident from his appeals to the Jews, and from the undissembled satisfaction he expresses on a serious comparison and recollection of his former and later conduct. (Acts xxiii. 1. xxvi. 4, 5. Phil. iii. 6. 1 Tim. i. 13. 2 Tim. i. 3.) His parents completed his education by having him taught the art of tent-making [10], in conformity with the practice of the Jews, with whom it was customary to teach youth of the highest birth some mechanical

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[1] Phil. iii. 5. 2 Cor. xi. 22. Acts xvi. 37, 38. [2] Acts xxii. 25. 29. xxiii. 27.

[3] Dr. Lardner has shown that this is the most probable opinion. Works. 8vo. vol. i. pp. 227—229.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 124, 125. Such also is the opinion of John Arntzenius, who has written an elegant dissertation on Saint Paul's citizenship. See his Dissertationes Binæ, p. 195. Utrecht, 1725.

[4] Acts xxiii. 6. xxvi. 5. Phil. iii. 5.

[5] Acts xxiii. 16—22. Rom. xvi. 7. 11. 21.

[6] Strabo the geographer, who lived in the same age as Saint Paul, characterises the inhabitants of Tarsus, as cherishing such a passion for philosophy and all the branches of polite literature, that they greatly excelled even Athens and Alexandria, and every other place where there were schools and academies for philosophy and literature. He adds, that the natives of Tarsus were in the practice of going abroad to other cities to perfect themselves. (Lib. xiv. vol. ii. pp. 960, 961. edit. Oxon.) This circumstance accounts for Saint Paul's going to Jerusalem, to finish his studies under Gamaliel.

[7] In every antient seat of learning eloquence held a principal rank; and each species of it was denominated from the place where it was most practised, or in the greatest perfection. Thus we read of the chaste Attic eloquence, and of the florid Asiatic; and Tarsus also gave name to its peculiar mode, which, however, is least known, because, from the very nature of it, its productions were not likely to remain. The Tarsic eloquence was employed in sudden and unpremeditated harangues; and Saint Paul, long accustomed to compositions of this sort, transferred the style and manner from speaking to writing. (Dr. Powell's Discourses, p. 250.) This circumstance will account for the abruptness and other peculiarities in the apostle's letters which are more fully considered in the close of this section.

[8] Thus, in Acts xvii. 28. he cites a verse from Aratus; in 1 Cor. xv. 33. he quotes another from Menander; and in Tit. i. 12. a verse from Epimenides. See an illustration of this last passage, *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 184, 185.

[9] Acts xxii. 3. xxvi. 5. Gal. i. 14.

[10] Michaelis makes St. Paul to have been a maker of mechanical instruments (vol. iv. pp. 183—186.); but all commentators are of opinion that he was a manufacturer of tents, for which, in the East, there was always a considerable demand.

employment, by which, in cases of necessity, they might maintain themselves without being burthensome to others: and his occupation appears subsequently to have had some influence upon his style.[1] For some time after the appearance of Christianity in the world, he was a bitter enemy and a furious opposer of all who professed that faith; and when the protomartyr Stephen was stoned, Saul was not only consenting to his death, but actually took care of the clothes of the witnesses who had stoned him.

A. D. 34. After this event, Saul took an active part in the persecution of the Christians, not only at Jerusalem, but also throughout Judæa (Acts viii. 3. xxii. 4. xxvi. 10, 11.); and procured letters of commission from the high priest and elders, or sanhedrin, to the synagogue of the Jews at Damascus, empowering him to bring to Jerusalem any Christians, whether men or women, whom he might find there. He also obtained letters to the governor of Damascus, we may presume, to permit them to be removed from his jurisdiction. (Acts ix. 2. xxii. 5. xxvi. 12.) While Saul was on his journey thither for this purpose, his miraculous conversion took place, A. D. 35, in the manner recorded in the ninth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and to which Saint Paul himself has numerous references in his Epistles.[2] The conversion of such a man, at such a time and by such means, furnishes one of the most complete proofs that have ever been given of the divine origin of Christianity. That Saul, who possessed such distinguished talents and acquirements, from being a zealous persecutor of the disciples of Christ, became all at once a disciple himself, is a fact, which cannot be controverted without overturning the credit of all history. He must, therefore, have been converted in the miraculous manner in which he himself declared that he was converted, and of course the Christian revelation must be from God; or he must have been either an impostor, an enthusiast, or a dupe to the fraud of others. There is no other alternative possible.

1. If he was an impostor, he must have declared what he knew to be false, and he must have been influenced to such a conduct by some motive or other. But the only conceivable motives for religious imposture are the hopes of advancing one's temporal interest, credit, or power; or the prospect of gratifying some passion or appetite under the authority of the new religion. Now, that none of these motives could influence St. Paul to profess the faith of Christ crucified, is manifest from the state of Judaism and Christianity, at the period when he renounced the former, and embraced the latter faith. Those whom he left were the disposers of wealth, of dignity, and of power, in Judæa; those to whom he went were indigent men, oppressed, and kept from all means of improving their fortunes.

[1] To a man employed in making tents, the ideas of camps, arms, armour, warfare, military pay, would be familiar: and St. Paul introduces these and their concomitants so frequently, that his language seems to have been such as might rather have been expected from a soldier, than from one who lived in quiet times, and was a preacher of the gospel of peace. Powell's Discourses, p. 254.

[2] See particularly 1 Cor. xv. 9. Gal. i. 13. 1 Tim. i. 12, 13. Various opinions have been entertained by learned men respecting the date of St. Paul's conversion. The date assigned in the text is that adopted by Bp. Pearson. Dr. Lardner fixes that event to the end of 36, or early in 37. Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 236—239,; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 252, 253.

The certain consequence, therefore, of his taking the part of Christianity was the loss not only of all that he possessed, but of all hopes of acquiring more: whereas, by continuing to persecute the Christians, he had hopes, rising almost to a certainty, of making his fortune by the favour of those who were at the head of the Jewish state, to whom nothing could so much recommend him as the zeal which he had shown in that persecution. As to credit or reputation, could the scholar of Gamaliel hope to gain either by becoming a teacher in a college of fishermen! Could he flatter himself that the doctrines which he taught would, either in or out of Judæa, do him honour, when he knew that "they were to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness!" Was it then the love of power that induced him to make this great change? Power! over whom? Over a flock of sheep whom he himself had assisted to destroy, and whose very Shepherd had lately been murdered! Perhaps it was with the view of gratifying some licentious passion, under the authority of the new religion, that he commenced a teacher of that religion! This cannot be alleged; for his writings breathe nothing but the strictest morality, obedience to magistrates, order, and government, with the utmost abhorrence of all licentiousness, idleness, or loose behaviour, under the cloak of religion. We no where find in his works, that saints are above moral ordinances; that dominion is founded in grace; that monarchy is despotism which ought to be abolished; that the fortunes of the rich ought to be divided among the poor; that there is no difference in moral actions; that any impulses of the mind are to direct us against the light of our reason and the laws of nature; or any of those wicked tenets by which the peace of society has been often disturbed, and the rules of morality often broken, by men pretending to act under the sanction of divine revelation. He makes no distinctions, like the impostor of Arabia, in favour of himself: nor does any part of his life, either before or after his conversion to Christianity, bear any mark of a libertine disposition. As among the Jews, so among the Christians, his conversation and manners were blameless. — It has been sometimes objected to the other apostles, by those who were resolved not to credit their testimony, that having been deeply engaged with Jesus during his life, they were obliged, for the support of their own credit, and from having gone too far to return, to continue the same professions after his death; but this can by no means be said of St. Paul. On the contrary, whatever force there may be in such a mode of reasoning, it all tends to convince us, that St. Paul must *naturally* have continued a Jew, and an enemy to Christ Jesus. If *they* were engaged on one side, *he* was as strongly engaged on the other. If shame withheld *them* from changing sides, much more ought it to have stopped *him;* who, from his superior education, must have been vastly more sensible to that kind of shame, than the mean and illiterate fishermen of Galilee. The only other difference was, that *they*, by quitting their master after his death, might have preserved themselves; whereas *he*, by quitting the Jews, and taking up the cross of Christ, certainly brought on his own destruction.

2. As St. Paul was not an impostor, so it is manifest that he was not an enthusiast. Heat of temper, melancholy, ignorance, and vanity, are the ingredients of which enthusiasm is composed; but from all these, except the first, the apostle appears to have been wholly free. That he had great fervour of zeal, both when a Jew and when a Christian, in maintaining what he thought to be right, cannot be denied; but he was at all times so much master of his temper, as, in matters of indifference, to "become all things to all men," with the most pliant condescension, bending his notions and manners to theirs, as far as his duty to God would permit; a conduct compatible neither with the stiffness of a bigot, nor with the violent impulses of fanatical delusion. That he was not melancholy, is evident from his conduct in embracing every method which prudence could suggest to escape danger and shun persecution; when he could do it without betraying the duty of his office or the honour of his God. A melancholy enthusiast courts persecution; and when he cannot obtain it, afflicts himself with absurd penances; but the holiness of St. Paul consisted only in the simplicity of a godly life, and in the unwearied performance of his apostolical duties. That he was ignorant, no man will allege who is not grossly ignorant himself; for he appears to have been master not only of the Jewish learning, but also of the Greek philosophy, and to have been very conversant even with the Greek poets. That he was not credulous, is clear from his having resisted the evidence of all the miracles performed on earth by Christ, as well as those that were afterwards wrought by the apostles; to the fame of which, as he lived at Jerusalem, he could not possibly have been a stranger. And that he was as free from vanity as any man that ever lived, may be gathered from all that we see in his writings, or know of his life. He represents himself as the least of the apostles, and not meet to be called an apostle. He says that he is the chief of sinners; and he prefers, in the strongest terms, universal benevolence to faith, prophecy, miracles, and all the gifts and graces with which he could be endowed. Is this the language of vanity or enthusiasm? Did ever fanatic prefer virtue to his own religious opinions, to illuminations of the spirit, and even to the merit of martyrdom? It is therefore in vain for the enemies of Christianity to attempt to resolve this miraculous conversion of Saint Paul into the effects of enthusiasm. The power of imagination in enthusiastical minds is, unquestionably, very strong; but it always acts in conformity to the opinions imprinted upon it at the time of its working, and can no more act against them than a rapid river can carry a vessel against the current of its own stream. Now, nothing can be more certain than that when Saul departed from Jerusalem for Damascus, armed with authority from the chief priests to bring the Christians, who were there, *bound to Jerusalem, whether they were men or women* (Acts ix. 2.),—an authority solicited by himself and granted to him at his own express desire,—his mind was most strongly possessed with an opinion against Christ and his followers. To give those opinions a more active force, his passions at that time concurred, being inflamed in

the highest degree by the irritating consciousness of his past conduct towards them, the pride of supporting a part in which he had voluntarily engaged and the credit which he found it procured him among the chief priests and rulers, whose commission he bore. If, in such a state and temper of mind, an enthusiastical man had imagined that he saw a vision from heaven, denouncing the anger of God against the Christians, and commanding him to persecute them without any mercy, it might be accounted for by the natural power of enthusiasm. But, that in the very instant of his being engaged in the fiercest and hottest persecution against them,—no circumstance having occurred to change his opinions or alter the bent of his disposition,—he should at once imagine himself called by a heavenly vision to be the apostle of Christ, whom, but a moment before, he deemed an impostor and a blasphemer, that had been justly put to death upon the cross;—this is in itself wholly incredible, and so far from being a probable effect of enthusiasm, that just a contrary effect must have been naturally produced by that cause. But, still further to shew that this vision could not be a phantom of St. Paul's own creating, let it be observed, that he was not alone when he saw it; there were many others in company, whose minds were no better disposed than his to the Christian faith. Could it be possible, that the minds of all these men should be so strangely affected, as to make them believe that they saw *a great light shining about them, above the brightness of the sun at noon-day,* and heard the sound of a voice from heaven though not the words which it spake (Acts xxii. 6. 9.), when in reality they neither saw nor heard any such thing? Could they be so infatuated with the conceit of their own fancies, as to fall down from their horses, together with Saul (Acts xxvi. 14.), and be speechless through fear, when nothing extraordinary had happened either to him or to them; especially considering that this apparition did not appear in the night when the senses are more easily imposed upon, but at *mid-day?* If a sudden frenzy had seized upon Paul, from any distemper of body or mind, can we suppose his whole company,—men of different constitutions and understandings,—to have been at once affected in the same manner with him, so that not the distemper alone, but also the effects of it, would exactly agree? If all had gone mad together, would not the frenzy of some have taken a different turn, and presented to them different objects? This supposition is so contrary to nature and all possibility, that unbelief must find some other solution, or give up the point.

3. Having shewn that Saint Paul was neither an impostor nor an enthusiast, it remains only that we inquire whether he was deceived by the fraud of others? This inquiry, indeed, may be despatched in a very few words. For who was or were to deceive him? A few illiterate fishermen of Galilee. It was *morally* impossible for such men to conceive the thought of turning the most enlightened of their opponents, and the most cruel of their persecutors, into an apostle, and to do this by fraud in the very instant of his greatest fury against them and their Lord. But could they have been so extravagant as to conceive such a thought, it was *physically* impossible for them to

execute it in the manner in which we find his conversion to have been effected. Could they produce a light in the air, which at mid-day was brighter than the sun? Could they make Saul hear words from out of that light, which were not heard by the rest of the company? Could they make him blind for three days after that vision, and then make scales fall off from his eyes, and restore him to sight by a word? Or could they make him and those who travelled with him believe, that all these things had happened, if they had not happened? Most unquestionably no fraud was equal to all this.

Since, then, Saint Paul was neither an impostor nor an enthusiast, nor deceived by the fraud of others, it follows that his conversion was miraculous, and that the Christian religion is a divine revelation.[1]

II. Shortly after his baptism, and the descent of the Holy Spirit upon him, Saul went into Arabia (Gal. i. 17.); and during his residence in that country he was fully instructed, as we may reasonably think, by special revelation, and by diligent study of the Old Testament, in the doctrines and duties of the Gospel. Three years after his conversion he returned to Damascus, A.D. 38. (Gal. i. 18.), and boldly preached the Gospel to the Jews, who rejecting his testimony, as an apostate, conspired to kill him; but, the plot being communicated to Saul, he escaped from Damascus privately by night, and went up to Jerusalem for the first time since his conversion.[2] After some hesitation on the part of the Christians in that city, he was acknowledged to be a disciple: he remained at Jerusalem only fifteen days, during which his boldness in preaching the Gospel so irritated the Hellenistic Jews, that they conspired against him; *which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea-Philippi, and sent him forth to Tarsus.* (Acts ix. 28—30.)

A. D. 39. While Saul was in Cilicia, he had those divine visions and revelations of which he speaks in 2 Cor. xii.; on which occasion *there was given him a thorn in the flesh* (supposed to have been some paralytic affection of the countenance and voice,) *lest he should have been exalted above measure, through the abundance of the revelations.*

In the year 42, Saul, accompanied by Barnabas, proceeded to Antioch, where they taught with great success for one year. (Acts xi. 26.) During their abode in this city, *there came prophets from Jerusalem*, one of whom, named Agabus, *signified by the Spirit that there should be a great dearth throughout the land* of Judæa, *which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar*, commencing in the fourth, but raging chiefly in the fifth and sixth years of that emperor. In order to relieve

[1] See Lord Lyttleton's Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul (from which the above remarks are abridged); — a treatise to which it has been truly said, "infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer." "Lord L. had," says his biographer, "in the pride of juvenile confidence, with the help of corrupt conversation, entertained doubts of the truth of Christianity: but he now," (in his maturer years) "thought the time come, when it was no longer fit to doubt or believe by chance, and applied himself seriously to the great question. *His studies,* BEING HONEST, *ended in conviction.* He found that religion was true." Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p 383. Dr. Graves has some excellent observations on the conduct and writings of St. Paul, in his Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists, pp. 115—124. 184—218., which show that he was in no respect influenced or directed by a spirit of enthusiasm.

[2] Acts ix. 23—25. Gal. i. 17, 18. 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33.

their suffering brethren in Judæa, a collection was made by the Christians at Antioch, each according to his ability; and was sent to the church at Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xi. 27—30.), A. D. 44. The trance or vision mentioned in Acts xxii. 17. is supposed to have taken place during this second visit to Jerusalem.

III. A. D. 44. Having discharged this trust, Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem to Antioch, taking with them Mark the nephew of Barnabas (afterwards the evangelist) as an assistant in their approaching mission to the Gentiles, to which Barnabas and Saul were soon after separated by the solemn and express appointment of the Holy Spirit.

A. D. 45. Being thus sent forth, they departed, with John Mark as their minister, to Seleucia, a sea-port town near the mouth of the Orontes, twelve miles below Antioch, and about five from the sea; whence they sailed to Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas, and preached the word of God at Salamis, the nearest port to Syria, at first in the Jewish synagogues, according to their custom. Thence they crossed to Paphos, the capital of the island, where Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul, resided. This magistrate, being desirous to hear the word of God, sent for the apostles; but Barjesus, a Jewish false prophet and sorcerer, opposed them, and sought to pervert the proconsul from the faith. But Saul, full of the Holy Spirit, struck the sorcerer with blindness, for a season, as a punishment for his wicked interference. This astonishing judgment, confirming the doctrine of the Lord, converted the proconsul to the faith. (Acts xiii. 1—12.) As Saint Luke, who has recorded the labours of the great apostle to the Gentiles, calls him no longer Saul, but Paul, learned men have conjectured that the change was made by Saul himself in honour of the proconsul, who was probably his first convert from among the idolatrous Gentiles, or, perhaps, the first Gentile of high rank who was converted.[1]

A. D. 46. "Paul and his company," sailed from Cyprus to the coast of Asia Minor, and preached at Perga, a city of Pamphylia, situate about twelve miles from the sea. Here Mark separated from them, and returned to Jerusalem. Thence they proceeded to Antioch, the capital of Pisidia, where, notwithstanding the opposition of the Jews, Paul and Barnabas converted great numbers, both of the proselyted and of the idolatrous Gentiles; but, being driven thence by the machinations of the unbelieving Jews, they proceeded to Iconium in Lycaonia. (xiii. 13—52.) Here they converted many to the faith; but, being in danger of being stoned, they proceeded to Lystra, where Paul, working a miracle on a cripple, was at first considered as a god, but was afterwards dragged out of the city, stoned, and left for dead. (xiv. 1—20.) He rose up, however, perfectly

[1] It was customary among the Romans to assume the name of a benefactor whom they highly esteemed. Thus the Jewish historian Josephus took the name of Flavius, in compliment to Vespasian, with whom he was in high favour. This circumstance sufficiently refutes the unfounded assertions of a late reviler of the Scriptures, who, wifully disregarding all positive evidence to the contrary, has asserted that Luke has compiled his narrative from *two* tales!!!

whole; and, quitting Lystra, on the following day, he proceeded to Derbe, and preached the Gospel in Galatia and Phrygia, regions adjoining to Lycaonia, whence Paul and his assistants returned through Lystra and Iconium to Antioch in Pisidia, confirming the new converts in the faith, and *ordaining elders in every church.* Having thus traversed all Pisidia, they retraced their way to Perga in Pamphylia, and, embarking at Attalia, returned to Antioch in Syria, after a circuit of about two years. (xiv. 21—27.)[1]

A. D. 47, 48. During their residence at Antioch, which is supposed to have been full two years, certain persons came from Judæa, and taught that there was no salvation without circumcision and other legal ceremonies. These false teachers Paul and Barnabas withstood; and it was at length agreed to send a deputation to Jerusalem, to obtain the decision of the apostles and elders on this question. For this purpose Paul and Barnabas were deputed: and, travelling through Phœnice and Samaria, they arrived at Jerusalem A. D. 49, where it was decreed that the proselyted Gentiles were not obliged to observe the law of Moses as a term or condition of salvation. (Acts xv. 1—29.) After the council of Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch, and made some stay there, probably during the remainder of the year 49, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many assistants. (30—35.)

About the beginning of the year 50, Paul proposed to Barnabas to take another circuit throughout the churches they had planted in Asia Minor. But Barnabas being desirous of having his nephew Mark for their minister, Paul objected to him who had deserted them in their former journey to Pamphylia. (xiii. 13.) A sharp contention arose, which terminated in their separation; and Barnabas sailed with Mark to Cyprus, to visit the churches which had been planted there by Paul himself; while Paul, choosing Silas for his companion, departed from Antioch with the approbation of the church. Passing through Syria and Cilicia, they confirmed the churches in those countries; and thence proceeded to Derbe and Lystra in Lycaonia, to preach the Gospel a second time to the Gentiles, and to publish the decrees of the apostolic council of Jerusalem. At Lystra Paul took Timothy as his assistant; and departing thence with Silas, they went through Phrygia and Galatia, publishing every where the decrees. (Acts xv. 35—41. xvi. 1—6.) Being forbidden by the Holy Spirit to preach the Gospel in Asia, strictly so called, they arrived at Mysia; and being in like manner forbidden to proceed to Bithynia, they passed by the Lesser Mysia (which separated Bithynia from the region of Troas), and came to the city and port of Troas. Here they were joined by the evangelist Luke. (xvi. 7, 8.)

A. D. 50. While they were at Troas, Paul and his assistants were called to preach the Gospel in Macedonia by a vision that appeared to Paul during the night. In obedience to the heavenly monition,

[1] Bishop Pearson allots three years for these journies of the apostles, viz. 45, 46, and 47, and something more. But Calmet, Tillemont, Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, and Dr. Hales, allow two years for this purpose, viz. 45, and 46, as above stated; which period corresponds with our Bible chronology.

they sailed directly from Troas to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis, and thence to Philippi, *a city of Macedonia Prima, and a* Roman *colony.*[1] Here Paul converted Lydia, and dispossessed a damsel who had a spirit of divination, for which last transaction Paul and Silas were beaten with rods and imprisoned; but, being liberated (Acts xvi. 9—40.), they passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica. Here he preached in the synagogue, and some believed while others persecuted him. Being obliged to quit that city, Paul and his assistants went to Berœa, where they preached with great success; but the unbelieving Jews, coming from Thessalonica, stirred up the people against them. Paul, therefore, leaving Silas and Timothy at Berœa, departed to Athens; where he disputed daily in the synagogue with the Jews, and in the market-place with the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers. These men conducted him before the supreme court of Areopagus for trial, on the capital charge of being "a setter forth of strange demons." Before this tribunal, composed of senators, philosopers, rhetoricians, and statesmen, Saint Paul delivered his most eloquent and masterly apology; in which, while he retorted the charge of his accusers, he instructed the people, to whom he preached the living God, to them unknown.[2] Although many of his hearers ridiculed the sublime doctrines which he taught, particularly that of the resurrection, yet some of his audience were better disposed, and desirous of further information; and one among his judges was converted, together with Damaris, a woman of some rank, besides others of inferior note. (Acts xvii.)

A. D. 51—53. From Athens, Saint Paul proceeded to Corinth, the capital of Achaia, and distinguished for the number, quality, opulence, and learning of its inhabitants, and for the celebrated games solemnised on its isthmus, which (as well as the gymnastic exercises for which Tarsus was eminent) have furnished the apostle with very numerous and elegant allusions and phrases. At Corinth he tarried a year and six months, i. e. the latter part of the year 51, the whole of 52, and the early part of 53. His principal associates in the ministry, besides Timothy and Silas, who came to him from Thessalonica, were Aquila, a Jew of Pontus, and his wife Priscilla, who had lately come thither from Rome, whence the emperor Claudius had banished all the Jews on account of their turbulence, and with whom he worked at their common trade of tent-makers for his livelihood. From this city he wrote his two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and perhaps also that to the Galatians. The success of Saint Paul, in preaching the Gospel at Corinth and in Peloponnesus, so irritated the unbelieving Jews, that they dragged him before Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia; who, prudently refusing to interfere in religious opinions that were not detrimental to the state, drove them from his tribunal. (xviii. 1—17.) After continuing some further time at Corinth, Saint Paul embarked at Cenchrea, the eastern port of Corinth, for Ephesus, where he left Aquila and Priscilla, and proceeded thence

[1] That this is the proper rendering of Acts xvi. 11., see Vol. I. p. 213.

[2] See some observations on this Discourse of Saint Paul, in § VIII. pp. 348—350. *infra.*

to Cæsarea and Jerusalem: from which latter city he returned to Antioch. (18—22.)

IV. A. D. 54—56. After some stay at Antioch, Saint Paul visited the churches of Galatia and Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, where he found Aquila and Priscilla (Acts xviii. 24—28.), and conferred the Holy Spirit on twelve of John the Baptist's disciples. Saint Paul, as usual, preached first in the synagogues, but, being opposed by the Jews, he afterwards taught in the school of one Tyrannus with great success, and wrought numerous miracles. (xix. 1—20.) During this residence, probably about the beginning of the year 56, Saint Paul received a letter from the Corinthians, to whom he wrote his first Epistle. But being assaulted by Demetrius, a silversmith, and others of his profession, who were employed in making silver shrines in which images of Diana were to be inclosed, and were apprehensive that their trade would suffer from his preaching, Saint Paul quitted that city, where he had gathered a numerous church. (Acts xix. 21—41. xx. 1.)

A. D. 56. On his departure from Ephesus, Saint Paul went first to Troas, expecting to meet Titus on his return from Corinth. (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.) Here he preached a short time with great success, and then proceeded to Macedonia, where he received the collections of the Macedonian Christians, for their poor brethren in Judæa.

A. D. 57. In his progress from Macedonia into Greece, he is supposed to have preached the Gospel on the confines of Illyricum, as mentioned in Rom. xv. 19. Saint Paul continued three months in Greece, principally, it is supposed, at Corinth (whence he wrote his Epistle to the Romans); and having received the money which the churches had collected for the poor Christians in Judæa, he sailed from Philippi[1] to Troas, and thence to Miletus, whither the elders of the Ephesian church had come to meet him by his appointment, to whom Saint Paul gave a most affecting farewell charge. (Acts xx.)

A. D. 58. From Miletus, Paul and his company sailed directly to Cos, next to Rhodes, and thence to Patara; here, finding a vessel bound to Phœnicia, they embarked, and leaving Cyprus on their left, they landed at Tyre. After waiting seven days, they sailed to Ptolemais, from which port they went on foot to Cæsarea, where they lodged with Philip the evangelist. During their stay here for several days, the prophet Agabus foretold the imprisonment of Paul, who, persisting in his determination to go to Jerusalem, was at length permitted to depart: he accordingly arrived there, for the fifth time, just before the feast of Pentecost, A. D. 58, and was gladly received by the brethren. (xxi. 1—18.)

V. A. D. 58. The day after their arrival at Jerusalem, Paul and his assistants related to James and the elders of the church "what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry, and when they heard it they glorified the Lord." Shortly after this, some Asiatic Jews, probably from Ephesus, seeing Paul in the temple, whither he had gone to assist some of the brethren to discharge a

[1] While St. Paul was in Macedonia, he wrote his second Epistle to the Corinthians.

vow of Nazariteship, excited the multitude to kill the apostle, who was with difficulty rescued from their fury by Lysias, the chief captain or tribune of the temple guard. On the following morning, Paul was conducted before the council, when he declared himself to be a Pharisee. A contest having arisen between the Pharisees and Sadducees, members of the sanhedrin, Lysias, being apprehensive for Paul's safety, commanded the soldiers to rescue him, and directed the council to accuse him before Felix, the procurator at Cæsarea. (Acts xxii.—xxiii.) Five days after, Ananias, the high priest, accompanied by the elders and by a certain orator named Tertullus, proceeded to that city, and accused him to Felix of sedition, heresy, and profanation of the temple. These charges were denied by Saint Paul, who gave an account of his faith; but the governor, though convinced of his innocence, being unwilling to displease the Jews, and also hoping that Paul would have given money to be liberated, ordered the apostle to be kept in easy confinement, and allowed his friends to visit him. A few days after this transaction, Felix, at the request of his wife Drusilla, sent for Paul, who gave them an account of his faith in Christ, and reasoned so forcibly concerning righteousness, chastity, and a judgment to come, that the profligate governor's conscience was alarmed.[1] "Felix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee." That season, however, never came; and Felix, two years afterwards, when recalled from his government, left Paul in prison in order to gratify the Jews. (Acts xxiv.)

A. D. 60. Felix was succeeded in the government of Judæa by Festus, who sat in judgment on Saint Paul, and having heard the accusations of the Jews against him, and his defence, proposed a new trial at Jerusalem in order to ingratiate himself with the Jews. But this was declined by Paul, who appealed to the emperor. Shortly after this, Agrippa king of Chalcis, and his sister Bernice, having come to Cæsarea to congratulate Festus, the latter communicated Paul's case to him, and brought the apostle forth to plead his cause before Agrippa. Accordingly the apostle vindicated himself in so masterly a manner, as to extort an acknowledgment of his innocence from Agrippa himself (Acts xxv. xxvi.); but, having appealed to the emperor, it became necessary to send him to Rome, where he at length arrived in the spring of the year 61, after a very tempestuous passage, the particulars of which are related in Acts xxvii. and xxviii. 1—16. Here he was permitted to reside in his own hired house, with the soldier to whose custody he was committed. On the third day after his arrival, he sent for the chief of the unbelieving Jews, to whom he explained the cause of his imprisonment, though with little success; and afterwards, during the two years of his confinement (from the spring of A. D. 61, to the early part of 63), he received all that came to his house, preaching the Gospel without any impediment whatever. (Acts xxviii. 17—31.) During this first visit to

[1] With what admirable propriety St. Paul suited his address to the characters of Felix and Drusilla, see Vol. III. Part II. Chap. II. Sect. II. § IV. p. 111. and pp. 350, 351. *infra*.

Rome, Saint Paul wrote his Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon.

VI. As Saint Luke has not continued Saint Paul's history beyond his first imprisonment at Rome, we have no authentic record of his subsequent travels and labours from the spring of A. D. 63, when he was released[1], to the time of his martyrdom. But, from the intimations contained in the Epistles which he wrote from Rome during his first confinement, some learned men have conjectured that he sailed from Italy to Judæa, accompanied by Timothy and Titus; and leaving Titus in Crete (Tit. i. 5.), he proceeded thence with Timothy to Judæa, and visited the churches in that country, to which he had lately sent from Italy (perhaps from Rome) the Epistle which is now inscribed *to the Hebrews*. Having visited the churches in Syria, Cilicia, and Asia Minor, Paul and Timothy continued some time at Colosse; and leaving Timothy at Ephesus, Paul proceeded to Macedonia, visiting the churches. From this country he wrote his Epistle to Titus, and also his first Epistle to Timothy. Having also visited the churches of Greece, and probably that of Corinth for the second time, Saint Paul passed the winter of 64 at Nicopolis, a city of Epirus; thence he proceeded to Crete, and perhaps to Corinth for the *third* time[2]; and early in 65 arrived at Rome, where his active exertions in preaching the Gospel caused him to be imprisoned a second time. How long Paul continued in prison at this time, we know not; but from the circumstance of his being brought twice before the emperor Nero or his prefect, Dr. Macknight thinks it probable that he was confined a year or more before he was put to death. As the Neronian persecution of the Christians raged greatly during this second visit to Rome, Paul, knowing the time of his departure to be at hand, wrote his second epistle to Timothy; from which we learn, that, though the apostle's assistants, terrified with the danger, forsook him and fled, yet he was not altogether destitute of consolation; for the brethren of Rome came to him privately, and ministered to him. (2 Tim. iv. 12. 21.) Concerning the precise manner of Saint Paul's death, we have no certain information, but, according to primitive tradition, he was beheaded on the 29th of June A. D. 66, at *Aquæ Salviæ*, three miles from Rome, and interred in the *Via Ostensis*, at a spot two miles from the city, where Constantine the Great afterwards erected a church to his memory. "But his noblest monument subsists in his immortal writings; which, the more they are studied, and the better they are understood, the more they will be admired to the latest posterity for the most sublime and beautiful, the most pathetic and impressive, the most learned and profound specimens of Christian piety, oratory, and philosophy."[3]

[1] It is not known by what means St. Paul was delivered from prison. Calmet conjectures, with great probability, that the Jews durst not prosecute him before the emperor.

[2] Such is the supposition of Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 37.

[3] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1155—1254. Dr. Lardner, Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 234—301.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 251—284., whose dates have chiefly been followed. Dr. Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 144—290. vol. ii. *passim*. Pritii, Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 246—268. Dr. Macknight's Life of the Apostle Paul, annexed to the fourth volume (4to.), or the sixth volume (8vo.), of his translation of the Epistles.

VII. Such were the life and labours of "Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ," which have justly been considered as an irrefragable proof of the truth of the Christian revelation. How indefatigably he exerted himself to make known the glad tidings of salvation, the preceding brief sketch will sufficiently evince. "We see him in the prosecution of his purpose, travelling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beaten, stoned, left for dead: expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment and the same dangers; yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next, spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety; persisting in this course to old age (through more than thirty years); unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labour, persecutions; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death."[1]

But this great luminary of the Christian church did not confine his labours to the preaching of the Gospel. He wrote fourteen Epistles, in which the various doctrines and duties of Christianity are explained, and inculcated with peculiar sublimity and force of language; at the same time that they exhibit the character of their great author in a most amiable and endearing point of view. His faith was a practical principle, influencing all the powers and faculties of the soul; his morality was of the purest and most exalted kind. He "derives all duties from the love of God in Christ as their foundation. All the motives to right action, all the arguments for holiness of life, are drawn from this source; all the lines of duty converge to this centre. If Paul censures, he points to this only spring of hope; if he laments, he turns to this only true source of consolation; if he insists that the *grace of God hath appeared*, he points to its practical object, *teaching us to live soberly, righteously, and godly*. When he determines to know nothing but his Saviour, and even him under the degrading circumstances of crucifixion, he includes in that knowledge all the religious and moral benefits of which it is susceptible."[2] Integrity, tenderness of heart, disinterestedness, heavenly-mindedness, profound knowledge of human nature, and delicacy in giving advice or reproof, are the leading characteristics of Saint Paul's writings; in which, while he every where maintains the utmost respect for constituted authorities, he urges and unfolds the various social and relative duties in the most engaging and impressive manner.

VIII. "All the writings of Saint Paul bespeak him to have been a man of a most exalted genius, and the strongest abilities. His composition is peculiarly nervous and animated. He possessed a fervid

[1] Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, p. 379. See also some valuable remarks on the character of Saint Paul in Dr. Ranken's Institutes of Theology, pp. 391—395.

[2] Mrs. More's Essay on St. Paul, vol. i. p. 109., to which the reader is referred for an ample and beautiful account of the character and writings of that illustrious apostle. On the subject of his "preaching Christ crucified," the reader will find some instructive remarks in pp. 44—51. of Mr. Wilks's able vindication of missionary exertions, intitled "Christian Missions an Enlightened Species of Christian Charity." 8vo. London, 1819.

conception, a glowing but chastised fancy, a quick apprehension, and an immensely ample and liberal heart. Inheriting from nature distinguished powers, he carried the culture and improvement of them to the most exalted height to which human learning could push them. He was an excellent scholar, an acute reasoner, a great orator, a most instructive and spirited writer. Longinus, a person of the finest taste, and justest discernment in criticism and polite literature, classes the Apostle Paul among the most celebrated[1] orators of Greece. His speeches in the Acts of the Apostles are worthy the Roman senate. They breathe a most generous fire and fervour, are animated with a divine spirit of liberty and truth, abound with instances of as fine address as any of the most celebrated orations of Demosthenes or Cicero can boast; and his answers, when at the bar, to the questions proposed to him by the court, have a politeness and a greatness, which nothing in antiquity hardly ever equalled."[2] At the same time, this great preacher adapted his discourses to the capacities of his respective audiences, with an astonishing degree of propriety and ability, as is evident from the difference of his reasoning with the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, with the Gentles at Lystra, with the polished Athenians, and with Felix the Roman governor, as also from the handsome apology which he makes for himself before king Agrippa.

1. As the Jews had the Old Testament in their hands, and (it is well known) at this time expected a deliverer, from their study of the prophetic writings, Paul takes occasion in his discourse to them (Acts xiii. 13—42.) to illustrate the divine economy in opening the Gospel gradually, and preparing the Jews by temporal mercies, for others of a yet more important nature. This afforded him a very handsome and unaffected opportunity of showing his acquaintance with their Scriptures, which they esteemed the highest part of literature, and object of science. His quotations are singularly apposite, and the whole of his discourse (one would think) must have carried conviction to their minds. The result is well known; though a few embraced the despised Gospel of Christ, the majority rejected the benevolent counsel of God towards them.

2. With the idolatrous Lycaonians at Lystra (who were little better than barbarians, like most of the inland nations of Asia Minor), the great apostle of the Gentiles pursued a different course. (Compare Acts xiv. 6—22.) Such persons are apt to be struck and affected more with signs and wonders, than with arguments; he, therefore, at his first preaching among them, very seasonably and fitly confirmed his doctrine, by a signal miracle in healing a man who had been a cripple from his birth. And when Paul and his fellow-labourer Barnabas had with difficulty restrained the people of Lystra from offering sacrifice to them as deities, who (agreeably to the fables believed among the antient heathen), they supposed, had appeared *in the likeness of men*, their discourse is admirably adapted to the capacity of their auditors. They derive their arguments from

[1] Longinus, p. 268. Pearce, 8vo.
[2] Harwood's Introduction, vol. i. p. 199.

no higher source than natural religion, and insist only upon the plain and obvious topics of creation and providence. The works of creation are a demonstration of the being of a God, *the living God who made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things that are therein. In times past he suffered all nations,* all the heathens, *to walk in their own ways,* without any particular revelation of himself like that which he made to the people of Israel. But yet his general providence afforded ample proofs of his power and goodness: *nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.* These arguments are as forcible as they are plain and obvious to the meanest capacity; He is the creator and preserver of us and of all things, he is the author and giver of all the good that we enjoy, and he therefore is the only proper and adequate object of our worship. The people were so transported, that *with these sayings scarce restrained they them that they had not done sacrifice unto them.* But such is the fickleness and uncertainty of the multitude, that him whom they were now for worshipping as a god, soon after, at the instigation of certain Jews, they suffered to be *stoned, and drawn out of the city, supposing he had been dead.* The apostles, however, had sown some good seed among them; for we read that within a little time they *returned again to Lystra, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith.*

3. Our apostle's conduct and behaviour among the learned and polite Athenians (Acts xvii. 16—34.) we shall find to be somewhat different from what it was to the rude and illiterate Lycaonians, but both of equal fitness and propriety. He did not open his commission at Athens in the same manner as at Lystra, by working a miracle. There were, doubtless, several cripples at Athens (for it is well known that such cases abounded in that climate); but it does not appear that any of them had the good disposition of the cripple at Lystra, or *faith to be healed.* Besides, the Greeks did not so much *require a sign* (1 Cor. i. 22.) as *seek after wisdom.* Accordingly we find the apostle *disputing* not only *in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons* (Jewish proselytes), but also in the forum or *market-place, daily with them that met with him.* Here he encountered *certain phslosophers of the Epicurean and Stoic* sects; some of whom treated him as a *babbler,* while others regarded him as a *setter forth of strange gods,* and, consequently, a violator of the laws of Athens, *because he preached unto them Jesus and the Resurrection.* At length they conducted him to the Areopagus (or Mars'-hill), the seat of the highest court of judicature in that city for matters concerning religion, and also the place of greatest resort: and with that curiosity and thirst of news, for which (it is well known) the Athenians were at that time notorious [1], they requested him to give them an account of his new doctrine. What a glorious scene was here for the manifestation of the truth before such a promiscuous and numerous assembly of citizens and strangers, of philosophers of all sects, and people of all

[1] See this character of the Athenians illustrated, in Vol. I. p. 184.

conditions; and with what exquisite skill and contrivance is every part and member of his discourse so framed and accommodated, as to obviate some principal error and prejudice in some party or other of his hearers! Most of the false notions, both of their vulgar and philosophical religion, are here exposed and refuted. If there was nothing else remaining, yet this sufficiently testifies how great a master he was in the learning of the Greeks. Most of the fundamental truths, both of natural and revealed religion, are here opened and explained; and all within the compass of a very few verses. From an altar with an inscription *to the unknown God*, (and that there were altars at Athens with such an inscription, we have the attestation of several antient heathen authors,) he takes occasion to reprove them for their great plurality of gods, and *him whom they ignorantly worshipped to declare unto them.* It might be contrary to the laws of Athens for any one to recommend and introduce a new or strange god; but he could not well be subject to the penalty of the law only for declaring him whom they already worshipped without knowing him. The opportunity was fair, and he improves it to the greatest advantage. He branches out his discourse into several particulars. —That *God made the world and all things therein:* which proposition, though agreeable enough to the general belief and opinion, was yet directly contrary both to the Epicureans, and to the Peripatetics; the former of whom attributed the formation of the world to the fortuitous concourse of atoms without any intervention of the Deity, and the latter maintained that the world was not created at all, and that all things had continued as they now are from all eternity. — *That seeing he is Lord of heaven and earth, he dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life and breath and all things:* which was levelled not so much against the philosophers as against the popular religion of Athens; for the philosophers seldom or never sacrificed, unless in compliance with the custom of their country, and even the Epicureans themselves admitted the self-sufficiency of the Deity: but the people believed very absurdly that there were local gods, that the Deity, notwithstanding his immensity, might be confined within temples, and notwithstanding his all-sufficiency was fed with the fat and fumes of sacrifices, as if he could really stand in need of any sustenance, who *giveth to all life and breath and all things.* — That *he hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation:* which was not only opposed to the Epicureans, who derived the beginning of the human race from the mere effects of matter and motion, and to the Peripatetics or Aristotelians, who denied mankind to have any beginning at all, having subsisted in eternal successions; but was, moreover, opposed to the general pride and conceit of the people of Athens, who boasted themselves to be Aborigines, to be descended from none other stock or race of men, but to be themselves originals and natives of their own country. — That *they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us; for in him*

we live, and move, and have our being: which fundamental truth, with the greatest propriety and elegance, he confirms by a quotation from one of their own poets, Aratus, the Cilician [1], his own countryman, who lived above three hundred years before, and in whose astronomical poem this hemistich is still extant. *As certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.* An evident proof that he knew how to illustrate divinity with the graces of classical learning, and was no stranger to a taste and politeness worthy of an Attic audience. — That *forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device:* which was plainly pointed at the gross idolatry of the lower people, who thought the very idols themselves to be gods, and terminated their worship in them. — That *the times of this ignorance God winked at* or overlooked; as he said before to the people of Lystra, *In former times God suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; but now commandeth all men every where to repent:* which doctrine of the necessity of repentance must have been very mortifying to the pride and vanity of the philosophers, and especially of the Stoics, whose wise man was equal if not superior to God himself. — *Because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead:* till now they had heard him with silence and attention, because though every period of his discourse glanced at some of his hearers, yet it coincided with the notions of others, and he had not before touched and offended them altogether: but *when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked,* (the Epicureans, and the men of wit and pleasure,) *and others said,* (the Platonists, and the graver sort of his audience,) *We will hear thee again of this matter,* putting it off to a more convenient season. *So Paul departed from among them,* leaving them as they deserved to themselves. *Howbeit certain men clave unto him, and believed* (a diminutive expression to signify that he made but very few converts); *among whom* the principal *were Dionysius the Areopagite* (who is said to have been afterwards constituted the first bishop of Athens), *and a woman* of rank *named Damaris.*

4. In St. Paul's discourse to Felix (Acts xxiv.), he had for his hearer a Roman governor, who was remarkable for his lust, and injustice; — a man, who was very unlikely to bear, much less to reform by, a pointed reproof from his own prisoner. This, then, was a case, which required great art as well as great courage; and accordingly we find our apostle mingled *the wisdom of the serpent* with *the innocence of the dove.* He had honesty enough, to rebuke the sins; and yet prudence enough, not to offend the sinner. He had the courage to put even his judge in mind of his crimes; yet with so much address, as not to offend his person, — an example, the most worthy of our imitation; as it would greatly contribute to make the bitter potion of reproof, if not palatable, at least salutary and successful.

[1] Bp. Barrington conjectures that this quotation was taken from the celebrated Hymn of Cleanthes, in which the words spoken by Saint Paul are also to be found. See Mr. Townsend's New Test. arranged in Chronological Order, &c. vol. ii. p. 249.

How artfully, then, does Saint Paul insinuate himself into the soul of this great sinner, and shake his conscience at the remembrance of his vices! — not by denouncing vengeance against him, for his lust and injustice; but by placing in the strongest point of light the opposite virtues, — showing their reasonableness in themselves, and their rewards at the day of judgment. For *he reasoned*, — not of unrighteousness, — not of incontinence, — but of *righteousness* and *chastity;* — and by holding forth a beautiful picture of these necessary virtues, he left it to Felix to form the contrast, and to infer the blackness of his own vices. A masterly stroke! and it effectually succeeded: for, as *the prisoner spake, — the judge trembled.*

5. The last instance, which we shall notice of this apostle's fine address and politeness, is to be found in his celebrated reply to king Agrippa, who publicly declared to him that he had almost persuaded him to be a Christian. *Would to God that not only* THOU, *but also* ALL *that hear me this day, were both* ALMOST, *and* ALTOGETHER, *such as I am,* — EXCEPT THESE BONDS. (Acts xxvi. 29.) What a prodigious effect must this striking conclusion, and the sight of the irons held up to enforce it, make upon the minds of the audience! To his singular attainments in learning the Roman governor publicly bore an honourable testimony, imagining that the intenseness of his application to his studies, and his profound erudition, had disordered his understanding, and occasioned his supposed insanity.

The writings of Paul show him to have been eminently acquainted with Greek learning and Hebrew literature. "He greatly excelled in the profound and accurate knowledge of the Old Testament, which he perpetually cites and explains with great skill and judgment, and pertinently accommodates to the subject which he is discussing. Born at Tarsus, one of the most illustrious seats of the muses in those days, initiated in that city into the learning and philosophy of the Greeks, conversing, in early life, with their most elegant and celebrated writers, whom we find him quoting [1], and afterwards

[1] It is universally acknowledged that Paul had read the Greek poets, and has quoted Aratus, Epimenides, and Menander; though it is scarcely suspected by any one, that he quotes or refers to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. There is, however, (Dr. A. Clarke observes,) such a similarity between the following quotations and the apostle's words, that we are almost persuaded that they were present to his comprehensive mind; and if they were, he extends the thought infinitely higher, by language incomparably more exalted.

1 Tim. vi. 25. Ὁ μακαριος και μονος Δυνασ῎ης, ὁ Βασιλευς των βασιλευοντων, και Κυριος των κυριευοντων. The blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.

The Supreme Being is also styled the King of kings, and the Blessed, by Æschylus in his tragedy of the *Supplicants:*

Αναξ ανακτων, μακαρων
Μακαρτατε, και τελεων
Τελειοτατον κρατος. Ver. 520. Ed. Porson.

"O King of kings, most Blessed of the blessed, most Perfect of the perfect."

1 Tim. vi. 16. Ὁ μονος εχων ἀθανασιαν, φως οικων απροσιτον. — Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can come unto.

In the Antigone of Sophocles, there is a sublime address to Jove, of which the following is an extract:

Αγηρως χρονῳ Δυνασ῎ας
Κατεχεις Ολυμπου
Μαρμαροεσσαν αιγλαν. Ver. 608. Edit. Brunck.

"But thou, an ever-during potentate, dost inhabit the refulgent splendour of Olympus!"

finishing his course of education at the feet of Gamaliel, the learned Jewish rabbi, he came forth into public and active life, with a mind stored with the most ample and various treasures of science and knowledge. He himself tells us, that the distinguished progress which he had made was known to all the Jews, and that in this literary career he left all his co-equals and contemporaries far behind him. *I profited in the Jewish religion above my fellows.* A person possessed of natural abilities so signal, of literary acquisitions so extensive, of an activity and spirit so enterprising, and of an integrity and probity so inviolate, the wisdom of God judged a fit instrument to employ in displaying the banners and spreading the triumphs of Christianity among mankind. A negligent greatness, if we may so express it, appears in his writings. Full of the dignity of his subject, a torrent of sacred eloquence bursts forth, and bears down every thing before it with irresistible rapidity. He stays not to arrange and harmonise his words and periods, but rushes on, as his vast ideas transport him, borne away by the sublimity of his theme. Hence his frequent and prolix digressions, though at the same time his all-comprehensive mind never loses sight of his subject; but he returns from these excursions, resumes and pursues it with an ardour and strength of reasoning that astonishes and convinces."[1] What a treasure of divinity and morality is contained in his epistles! which, "as examples of a nervous, invigorating, commanding style, have seldom been equalled, never excelled. The instructions they contain are delivered with a simple gravity and concinnity that commands the attention, and is as much superior to the high-wought ornaments of professed rhetoricians as the native uncut diamond, to the furbished, glittering paste. Yet are they not deficient in those beauties which captivate the refined taste. Although professedly didactic, there are few pieces of composition that afford a richer variety of appropriate figure. There is scarcely a species of trope that has been noticed by rhetoricians that may not be found in one part or other of these books, and always in an apposite situation.

"This passage," says Dr. Clarke, "is grand and noble; but how insignificant does it appear, when contrasted with the superior sublimity of the inspired writer! The deity of Sophocles dwells in the dazzling splendour of heaven; but the God of Paul inhabits light, so dazzling and so resplendent, that it is perfectly unapproachable!"

Once more, in 2 Tim. iv. 7. we read, *Τον αγωνα τον καλον ηγωνισμαι, τον δρομον τετελεκα.* I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course.

There is a passage in the *Alcestis* of *Euripides*, in which the very expressions used here by the apostle are found, and spoken on the occasion of a wife laying down her life for her husband, when both his parents had refused to do it.

Ουκ ηθελησας ουδ' ετολμησας θανειν
Του σου προ παιδος· αλλα την δ' ειασατε
Γυναικ' οθνειαν, ην εγω και μητερα
Πατερα τε γ' ενδικως αν εγοιμην μονην·
Και τοι καλον γ' αν τουδ' αγων ηγωνισω,
Του σου προ παιδος καταθανων. *Alcest.* v. 644.

"Thou wouldest not, neither darest thou to die for thy son; but hast suffered this strange woman to do it, whom I justly esteem to be alone my father and mother: thou wouldest *have fought a good fight* had'st thou died for thy son."

The *καλον αγων, good fight*, was used among the Greeks to express a contest of the *most honourable kind*; and in this sense the apostle uses it. (Dr. A. Clarke, on 1 Tim. vi. 16., and on 2 Tim. iv. 8.)

[1] Harwood's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 200. 202.

"Nor are there wanting instances of a strength of figure only to be equalled by the importance of the sentiment expressed. As such, the description of the powerful efficacy of the promises and threats of God may be produced. 'The word of God is living and energetic, and more cutting than any two-edged sword, dividing even to the separation of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.' Again, when the apostle expresses his desire to be useful even to the death, to his converts; how noble and appropriate to men accustomed to the sacrificial rites is his expression! 'Yea, and if I be poured out as a libation (σπενδομαι) upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.' And how full of affection and exultation is his figurative appellation of the Philippians; 'My brethren, beloved and longed for, my joy and my crown!'" Is there any thing in any of the heathen moralists comparable to that fine description of charity in the thirteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians? *Speaking with the tongues of men and of angels* is nothing in comparison of charity; and *the tongues of men and of angels* can never exceed this description. All the powers of logic and rhetoric are to be seen and felt in the fifteenth chapter of the same epistle; and what affecting solemnity does it add to that most solemn service of our liturgy, *the burial of the dead!* But it is not in the use of figures only that the excellence of the apostle's style consists. For appropriate diction he is unrivalled, and occasionally he rises into a sublimity of expression that carries his readers above themselves, and, while it astonishes, convinces or persuades with a delightful violence. When he undertakes to describe the goodness of our Maker in providing for us the means of salvation, the reader is transported with gratitude, and overwhelmed with self-abasement. When he exultingly depicts the excellences of the Gospel dispensation, he commands the enraptured mind, and we are 'lost in wonder, love, and praise!' When he concisely describes his sufferings, the constancy, the joyous triumphing in the midst of tortures, of the primitive propagators of Christianity, we acquire a new idea of the human mind; we are tempted to imagine the persons he speaks of to be superior beings, and to render them our humble adoration, till recalled by the assurance that it is by the might of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, that these heroic men so nobly won their heavenly crown. When we read his exulting and fervent expressions of delight in the Gospel, and thankfulness for the glorious office of an apostle, how do we feel our hearts burn within us at being permitted by the good providence of God to participate in the privileges so admirably extolled by the great apostle of the Gentiles.

"Occasionally, too, the student of the epistles is at once astonished and delighted by a fervency of language unexampled in any other writer. Words of the most intense signification are accumulated, and, by their very strength, are made to express their weakness when compared with the inexpressible greatness of their object. Our language cannot express the force of καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν

αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης (2 Cor. iv. 17.), which is but faintly shadowed forth in the translation of an eminent critic, 'an excessively exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' Numerous, and some, if possible, still more striking examples occur, but cannot be adequately displayed in any, even the best translation. Even the ordinary grammatical compounds are not sufficient for the glowing ideas of the apostle. Thus, wishing to express his own utter worthlessness considered in himself, he makes use of a comparative, found only in the most exalted sentences of the classic authors: εμοι τῳ ελαχιστοτερῳ, not unaptly rendered by our translators 'less than the least.'"[1]

Another excellence in Saint Paul's writings is presented to our notice in the admirable art with which he interests the passions, and engages the affections of his hearers. Under the present depravity of human nature, our reason being enfeebled, and our passions consequently grown powerful, it must be of great service to engage these in the cause we would serve; and, therefore, his constant endeavour was, — not only to convince the reason of his hearers, but to alarm and interest their passions. And, as hope and fear are (with the bulk of mankind) the main-springs of human action, to these he addressed himself most effectually, — not by cold speculation upon abstract fitnesses, but by the awful assurances of a resurrection of the dead to an eternity of happiness or misery. With respect to the latter, who can hear without trembling, that, — *the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on the ungodly; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power!* And the happiness of heaven he describes by words so strong, as to baffle the expression of all language but his own, — by *a weight of glory infinite and eternal beyond all hyperbole* or conception.

Thus the apostle secured the passions of those to whom he directed his epistles: and he equally engaged their affections by his endearing manner of address. Has he occasion to introduce any subject, which he is afraid will prejudice and disgust his bigoted countrymen the Jews? He announces it with an humility and modesty that secures the attention, and with an insinuating form of address to which nothing can be denied. "This appears particularly in his Epistle to the Romans, where we see with what reluctance and heartfelt grief he mentions the ungrateful truth of the Jews' rejection of the Messiah, and their dereliction by God for their insuperable obstinacy. How studious is he to provoke them to jealousy and emulation by the example of the Gentiles, and how many persuasive and cogent arts and arguments does he employ to win them over to the religion of Jesus! In these delicate touches, in these fine arts of moral suasion, Saint Paul greatly excels.[2] Upon occasion, also, we find him employing the most keen and cutting raillery in satirising the faults and foibles of those to whom he wrote.

[1] Gospel Advocate, vol. iv. p. 364. (Boston, Massachussetts, 1824.)

[2] See an instance in his epistle to Philemon, which is particularly illustrated in Sect. XV. §§ III. V. *infra.*

With what sarcastic pleasantry does he animadvert upon the Corinthians for their injudicious folly, in suffering themselves to be duped by a false judaising teacher! A more delicate and poignant instance of irony, than the following passage, is perhaps no where to be met with: — *What is it*, says he to the Corinthians, *wherein you were inferior to other churches, except that I myself was not burthensome to you* (by taking any acknowledgment for my labours)? do *forgive me this wrong.* (2 Cor. xii. 13.) — To his eloquence, as a public speaker, we have the testimony of the Lycaonians, who (as we have already remarked [1]) foolishly imagining the gods to have descended from heaven among them in the persons of Barnabas and Paul, called the former Jupiter, and the latter Mercury, because he was the chief speaker. And though it is said his *bodily presence was mean, and his speech contemptible*, yet it ought to be remembered, that this was the aspersion of his enemies, the effusion of malignity, to defame and sink him, and ruin his usefulness."[2]

SECTION II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE APOSTOLICAL EPISTLES IN GENERAL, AND THOSE OF SAINT PAUL IN PARTICULAR.

I. *Importance of the Epistles.* — *Nature of these Writings.* — II. *Number and Order of the Epistles, particularly those of Paul.* — III. *Of the Catholic Epistles, and their Order.* — IV. *General Plan of the Apostolic Epistles.* — V. *Causes of their Obscurity considered and explained.* — *Observations on the Phraseology of Paul in particular.*

I. THE EPISTLES, or letters addressed to various Christian communities, and also to individuals, by the apostles Paul, James, Peter, John, and Jude, form the second principal division of the New Testament. These writings abundantly confirm all the material facts related in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. The particulars of our Saviour's life and death are often referred to in them, as grounded upon the undoubted testimony of eye-witnesses, and as being the foundation of the Christian religion. The speedy propagation of the Christian faith, recorded in the Acts, is confirmed beyond all contradiction by innumerable passages in the Epistles, written to the churches already planted; and the miraculous gifts, with which the apostles were endued, are often appealed to in the same writings, as an undeniable evidence of the divine mission of the apostles.[3]

Though all the essential doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion were unquestionably taught by our Saviour himself, and are

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[1] See pp. 347, 348. *supra.*

[2] Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New. Test. vol. i. p. 202. See also Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 149—159. Bp. Newton's Dissertation on St. Paul's Eloquence. (Works, vol. v. pp. 248—271.) Dr. Kennicott's Remarks on the Old Testament and Sermons, pp. 369—379. Dr. A. Clarke on 1 Tim. vi. 15. and 2 Tim. iv. 8.

[3] See particularly 1 Cor. xii. and xiv.

contained in the Gospels, yet it is evident to any person who attentively studies the Epistles, that they are to be considered as commentaries on the doctrines of the Gospel addressed to particular Christian societies or persons, in order to explain and apply those doctrines more fully, to confute some growing errors, to compose differences and schisms, to reform abuses and corruptions, to excite Christians to holiness, and to encourage them against persecutions. And since these Epistles were written (as we have already shown) under divine inspiration, and have uniformly been received by the Christian church as the productions of inspired writers, it consequently follows (notwithstanding some writers have insinuated that they are not of equal authority with the Gospels, while others would reject them altogether) that what the apostles have delivered in these Epistles, as necessary to be believed or done by Christians, must be as necessary to be believed and practised in order to salvation, as the doctrines and precepts delivered by Jesus Christ himself, and recorded in the Gospels; because, in writing these Epistles, the sacred penmen were the servants, apostles, ambassadors, and ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God, and their doctrines and precepts are the will, the mind, the truth, and the commandments of God himself.[1] On account of the fuller displays of evangelical truth contained in this portion of the sacred volume, the Epistles have by some divines been termed the DOCTRINAL BOOKS of the New Testament.

That the preceding view of the Epistles is correct, will appear from the following considerations.

In the FIRST *place, they announce and explain* DOCTRINES, *of which our Saviour had not fully treated in his discourses, and which consequently are not clearly delivered in the Gospels.*

Thus there were some things which our Saviour did not fully and clearly explain to his disciples (John xvi. 12.), but accommodated his expressions to those prejudices in which they had been educated. Of this description were his discourses concerning the nature of his kingdom; which, agreeably to the erroneous notions then entertained by their countrymen, the apostles expected would be a temporal kingdom, and accompanied with the same pomp and splendour which are the attendants of an earthly monarchy. This opinion was so deeply rooted in the minds of the apostles, that Jesus Christ did not think proper to eradicate it all at once, but rather chose to remove it by gentle and easy degrees. Accordingly, in compliance with their prejudices, we find him describing his kingdom, and the pre-eminence they were to enjoy in it, *by eating and drinking at his table, and sitting on thrones, and judging the twelves tribes of Israel.* (Luke xxii. 30. Matt. xix. 28.)

But after the Holy Spirit had given the apostles clear and distinct apprehensions of the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, and the real nature of its happiness, we find what noble representations they give of the glories which are laid up in heaven for true Christians, and what powerful arguments they derive thence, in order to persuade them not to set their minds upon the things of this world. They describe the happiness of the

[1] Dr. Whitby's General Preface to the Epistles, § 1. On the subject of the preceding paragraph, see also Archb. Magee's Discourses, vol. i. pp. 471—474. and vol. ii. p. 317. *et seq.*

world to come by an *inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away* (1 Pet. i. 4.): by *a new heaven, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness* (2 Pet. iii. 13.), *where God shall be all in all* (1 Cor. xv. 28.): he shall reign with an absolute dominion, and it shall be our honour and happiness that God is exalted; and they exhort us not to set our minds upon *the things that are seen, and are temporal, but on those things which are not seen, and are eternal.* (2 Cor. iv. 18.)

Again, it was the same prejudice concerning the temporal glories of Christ's kingdom which caused his disciples to misunderstand the meaning of his various clear and explicit discourses concerning his sufferings, death, and resurrection. (See Mark ix. 10. Luke ix. 45. xviii. 34.) They vainly expected that their master would gain earthly conquests and triumphs, and they could not apprehend how he should become glorious through sufferings. In consequence of these mistaken ideas, the doctrine of the cross and its saving effects were not understood by the apostles (Matt. xvi. 22.), until our Saviour had opened their understandings by his discourses on this subject after his resurrection; and therefore we cannot expect so perfect an exposition of that great and fundamental article of Christianity in the Gospels as in the Epistles, in which *Christ's dying for our sins, and rising again for our justification,* is every where insisted upon as the foundation of all our hopes; and the doctrine of the cross is there spoken of as a truth of such importance, that Saint Paul, (1 Cor. ii. 2.) in comparison of it, despises every other kind of knowledge, whether divine or human. Hence it is that the apostles deduce those powerful motives to obedience, which are taken from the love, humility, and condescension of our Lord, and the right which he has to our service, having purchased us with the price of his blood. (See 1 Cor. vi. 20. 2 Cor. v. 15. Gal. ii. 20. Tit. ii. 14. 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.) Hence they derive those great obligations which lie upon Christians to exercise the duties of mortification and self-denial; of *crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts* (Gal. v. 24. vi. 14. Rom. vi. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 1, 2.); of patience under afflictions, and rejoicing in tribulations (Phil. iii. 10. 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. 1 Pet. ii. 19., &c. iv. 13.); of being dead to this world, and *seeking those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.* (Col. iii. 1., &c.) Thus, as our Saviour *spoiled principalities and powers, and triumphed* over his enemies by the cross (Col. ii. 15.), so the believer overcomes the world by being crucified to it; and *becomes more than conqueror through Christ that loved him.*

Once more, it is in the Epistles principally, that we are clearly taught the calling of the Gentiles to make one church with the Jews. Our Lord, indeed, had intimated this glorious event in some general expressions, and also in some of his parables (see Matt. viii. 1. xx. 1. Luke xv. 11. &c.); and the numerous prophecies of the Old Testament, which foretell the calling of the Gentiles, were sufficient to convince the Jews, that in the times of the Messiah, God would reveal the knowledge of himself and his will to the world more fully than ever he had done before. But the extraordinary value which they had for themselves, and the privileges which they fancied were peculiar to their own nation, made them unwilling to believe that the Gentiles should ever be *fellow-heirs* with the Jews, *of the same body* or church with them, and *partakers of the* same *promises in Christ by the Gospel.* (Eph. iii. 6.) This Saint Peter himself could hardly be persuaded to believe, till he was convinced by a particular vision vouchsafed to him for that purpose. (Acts x. 28.) And Saint Paul tells us that this was a mystery which was but newly *revealed to the apostles by the Spirit* (Eph. iii. 5.): and therefore not fully discovered by Christ before.

Lastly, it is in the Epistles chiefly that the inefficacy of the law to pro-

cure our justification in the sight of God, the cessation of the law, and the eternal and unchangeable nature of Christ's priesthood, are set forth. Compare Rom. iii. 20. 25. Gal. ii. 21. iii. 16. v. 2. 5. Heb. ix. 10. vii. 18. v. 5, 6. vii. 24, 25.

SECONDLY, *in the Epistles only we have instructions concerning many great and necessary* DUTIES.

Such are the following, viz. that all our thanksgivings are to be offered up to God in the name of Christ.[1] The duties which we owe to our *civil governors* are only hinted in these words of Christ — "*Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*," but are enlarged upon in Saint Paul's Epistles to the Romans (xiii.), and to Titus (iii. 1.), and also in the first Epistle of Saint Peter. (ii. 10. 17.) In like manner the duties, which we owe to the ministers of the Gospel (our *spiritual governors*), are more expressly taught in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (vi. 6.), the Thessalonians (1 Thess. v. 12, 13.), and to the Hebrews. (xiii. 17, 18.) Lastly, all the duties belonging to the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, are *particularly* treated in the Epistles to the Ephesians (v. 28—33. vi. 1—9.), and the Colossians (iii. 11—25.); but are scarcely ever mentioned in the Gospels. This is a convincing argument that the Holy Spirit, who influenced the pens of the apostles, not only regarded the particular exigencies of the Christians who lived in those times, but also directed the sacred writers to enlarge on such points of doctrine and practice, as were of universal concern, and would be for the benefit of the faithful in all succeeding generations.[2] It is true that the *immediate occasion* of several of the epistles was the correction of errors and irregularities in particular churches[3]: but the experience of all succeeding ages, to our own time, has shown the necessity of such cautions, and the no less necessity of attending to the duties which are directly opposite to those sins and irregularities, and which the apostles take occasion from thence to lay down and enforce. And even their decisions of cases concerning meats and drinks, and the observation of the ceremonial law, and similar doubts which were peculiar to the Jewish converts, in the *first occasion* of them: — even these rules also are, and will always be, our surest guides in all points relating to church liberty, and the use of things indifferent; when the grounds of those decisions, and the directions consequent upon them, are duly attended to, and applied to cases of the like nature by the rules of piety and prudence, especially in one point, which is of universal concern in life, viz. the duty of abstaining from many things which are in themselves innocent, if we foresee that they will give offence to weak Christians, or be the occasion of leading others into sin.

II. The Epistles contained in the New Testament are twenty-one in number, and are generally divided into two classes, the Epistles of Saint Paul, and the Catholic Epistles. Of these apostolical letters, fourteen were written by the great apostle of the Gentiles; they are not placed in our Bibles according to the order of time when they were composed, but according to the supposed precedence of the

[1] Compare Eph. v. 8. 20. 1 Thes. v. 18. Heb. xiii. 14, 15.

[2] Whitby, vol. ii. p. 1. Lowth's Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures, pp. 199—211.

[3] Such were the corrupting of Christianity with mixtures of Judaism and philosophy, apostacy from the faith which they had received, contentions and divisions among themselves, neglect of the assemblies for public worship, and misbehaviour in them, the dishonouring of marriage, &c. &c.

societies or persons to whom they were addressed. Thus, the epistles to churches are disposed according to the rank of the cities or places whither they were sent. The Epistle to the Romans stands first, because Rome was the chief city of the Roman empire: this is followed by the two Epistles to the Corinthians, because Corinth was a large, polite, and renowned city. To them succeeds the Epistle to the Galatians, who were the inhabitants of Galatia, a region of Asia Minor, in which were several churches. Next follows the Epistle to the Ephesians, because Ephesus was the chief city of Asia Minor, strictly so called. Afterwards come the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; for which order Dr. Lardner can assign no other probable reason than this, viz. that Philippi was a Roman colony, and, therefore, the Epistle to the Philippians was placed before those to the Colossians and Thessalonians, whose cities were not distinguished by any particular circumstance. He also thinks it not unlikely that the shortness of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, especially of the second, caused them to be placed last among the letters addressed to churches, though in point of time they are the earliest of Saint Paul's Epistles.

Among the Epistles addressed to particular persons, those to Timothy have the precedence, as he was a favourite disciple of Saint Paul, and also because those Epistles are the longest and fullest. To them succeeds the Epistle to Titus, who was an evangelist; and that to Philemon is placed last, as he was supposed to have been only a private Christian. Last of all comes the Epistle to the Hebrews, because its authenticity was doubted for a short time (though without any foundation, as will be shown in a subsequent page); Dr. Lardner also thinks that it was the last written of all Saint Paul's Epistles.

Some learned men, who have examined the chronology of Saint Paul's Epistles, have proposed to arrange them in our Bibles, according to the order of time: but to this classification there are two serious objections, viz. 1. The order of their dates has not yet been satisfactorily or unanimously settled; and, 2. Very considerable difficulty will attend the alteration of that order which has been adopted in *all the editions and versions* of the New Testament. This was the received arrangement in the time of Eusebius, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, and probably also of Irenæus, who lived in the second century. Consequently it is the most antient order: in Dr. Lardner's judgment it is the best that can be adopted[1]; and therefore we have retained the received order in the subsequent part of this work. As, however, a knowledge of the order in which Saint Paul's Epistles were written, cannot fail to be both instructive and useful to the biblical student, we have deemed it proper to subjoin a TABLE of their CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER, (as established in the subsequent pages,) which exhibits the places where, and the times when, they were in all probability respectively written. The dates, &c. assigned by Dr. Lardner and other learned men, are duly noticed in the following pages.

[1] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 646—649.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 407, 408.

EPISTLES.	PLACES.	A. D.
1 Thessalonians	Corinth	52
2 Thessalonians	Corinth	52
Galatians	Corinth	At the close of 52 or early in 53
1 Corinthians	Ephesus	57
Romans	Corinth	About the end of 57 or the beginning of 58
2 Corinthians	Macedonia, (perhaps from Philippi)	58
Ephesians	Rome	61
Philippians	Rome	Before the end of 62 or the beginning of 63
Colossians	Rome	62
Philemon	Rome	About the end of 62 or early in 63
Hebrews	Italy (perhaps from Rome)	About the end of 62 or early in 63
1 Timothy	Macedonia	64
Titus	Macedonia	64
2 Timothy	Rome	65

III. The *Catholic Epistles* are seven in number, and contain the letters of the apostles James, Peter, John, and Jude. They are termed *Catholic*[1], that is, general or universal, because they are not addressed to the believers of some particular city or country, or to individuals, as Saint Paul's Epistles were, but to Christians in general, or to Christians of several countries. The subjoined table exhibits the dates of the Catholic Epistles, and also the places where they were written, agreeably to the order established in the following pages.

EPISTLES.	PLACES.	A. D.
James	Judæa	61
1 Peter	Rome	64
2 Peter	Rome	About the beginning of 65
1 John	Unknown (perhaps Ephesus)	68 or early in 69
2 and 3 John	Ephesus	68 or early in 69
Jude	Unknown	64 or 65

IV. The general plan on which the Epistles are written, is, *first*, to discuss and decide the controversy, or to refute the erroneous notions, which had arisen in the church, or among the persons, to whom they are addressed, and which was the occasion of their being written; and, *secondly*, to recommend the observance of those duties, which would be necessary, and of absolute importance to the Christian church in every age, consideration being chiefly given to those particular graces or virtues of the Christian character, which the disputes that occasioned the Epistles might tempt them to neglect. In pursuing this method, regard is had, first, to the nature and faculties of the soul of man, in which the understanding is to lead the way, and the will, affections, and active powers are to follow; and, secondly, to the nature of religion in general, which is a reasonable service, teaching us that we are not to be determined by superstitious fancies, nor by blind passions, but by a *sound judgment* and *a good understanding* of the mind and will of God; and also shewing us the

[1] On the origin and reasons of this appellation, see Chapter IV. Sect. I. § 1. *infra.*

necessary union of faith and practice, of truth and holiness. The pious, affectionate, and faithful manner in which the apostles admonish, reprove, exhort, or offer consolation, can only be adequately appreciated by him, who, by patient and diligent study, is enabled to enter fully into the spirit of the inspired authors.

V. Explicit as the Epistles unquestionably are in all fundamental points, it is not to be denied that some parts of them are more difficult to be understood than the Gospels.[1] The reason of these seeming difficulties is evident. In an Epistle many things are omitted, or only slightly mentioned, because they are supposed to be known by the person to whom it is addressed; but, to a person unacquainted with such particulars, they cannot but present considerable difficulty. The affairs discussed by Saint Paul were certainly well known to the persons to whom he wrote; who consequently would easily apprehend his meaning, and see the force and tendency of his discourse. As, however, we who live at this distance of time, can obtain no information concerning the occasion of his writing, or the character and circumstances of the persons for whom his Epistles were intended, except what can be collected from the Epistles themselves, it is not strange that several things in them should appear obscure to us. Further, it is evident from many passages, that he answers letters sent, and questions proposed to him, by his correspondents; which if they had been preserved, would have illustrated different passages much better than all the notes of commentators and critics.

To these causes of obscurity, which are common to all the writers of the Epistles, we may add some that are peculiar to Saint Paul, owing to his style and temper. Possessing an ardent, acute, and fertile mind (as we have seen in the preceding section), he seems to have written with great rapidity, and without closely attending to method. Hence arise those frequent parentheses which occur in his Epistles. In the course of his argument he sometimes breaks off abruptly, in order to pursue a new thought that is necessary for the support of some point arising from the subject, though not immediately leading to it; and when he has exhausted such new idea, he returns from his digression without any intimation of the change of topic, so that considerable attention is requisite in order to retain the connexion. His frequent changes of persons and propositions of objections, which he answers without giving any formal intimation, are also causes of ambiguity. To these we may add, 1. The modern divisions of chapters and verses, which dissolve the connexion of parts, and break them into fragments; and, 2. Our uncertainty concerning the persons addressed, as well as the opi-

[1] The following remark of a late exellent writer, on the Scriptures in general, is particularly applicable to Saint Paul's Epistles. — "Difficulties indeed there are, but the *life-directing* precepts they contain are sufficiently easy; and he who reads the Scriptures with an unprejudiced mind, must be convinced, that the whole end they have in view is to lead mankind to their truest and best happiness, both here and hereafter. They inform our reason, they guide our consciences; in short they have the words both of temporal and eternal life." Gilpin's Sermons, vol. iv. p. 335. See also Mrs. More's Essay on Saint Paul, vol. i. pp. 59—72.

nions and practices to which the great apostle of the Gentiles alludes, sometimes only in exhortations and reproofs.[1] Other causes of obscurity might be assigned, but the preceding are the most material; and the knowledge of them, if we study with a *right* spirit, will enable us to ascertain the rest without difficulty. The most useful mode of studying the epistolary writings of the New Testament is, unquestionably, that proposed and recommended by Mr. Locke; which, having been already noticed when treating on the doctrinal interpretation of the Scriptures, it is not necessary again to repeat.[2]

SECTION III.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

I. *Date, and where written.* — II. *Genuineness and Authenticity of this Epistle.* — III. *The Church at Rome, when and by whom founded.* — IV. *Occasion.* — V. *Internal State of the Church at Rome.* — VI. *Scope.* — VII. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — VIII. *Observations on this Epistle.*

I. THE Epistle to the Romans, though fifth in order of time, is placed first of all the apostolical letters, either from the pre-eminence of Rome, as being the mistress of the world, or because it is the longest and most comprehensive of all Saint Paul's Epistles. Various years have been assigned for its date. Van Til refers it to the year 55; Langius, Bishop Pearson, Drs. Mill and Whitby, Fabricius, Reineccius, and others, to the year 57; Baronius, Michaelis, Lord Barrington, Drs. Benson and Lardner, and Bishop Tomline, to the year 58; Archbishop Usher and our Bible chronology, to the year 60; Dr. Hales to the end of 58, or the beginning of 59; and Rosenmüller to the end of the year 58. The most probable date is that which assigns this Epistle to the end of 57, or the beginning of 58; at which time Saint Paul was at Corinth, whence he was preparing to go to Jerusalem with the collections which had been made by the Christians of Macedonia and Achaia for their poor brethren in Judæa. (Rom. xv. 25—27.)[3] The Epistle was dictated by the apostle in the Greek language[4] to Tertius his amanuensis (xvi. 22.), and was sent to the church at Rome, by Phœbe, a deaconness of the church at Cenchrea (xvi. 1.), whose journey to Rome afforded Saint Paul an opportunity of writing to the Christians in that city. That

[1] Locke's Essay for the understanding of Saint Paul's Epistles, (Works, vol. iii.) p. 275. et seq. See also Dr. Graves's Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists, pp. 146—163., for some useful remarks on the obscurity of Saint Paul's Epistles.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 479.

[3] This opinion is satisfactorily vindicated at considerable length, by Dr. J. F. Flatt, in a dissertation, *De tempore, quo Pauli epistola ad Romanos scripta sit* (Tubingæ, 1789); reprinted in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, vol. ii. pp. 54—74.

[4] Salmeron imagined that this epistle was written in Latin, but this notion is contradicted by the whole current of Christian antiquity; and John Adrian Bolten, a German critic, fancied that it was written in Syriac, but he was amply refuted by Griesbach, Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars ii. p. 354. Rosenmüller, Scholia, vol. iii. p. 359. That Greek was the original language we have already proved, *supra*, Vol. II. pp. 13—18.

he wrote from Corinth is further evident from Romans xvi. 23. where he sends salutations from Erastus the chamberlain of Corinth (which city, we learn from 2 Tim. iv. 20. was the place of his residence), and from Gaius, who lived at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14. whom Saint Paul terms *his host*, and the host of all the Christian church there.

II. That this Epistle has always been acknowledged to be a genuine and authentic production of Saint Paul, is attested not only by the antient Syriac and Latin versions, but by the express declarations and quotations of Irenæus[1], Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria[3], Tertullian[4], Origen[5], and by all subsequent ecclesiastical writers. It was also cited or alluded to by the apostolic fathers[6], Barnabas[7], Clement of Rome[8], Ignatius[9], Polycarp[10], and by the churches of Vienne and Lyons.[11]

III. The Scriptures do not inform us at what time or by whom the Gospel was first preached at Rome. Those who assert that the church in that city was founded by Saint Peter, can produce no solid foundation for their opinion: for, if he had preached the Gospel there, it is not likely that such an event would have been left unnoticed in the Acts of the Apostles, where the labours of Peter are particularly related with those of Paul, which form the chief subject of that book. Nor is it probable that the author of this Epistle should have made no reference whatever to this circumstance, if it had been true. There is still less plausibility in the opinion, that the church was planted at Rome by the joint labours of Peter and Paul, for it is evident from Romans i. 8. that Paul had never been in that city previously to his writing this Epistle. As, however, the fame of this church had reached him long before he wrote the present letter (xv. 23.), the most probable opinion is that of Dr. Benson, Michaelis, Rambach, Rosenmüller, and other critics, viz. that the Gospel was first preached there by some of those persons who heard Peter preach, and were converted at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost: for we learn from Acts ii. 10. that there were then at Jerusalem, *strangers of Rome, Jews, and proselytes.* These Roman Jews, on their return home, doubtless preached Christ to their countrymen there[12], and probably converted some of them: so that the church at Rome, like most of the churches in Gentile countries, was at first composed of Jews. But it was soon enlarged by con-

1 Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 163—165.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 308, 309.
2 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 195—199.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 385—388.
3 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 222—224.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 400—402.
4 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 266—272.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 424—428.
5 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 375—377.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 482—484.
6 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 471, 472.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.
7 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 286, 287.
8 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 85.; 4to. vol. i. p. 296.
9 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 74.; 4to. vol. i. p. 318.
10 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 94.; 4to. vol. i. p. 329.
11 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 151.; 4to. vol. i. p. 361.
12 At this time there were great numbers of Jews at Rome. Josephus relates that their number amounted to eight thousand (Antiq. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 12.); and Dion Cassius (lib xxxvii. c. 17.) informs us that they had obtained the privilege of living according to their own laws.

verts from among the religious proselytes to Judaism, and in process of time was increased by the flowing in of the idolatrous Gentiles who gave themselves to Christ in such numbers, that, at the time Saint Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans, their conversion was much spoken of throughout the world. (i. 8.) Among the earliest messengers of the faith or promoters of its doctrines, Andronicus and Junius may be enumerated (Rom. xvi. 7.), and also Rufus, the same perhaps whose father assisted Jesus Christ in bearing the cross. (xvi. 13. Mark xv. 21.)

IV. The occasion of writing this Epistle may be easily collected from the Epistle itself. It appears that Saint Paul, who had been made acquainted with all the circumstances of the Christians at Rome by Aquila and Priscilla (Rom. xvi. 3.), and by other Jews who had been expelled from Rome by the decree of Claudius (Acts xviii. 2.), was very desirous of seeing them, that he might impart to them some spiritual gift (Rom. i. 8—13. xv. 14. xvi. 1.); but, being prevented from visiting them, as he had proposed, in his journey into Spain, he availed himself of the opportunity that presented itself to him by the departure of Phœbe to Rome, to send them an Epistle. (Rom. xvi. 1, 2.) Finding, however, that the church was composed partly of Heathens who had embraced the Gospel, and partly of Jews, who, with many remaining prejudices, believed in Jesus as the Messiah; and finding also that many contentions arose from the Gentile converts claiming equal privileges with the Hebrew Christians (which claims the latter absolutely refused to admit unless the Gentile converts were circumcised,) he wrote this Epistle to compose these differences, and to strengthen the faith of the Roman Christians against the insinuations of false teachers; being apprehensive lest his involuntary absence from Rome should be turned by the latter to the prejudice of the Gospel.

V. In order fully to understand this Epistle, it is necessary that we should be acquainted with the tenets believed by those whose errors the apostle here exposes and confutes. It is clear that he wrote to persons, who had been either Gentiles or Jews, and that his grand design was to remove the prejudices entertained by both these descriptions of persons.

The greater part of the GENTILES, who lived in gross ignorance, did not trouble themselves much concerning the pardon of their sins, or the salvation of their souls; and the rest believed that their virtues deserved the favour of their gods, either in this world or in the next, if there were any thing to expect after death. They also thought that their vices or sins were expiated by their virtues, especially if they were truly sorry for the crimes they had committed; for they declared a man to be innocent who repented of his fault. In order to expiate the most atrocious crimes, they had recourse to purifications and sacrifices, and sometimes offered human victims; but the wisest among them maintained that nothing was more fit to appease the Divinity than a change of life.

The JEWS, on the other hand, divided all mankind into three classes. The *first* was composed of righteous men whose righteous-

ness exceeded their sins; the *second* comprised those whose righteousness was equal to their sins; and the *third* contained wicked men, whose sins were more in number than their good deeds. They thought, however, that there was no person so righteous as not to stand in need of pardon: but they believed that they should obtain it by repentance, by confession of their sins, by almsgiving, by prayer, by the afflictions which God sent them, by their purifications, sacrifices, and change of life, and above all by the solemn sacrifice which was annually offered on the great day of atonement;—and if there yet remained any thing to be pardoned, every thing (they said) would be expiated by death. Further, the most zealous among the Jews entertained various erroneous opinions relative to their justification, to the election of their nation, and to the Roman government, which it is important to consider, as Saint Paul has refuted them at considerable length in this Epistle.

1. The Jews assigned three grounds of justification, by which they were delivered from the guilt and punishment of sin; viz.

(1.) *The extraordinary piety and merit of their ancestors*, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and the covenant God made with them; for the sake of which piety, as He had promised to bless their posterity, they thought that this covenant *obliged* Him to forgive their sins. This error is confuted by Saint Paul in the ninth chapter, where he shows that God's promises were made only to the faithful descendants of Abraham; and in the latter part of the fifth chapter, which confirms his assertion in chapter iii. 29, 30. that God was alike the God of the Jews and Gentiles; and that the covenant, broken by their common father Adam, should be restored to both by the common Head of the new covenant, Jesus Christ.

(2.) *Their knowledge of God through the law of God, and their diligence in the study of that law:* which they estimated so highly as to make it a plea for the remission of their sins. In opposition to this notion, Saint Paul proves, in the second chapter, that man is justified, not by the knowledge, but by the observance of the law.

(3.) *The works of the Levitical law*, which were to expiate sin, especially circumcision and sacrifices; whence the Jews inferred that the Gentiles must receive the whole law of Moses, in order to be justified and saved,—in other words, that there was no salvation out of the Jewish church. In opposition to this erroneous tenet, Saint Paul teaches that the Levitical law does not expiate, but only reveals sin; and that it exemplifies on the sacrificed beasts the punishment due to the sinner. (iii. 20. v. 20.)

2. The doctrine of the Jews concerning election was, that as God had promised Abraham that he would bless his seed, that He would give it not only the true spiritual blessing, but also the land of Canaan, and that he would suffer it to dwell there in prosperity, and consider it as his church upon earth; therefore this blessing extended it to their whole nation. They asserted that God was *bound* to fulfil these promises to every Jew, because he was a descendant of Abraham, whether he were righteous or wicked, faithful or unbelieving. They even believed that a prophet ought not to pronounce against their nation the prophecies with which he was inspired, but was bound to resist the will of God, by praying, like

Moses, that his name might be expunged from the book of life. These Jewish errors illustrate that very difficult chapter (the ninth), and show that the question discussed by Saint Paul, relative to predestination and election, is totally different from that debated by Christians since the fourth century, and which now unhappily divides the Christian world.

3. It is well known that the Pharisees, at least those who were of the party of Judas the Gaulonite or Galilæan, cherished the most rooted aversion to foreign magistrates; and from a false interpretation of Deut. xvii. 15., thought it unlawful to pay tribute to, or to acknowledge, the Roman emperor.[1] Expecting a Messiah who would establish a temporal kingdom, and liberate them from the dominion of the Romans[2], they were ripe for rebellion, and at all times ready to throw off the yoke. Even the Jews at Rome had already begun to create disturbances which occasioned the edict of Claudius, that all Jews should depart from Rome[3]; and as, in those early times, the Christians were generally confounded with the Jews, it is not unlikely that both were included in this decree. At this time also, the city of Rome contained within herself the seeds of insurrection and civil war. The senate was secretly jealous of the emperor, who in his turn suspected the senate. The life even of the emperor was seldom free from danger; and the succession to the throne, after the death of Claudius, was purchased by largesses to the imperial guard. With the political notions cherished by the Jews, it is no wonder that they, in several instances, gave cause of suspicion to the Roman government, who would be glad of an opportunity to expel from the city, persons who were considered dangerous to its peace and security: nor is it improbable, on this account, that the Christians, under an idea of being the *peculiar people of God*, and the subjects of his kingdom alone, might be in danger of being infected with those unruly and rebellious sentiments. Under these circumstances, therefore, Saint Paul judged it necessary to exhort the Roman Christians to submit peaceably to the government under which they lived. He tells them, that the *powers that be* (Rom. xiii. 1.), or the constituted authorities, *are ordained of God*, and forbids them to meddle with those who endeavoured to effect a change in the government.[4] The reigning emperor at this time was that monster of iniquity, Nero.

The preceding view of the tenets held by the Heathens and Jews of Rome will enable us to ascertain the SCOPE or design of Saint Paul in writing this epistle, which was to confute the unbelieving; to instruct the believing Jew; to confirm the Christian, and to convert the idolatrous Gentile: and to place the Gentile convert upon an equality with the Jewish in respect of his religious condition, and his

[1] Compare Matt. xxii. 15—22. with Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 2. It was a maxim with the Jews that *the world was given to the Israelites*; that they should have the supreme rule every where, and that the Gentiles should be their vassals.

[2] Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 31. Suetonius in Vespasiano, c. 4. Tacitus, Hist. lib. ii. c. 5.

[3] Acts xviii. 2. Suetonius in Claudiano, c. 25.

[4] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 89—102. Dr. J. Taylor on Rom. xiii. 1.

rank in the divine favour. These several designs he reduces to one scheme, by opposing or arguing with the infidel or unbelieving Jew, in favour of the Christian or believing Gentile. "Upon this plan, if the unbelieving Jew escaped and remained unconvinced, yet the Christian Jew would be more inoffensively and more effectually instructed in the nature of the Gospel, and the kind brotherly regards he ought to have for the believing Gentiles, than if he had directed his discourse immediately and plainly to him. But, if his argument should fail in reference to the believing Jew, yet the believing Gentile would see his interest in the covenant and kingdom of God as solidly established by a full confutation of Jewish objections, (which were the only objections that could with any show of reason be advanced against it,) as if the Epistle had been written for no other purpose. *And thus it is of the greatest use to* US *at this day.* It is also at present exceedingly useful, as it entirely demolishes the engrossing pretensions and imposing principles of the church of Rome; for a professed *faith in Christ*, and a subjection to Him, are in this Epistle fully shown to be the only Gospel condition of a place in his church, an interest in the covenant of God, and of Christian fellowship. By this extensive principle God broke down the pales of his own antient enclosure, the Jewish church; and therefore, by the same principle, more strongly forbids the building of any other partition wall of schemes and terms of Christian fellowship."[1]

VII. This Epistle consists of four parts; viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (ch. i. 1—15.)

PART II. *contains the Doctrinal Part of the Epistle concerning Justification* (i. 16—32. ii.—xi.); in which we have,

SECT. 1. The proposition concerning the extent of the Gospel (i. 16.)[2]

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[1] Dr. J. Taylor's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, p. clxii.

[2] Michaelis has given the following more logical view of the argumentative part of the Epistle to the Romans, which may not be unacceptable to the reader. The principal point, he observes, which Saint Paul intended to prove, was, that the Gospel reveals a righteousness unknown before, and to which both Jews and Gentiles have an equal claim. (Rom. i. 15, 16.) In order to prove this point he shows (i. 18.—iii. 20.) that both Jews and Gentiles are "under sin," that is, that God will impute their sins to Jews as well as to Gentiles.

His proof of this position may be reduced to the following syllogisms. (ii. 1. 17—24.)

"The wrath of God is revealed against those who hold the truth in unrighteousness; that is, who acknowledge the truth, and yet sin against it. (i. 18.)

"The Gentiles acknowledged truths; but partly by their idolatry, and partly by their other detestable vices, they sinned against the truths which they acknowledged.

"Therefore the wrath of God is revealed against the Gentiles, and punishes them.

"The Jews have acknowledged more truths than the Gentiles, and yet they sin. (ii. 1. 17—24.)

"Consequently the Jewish sinners are yet more exposed to the wrath of God." (ii. 1—12.)

Having thus proved his point, he answers the following objections which might be made to it.

Objection 1. "The Jews were well grounded in their knowledge, and studied the law." Saint Paul answers, If a knowledge of the law, without the performance of it, could justify them, God would not have condemned the Gentiles, who knew the law by nature. (ii. 13—16.)

Objection 2. "The Jews were circumcised." Answer. That is, they were admitted by an outward sign to a covenant with God; but this sign will not avail those who violate the covenant. (ii. 25—29.)

Objection 3. "According to this doctrine of Saint Paul, the Jews have no advantage

and the demonstration of that proposition (i. 17.) in which it is shown that justification is to be attained,

§ i. *Not by Works.* (i. 18.)
For the Gentiles (i. 19—32.)
The Jews (ii. iii. 1—18.)
and both together (iii. 19, 20.), are under sin.
§ ii. *But by faith,* in which it is shown
That we are justified by faith *alone* (iii. 21—31.)
As appears by the example of Abraham and the testimony of David (iv.);

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above the Gentiles, which is manifestly false." Answer. They still have advantages; for to them are committed the oracles of God. But their privileges do not extend so far, that God should overlook their sins, which Scripture earnestly condemns even in Jews. (iii. 1—19.)

Objection 4. "They had the Levitical law and sacrifices." Answer. Hence is no remission, but only the knowledge of sin. (iii. 20.)

From the preceding arguments Saint Paul infers, that Jews and Gentiles must be justified by the same means, namely, without the Levitical law, through faith in Christ; and in opposition to the imaginary advantages of the Jews, he states the declaration of Zechariah, that God is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. (iii. 21—31.)

As the whole blessing was promised to those who were the faithful descendants of Abraham, whom both scripture and the Jews call his children, he proves his former assertion from the example of Abraham; who was an idolater before his call, but was declared just by God, on account of his faith, long before his circumcision. Hence Saint Paul takes occasion to explain the nature and fruits of faith. (iv. 1—v. 1—11.) He then proceeds to prove from the equity of God that the Jews had no advantages above the Gentiles, with respect to justification. Both Jews and Gentiles had forfeited * life and immortality, through the common father of their race, whom they themselves had not chosen as their representative. If therefore it was the will of God to restore immortality by a new spiritual head of a covenant, which was Christ, it was just that both Jews and Gentiles should have an equal share in this new representative of the human race. (v. 12—21.)

He shows that the doctrine of justification, as he had stated it, lays us under the strongest obligations to holiness (vi. 1—23.); and that since the death of Christ we are no longer concerned with the law of Moses; for our justification arises from our appearing in the sight of God, as if actually dead with Christ, on account of our sins; but the law of Moses was not given to the dead. On this occasion he evinces at large, that the preceding consideration does not affect the eternal power of God over us, and that while we are under the law of Moses we perpetually become subject to death, even by sins of inadvertency. (vii. 1—end.) Hence he concludes, that all those, and those only, who are united with Christ, and for the sake of this union live not according to the flesh, are free from all condemnation of the law, and have an undoubted share in eternal life. (viii. 1—17.)

Having described the happiness of all such persons, he is aware that the Jews, who expected temporal blessings, would object to him, that Christians notwithstanding what he had said endured many sufferings in this world. This objection he obviates (viii. 18—39.); and shows that God is not the less true and faithful because he does not justify, but rather rejects and punishes the Jews who would not believe in the Messiah (ix. x. xi.) In discussing this delicate topic he displays the utmost caution on account of the prejudices of his countrymen the Jews. He shows that the promises of God were never made to all the posterity of Abraham; and that God always reserved to himself the power of choosing those sons of Abraham, whom for Abraham's sake he intended to bless, and of punishing the wicked sons of Abraham: and that, with respect to temporal happiness or misery, even their good or ill conduct did not determine his choice. Thus Ishmael, Esau, the Israelites in the Desert in the time of Moses, and the greater part of that nation in the time of Isaiah, were rejected and made a sacrifice of his justice. (ix. 1—29.) He then shows that God had reason to reject most of the Jews then living, because they would not believe in the Messiah, though the Gospel had been preached to them plainly enough (ix. 30—x.): yet, that God had not rejected all his people, but was still fulfilling his promises on many thousand natural descendants of Abraham, who believed in the Messiah; and would in a future period fulfil them upon more; for that all Israel would be converted. (xi. 1—32.) And he concludes with expressing his admiration of the wise counsels of God. (33—36.) Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 102—106.

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* Michaelis's expression, as translated by Bishop Marsh, is "foretold," but the sense evidently requires "forfeited."

And the privileges and blessings of Abraham's seed by faith are shown to be far greater than those which belonged to his seed by natural descent (as described in Rom. ii. 17—20.) These privileges of true believers in Christ are 1. *Peace with God* (v. 1.); 2. *Joy in hope of the glory of God* (2.), which tribulation cannot prevent, but rather promotes (3—10.); 3. *Rejoicing in God* himself as reconciled to us through Christ, which however affords no countenance to sin, but requires evangelical obedience to God (11—21.), whence flows, 4. *Mortification of sin and newness of life,* as another evidence and effect of justification (vi.); 5. *The freedom of justified persons* from the malediction of the law, and its irritation to sin (vii.): 6. *Freedom from condemnation,* and ultimate glorification. (viii.)

Sect. 2. Concerning the equal privileges of Jewish and Christian believers (ix.—xi.), in which the apostle after expressing his affectionate esteem for the Jewish nation (ix. 1—5.),[1] proceeds to show:

§ 1. That God's rejection of great part of the seed of Abraham, and also of Isaac, was an undeniable fact. (ix. 6—13.)

§ ii. That God had not chosen them (the Jews) to such peculiar privileges, for any kind of goodness either in themselves or their fathers. (14—24.)

§ iii. That his acceptance of the Gentiles, and rejection of many of the Jews, had been predicted both by Hosea and Isaiah. (25—33.)

§ iv. That God had offered salvation to both Jews and Gentiles on the same terms, though the Jews rejected it. (x. 1—21.)

§ v. That, though the Israelites were rejected for their obstinacy, yet that rejection was not total; there still being a remnant among them who did embrace and believe the Gospel. (xi. 1—10.)

§ vi. That the rejection of the rest was not final, but in the end "all Israel should be saved." (11—31.)

§ vii. And that, in the mean time, even their obstinacy and rejection served to display the unsearchable wisdom and love of God. (32—36.)

Part III. *comprises the Hortatory or Practical Part of the Epistle* (xii.—xv. 1—14.), in which the apostle urges Christian believers, to act in a manner suitable to their high and holy calling: with this view he exhorts them,

Sect. 1. To dedicate themselves to God, and to demean themselves as fellow-members of Christ's body. (xii. 1—8.)

Sect. 2. To Christian love and charity. (xii. 9—21.)

Sect. 3. To obedience to the constituted authorities (xiii. 1—7.), and the exercise of mutual love. (8—14.)

Sect. 4. How those who are strong in faith should conduct themselves towards their weak brethren. (xiv. xv. 1—13.)

Part IV. *The Conclusion, in which Saint Paul excuses himself.*

Partly for his boldness in thus writing to the Romans (xv. 14—21.), and partly for not having hitherto come to them (22.), but promises to visit them, recommending himself to their prayers (23—33.); and sends various salutations to the brethren at Rome. (xvi.)[2]

VIII. In perusing this epistle it will be desirable to read, at least, the eleven first chapters, *at once,* uninterruptedly: as every sentence, especially in the argumentative part, bears an intimate relation to,

[1] The genuineness and proper interpretation of Rom. ix. 5. (which contains one of the most decisive testimonies to the divinity of Jesus Christ, in the New Testament,) are satisfactorily established by Mr. Holden in his Scripture Testimony to the Divinity of Jesus Christ, pp. 51—56.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 325—327.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 297.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 89—92.; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iii. pp. 352—360.; Whitby's and Macknight's Prefaces to the Epistle to the Romans; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Divi Pauli, pp. 204—215.; Rambach, Introd. in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, pp. 1—118.; Hug's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. pp. 408—425. Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre de St. Paul aux Romains.

and is dependant upon the whole discourse, and cannot be understood unless we comprehend the scope of the whole. Further, in order to enter fully into its spirit, we must enter into the spirit of a Jew in those times, and endeavour to realise in our own minds his utter aversion from the Gentiles, his valuing and exalting himself upon his relation to God and to Abraham, and also upon his law, pompous worship, circumcision, &c. as if the Jews were the only people in the world who had any right to the favour of God. Attention to this circumstance will show the beauties of the apostle's style and argument, and that this Epistle is indeed "a writing which, for sublimity and truth of sentiment, for brevity and strength of expression, for regularity in its structure, but, above all, for the unspeakable importance of the discoveries which it contains, stands unrivalled by any mere human composition; and as far exceeds the most celebrated writings of the Greeks and Romans, as the shining of the sun exceeds the twinkling of the stars." [1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. II. The most useful help to the study of this Epistle is Mr. Cox's Horæ Romanæ. (8vo. London, 1824.)

SECTION IV.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

I. *State of the Corinthian Church.*—II. *Occasion of this Epistle.*—III. *Its Scope and Analysis.*—IV. *Date and Genuineness.*—V. *Examination of the Question, how many Epistles Paul wrote to the Corinthians?*

I. CHRISTIANITY was first planted at Corinth[2] by Saint Paul himself, who resided here a year and six months between the years 51 and 53. The church consisted partly of Jews, and partly of Gentiles, but chiefly of the latter; whence the apostle had to combat, sometimes with Jewish superstition, and sometimes with Heathen licentiousness. On Saint Paul's departure from Corinth, he was succeeded by Apollos, "an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures," who preached the Gospel with great success. (Acts xviii. 24—28.) Aquila and Sosthenes were also eminent teachers in this church. (xviii. 2.; 1 Cor. i. 1.) But, shortly after Saint Paul quitted this church, its peace was disturbed by the intrusion of false teachers, who made great pretensions to eloquence, wisdom, and knowledge of their Christian liberty, and thus undermined his influence, and the credit of his ministry. Hence two parties were formed, one of which contended strenuously for the observance of Jewish ceremonies, while the other, misinterpreting the true nature of Christian liberty, indulged in excesses which were contrary to the design

[1] Macknight on the Epistles, vol. i. p. 407. 4to. edit.

[2] For an account of the city of Corinth, before the planting of Christianity, see the Historical and Geographical Index in Volume III.

and spirit of the Gospel. One party boasted that they were the followers of Paul; and another, that they were the followers of Apollos. The Gentile converts partook of things offered to idols, which the Jewish Christians affirmed to be unlawful. The native Corinthian converts had not so entirely eradicated that lasciviousness, to which they had been addicted in their heathen state, but that they sometimes committed the vilest crimes: and one of them had even proceeded so far as to marry his step-mother. Some of them, also supporting themselves by philosophical arguments and speculations, denied the resurrection of the dead. The richer members of the church misconducted themselves at the celebration of the Lord's Supper: while others, who possessed spiritual gifts, behaved themselves insolently, on account of their acquirements. Women also with unveiled heads, spoke in their assemblies for divine worship. It further appears that many of the Corinthian Christians prosecuted their brethren before the Heathen tribunals, instead of bringing their complaints before Christian tribunals; and that violent controversies were agitated among them concerning celibacy and marriage.

Although these evils originated (as above noticed) chiefly with the false teachers, yet they are in part at least to be ascribed to the very corrupt state of morals at Corinth. It is well known that at the temple of Venus, erected in the centre of that city, one thousand prostitutes were maintained in honour of her. Hence it happened that some, who professed themselves Christians, regarded the illicit intercourse of the sexes as a trifling affair: and as the eating of things offered to idols was, in itself, an indifferent thing, they frequently went to the temples of the heathen deities to partake of the meat that had been there sacrificed, by which means they rendered themselves accessary to idolatry. [1]

II. The Occasion on which this Epistle was written, appears from its whole tenor to have been twofold, viz.

First, the information which the apostle had received from some members of the family of Chloe, while he was at Ephesus, concerning the disorders that prevailed in the church at Corinth; such as, 1. *Schisms and divisions* (1 Cor. i. 11. *et seq.*); 2. *Many notorious scandals*, as the prevalence of impurity, incest, covetousness, lawsuits of Christians before Pagan magistrates (v. vi.); 3. *Idolatrous communion* with the Heathens at their idol-feasts (viii. x.); 4. *Want of decorum* and order in their public worship (xi. 2—16. xiv.) 5. *Gross profanation* of the Lord's Supper (xi. 17—34.); and, 6. *The denial of the resurrection* and eternal life. (xv. 12. *et seq.*)

The *second* cause of Saint Paul's writing this Epistle was his receiving a letter from the church at Corinth, by the hands of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (xvi. 17. vii. 1.) in which the Corinthian Christians requested his advice concerning some particular cases; as, 1. Concerning *marriage* (vii. 1. *et seq.*); 2. *Things sacrificed to idols* (viii.); 3. *Spiritual gifts* (xii.); 4. *Prophesying*, or teaching and in-

[1] The reader will find an instructive account of the state of the church at Corinth in Prof. Storr's *Notæ Historicæ, epistolarum Pauli ad Corinthios interpretationi inservientes*, in the second volume of his Opuscula Academica, pp. 242—266.

structing others (xiv.); and, 5. Concerning the making of *charitable collections* for the poor brethren in Judæa. (xvi. 1. *et seq.*)[1]

Hence we learn that Saint Paul maintained a constant intercourse with the churches which he had planted, and was acquainted with all their circumstances. They seem to have applied to him for advice in those difficult cases, which their own understanding could not solve; and he was ready, on all occasions, to correct their mistakes.

III. The SCOPE of this Epistle, therefore, is conformable to the circumstances that caused the apostle to write it, and in like manner is twofold; viz. 1. To apply suitable remedies to the disorders and abuses which had crept into the church at Corinth; and, 2. To give the Corinthians satisfactory answers on all those points concerning which they had requested his advice and information.[1] The Epistle, accordingly divides itself into three parts.

PART I. *The Introduction* (i. 1—9.), *in which Paul expresses his Satisfaction at all the Good he knew of them, particularly at their having received the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, for the Confirmation of the Gospel.*

PART II. *discusses various Particulars adapted to the State of the Corinthian Church; which may be commodiously arranged into two Sections.*

SECT. 1. contains a reproof of the corruptions and abuses which disgraced the church. (i. 10. vi. 1.—20.)

§ i. The apostle rebukes the sectaries among them, and defends himself against one or more Corinthian teachers, who had alienated most of the Corinthians from him; and adds many weighty arguments to re-unite them in affection to himself, as having first planted the Gospel among them. (i. 10—31. ii.—iv.)

§ ii. A reproof for not excommunicating an incestuous person, who had married his own step-mother. (v.)

§ iii. A reproof of their covetous and litigious temper, which caused them to prosecute their Christian brethren before heathen courts of judicature. (vi. 1—9.)

§ 4. A dissuasive from fornication, — a sin to which they had been extremely addicted before they were converted, and which some of the Corinthians appeared to have considered an indifferent matter. The enormity of this sin is very strongly represented. (vi. 10—20.)

SECT. 2. contains an answer to the questions which the Corinthian church had proposed to the apostle. (vii.—xv.)

§ i. Directions concerning matrimony (vii. 1—16.), the celibacy of virgins (25—38.) and widows (39—40); in which Saint Paul takes occasion to show that Christianity makes no alteration in the civil conditions of men, but leaves them under the same obligations that they were before their conversion. (17—24.)

§ ii. Concerning the lawfulness of eating things sacrificed to idols, showing when they may, and when they may not, be lawfully eaten. (viii.—xi. 1.)

§ iii. Saint Paul answers a third query concerning the manner in which women should deliver any thing in public, when called to it by a divine impulse. He particularly censures the unusual dress of both sexes in prophesying, which exposed them to the contempt of the Greeks, among whom the men usually went uncovered, while the women were veiled. (xi. 2—17.)

§ iv. A reproof of their irregularities, when celebrating the Lord's Supper, with directions for receiving it worthily. (xi. 17—34.)

§ v. Instructions concerning the desiring and exercising of spiritual gifts. (xii.—xiv.)[2]

§ vi. The certainty of the resurrection of the dead defended against the false teacher or teachers. (xv.)

It appears from the twelfth verse of this chapter that the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead was denied by certain false teachers; in consequence of which Saint Paul discusses the three following questions:

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[1] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 748.

[2] On the subject of the spiritual gifts discussed in chap. xii. the reader is referred to Mr. Bloomfield's Recensio Synoptica, vol. vi. pp. 552—570.

I. Whether there will be a resurrection from the dead?
II. What will be the nature of the resurrection-bodies?
III. What will become of those who will be found alive at the day of judgment?

I. He proves the doctrine of the resurrection,
1. *From Scripture.* (1—4.)
2. *From eye-witnesses of Christ's resurrection.* (5—12.)
3. *By showing the absurdity of the contrary doctrine:* — Thus,
i. If the dead rise not, Christ is not risen. (13.)
ii. It would be absurd to have faith in him, according to the preaching of the Gospel, if He be not risen. (14.)
iii. The apostles, who attest his resurrection, must be false witnesses. (15.)
iv. The faith of the Corinthians, who believe it, must be vain. (16, 17.)
v. All the believers, who have died in the faith of Christ, have perished, if Christ be not risen. (18.)
vi. Believers in Christ are in a more miserable state than any others, if there be no resurrection. (19.)
vii. Those, who were baptised in the faith, that Christ died for them, and rose again, are deceived. (29.)
viii. The apostles and Christians in general, who suffer persecution, on the ground that, after they have suffered awhile here, they shall have a glorious resurrection, are acting a foolish and unprofitable part. (30—35.)

II. He shows what will be the nature of the resurrection-bodies, and in what manner this great work will be performed. (35—49.)

III. He shows what will become of those who will be found alive at the day of judgment. (50—57.) This important and animating discussion is followed by
The use which we should make of this doctrine. (58.) [1]

PART III. *contains the Conclusion, comprising Directions relative to the Contributions for the Saints at Jerusalem* [2], *promises that the Apostle would shortly visit them, and Salutations to various Members of the Church at Corinth.* (xvi.)

IV. Although the subscription to this Epistle purports that it was written at Philippi, yet, as this directly contradicts Saint Paul's own declaration in xvi. 8., we must look to the Epistle itself for notes of time, that may enable us to ascertain its date. We have seen [3] that Saint Paul, on his departure from Corinth, went into Asia, and visited Ephesus, Jerusalem, and Antioch, after which, passing through Galatia and Phrygia, he returned to Ephesus, where he remained three years. (Acts xviii. 18—23. xix. 1. xx. 31.) At the close of his residence at Ephesus, Saint Paul wrote this Epistle, as appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 8. where he says, *I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost;* and that it was written at the preceding passover, is further evident from 1 Cor. v. 7. where the apostle uses this expression, *ye are unleavened,* — that is, ye are now celebrating the feast of unleavened bread. Now, as Saint Paul's departure from Ephesus, after residing there three years, took place about the year of Christ *56*,

[1] Dr. A. Clarke on 1 Cor. xv.

[2] The Jews, who lived out of Palestine, were chiefly engaged in trade, and were generally in more affluent circumstances than those who resided in Judæa, to whom they usually sent an annual relief. (Vitringa de Syn. Vet. lib. iii. p. i. c. 13.) Now, as the Gentile Christians became brethren to the Jews, and partook of their spiritual riches, Saint Paul thought it equitable that the Greek Christians should contribute to the support of their poorer brethren in Judæa. (Rom. xv. 26, 27.) When he was at Jerusalem, he had promised Peter and James that he would collect alms for this purpose (Gal. ii. 10.); and accordingly we find (1 Cor. xvi. 1—4.) that he made a collection among the Christians at Corinth. Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 61.

[3] See pp. 342, 343. *supra.* Michaelis is of opinion that the mistake in the subscription arose from misunderstanding διερχομαι (xvi. 5.) to mean I am *now* travelling through, instead of "my route is through Macedonia," which it evidently means. Vol. iv. p. 43.

it follows that the first Epistle to the Corinthians was written about that time.[1]

The genuineness of Saint Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians was never doubted. It was cited or alluded to repeatedly by Clement of Rome[2], Ignatius[3], and Polycarp[4], in the first century. In the following century it was cited by Tatian[5], Irenæus[6], Athenagoras[7], and Clement of Alexandria.[8] In the third century, this Epistle was acknowledged to be Saint Paul's by Tertullian[9], Caius[10], and Origen.[11] The testimonies of later writers are too numerous and explicit to render any detail of them necessary.

V. An important question has been much agitated, Whether Saint Paul wrote any other Epistles to the Corinthians besides those we now have. In 1 Cor. v. 9. the following words occur — Εγραψα ὑμιν εν τη επιστολη, which in our version is rendered — *I have written to you in an epistle.* From this text it has been inferred, that Saint Paul had already written to the Corinthians an Epistle which is no longer extant, and to which he alludes; while others contend, that by τη επιστολη, he means only the Epistle which he is writing. The former opinion is advocated by Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Cappel, Witsius, Le Clerc, Heinsius, Mill, Wetstein, Beausobre, Bishop Pearce, Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Scott, Michaelis, Storr, Rosenmüller, Hug, and Schleusner: and the latter opinion, after Chrysostom, Theodoret, and other fathers, is defended by Fabricius, Glassius, Calmet, Dr. Whitby, Stosch, Jer. Jones, Drs. Edwards, Lardner, and Macknight, Purver, Archbishop Newcome, Bishop Tomline (whose words are adopted by Bishop Mant and Dr. D'Oyly), and Bishop Middleton. A third opinion is that of Dr. Benson, which is acceded to by Dr. A. Clarke, viz. that Saint Paul refers to an Epistle which he had written, or begun to write, but had not sent; for, on receiving further information from Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, he suppressed that, and wrote this, in which he considers the subject more at large. The weight of evidence, however, is most decidedly in favour of the opinion, that the apostle wrote only the two epistles now extant, which bear his name.[12]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. III.[13]

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[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 42. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, p. 96. Mill, Whitby, Michaelis, Benson, and almost all modern commentators and critics, agree in the above date.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 36.; 4to. vol. i. p. 297.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 91. 94.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 327. 329.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 140.; 4to. vol. i. p. 355.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 163.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 185.; 4to. vol. i. p. 380.

[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 222.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.

[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 263.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.

[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 374, 375.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 482, 483.

[11] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 471.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.

[12] See this subject discussed, *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 121, 122.

[13] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 314, 315.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 291.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 42—62. 68, 69.; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 368—385.; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iv. pp. 1—7. Whitby's and Macknight's Prefaces; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 160—172. Calmet, Preface sur la premiere Epitre de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens.

SECTION V.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

I. *Date and where written.* — II. *Occasion of this Epistle.* — III. *Scope.* — IV. *Synopsis.* — V. *Observations on this Epistle.* — VI. *A supposed Chronological Difficulty elucidated.*

I. THE preceding Epistle, we have seen, was written from Ephesus about the year 57, before Saint Paul's departure from that city. On quitting Ephesus he went to Troas, which place was situated on the shore of the Ægean sea, in expectation of meeting Titus, and receiving an account of the success with which (he hoped) his former Epistle had been attended, and of the present state of the Corinthian church. (2 Cor. ii. 12.) But not meeting him there (13.), Paul proceeded to Macedonia, where he obtained the desired interview, and received satisfactory information concerning the promising state of affairs at Corinth. (vii. 5, 6.) From this country, and probably from Philippi (as the subscription imports), the apostle wrote the second letter (2 Cor. viii. 1—14. ix. 1—5.); which he sent by Titus and his associates, who were commissioned to hasten and finish the contribution among the Christians at Corinth, for the use of their poor brethren in Judæa. (ix. 2—4.) From these historical circumstances, it is generally agreed that this Epistle was written within a year after the former, that is, early in A. D. 58., and, according to Dr. Bloch, at Beroea. The genuineness of this Epistle was never doubted; and as it is cited or referred to by nearly the same antient writers, whose testimonies to the first Epistle we have given in the preceding section, it is not necessary to repeat them in this place.

II. The first Epistle to the Corinthians produced very different effects among them. Many amended their conduct, most of them showed strong marks of repentance, and evinced such respect for the apostle, that they excommunicated the incestuous person (2 Cor. ii. 5—11. vii. 11.); requested the apostle's return with tears (vii. 7.); and became zealous for him, — that is, they vindicated the apostle and his office against the false teacher and his adherents. (vii. 7—11.) Others, however, of the Corinthians, adhered to the false teacher, expressly denied his apostolical ministry, and even furnished themselves with arguments which they pretended to draw from his first Epistle. He had formerly intimated his intention of taking a journey from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to visit the Macedonian churches, and from them to return to Corinth (2 Cor. i. 15, 16.); but the unhappy state of the Corinthian church led him to alter his intention, since he found he must have treated them with severity, had he visited them. (23.) Hence his adversaries charged him, 1. With *levity* and irresolution of conduct (2 Cor. i. 18.), and, therefore, he could not be a prophet; 2. With *pride and tyrannical severity* on account of his treatment of the incestuous person; 3. With *arrogance and vain-glory* in his ministry, therein lessening the authority of the law; and 4. With being *personally contemptible*, intimating,

that however weighty he might be in his letters, yet in person he was base and despicable. (2 Cor. x. 10.) Such were the principal circumstances that gave occasion to this second Epistle to the Corinthians, to which we may add their forwardness in the contribution for the poor saints in Judæa, and their kind and benevolent reception of Titus.

III. Agreeably to these circumstances the SCOPE of this Epistle is chiefly, 1. *To account for his not having come to them as soon as he had promised*, viz. not out of levity, but partly in consequence of his sufferings in Asia, which prevented him (2 Cor. i. 8—11.), and partly that he might give them more time to set their church in better order, so that he might come to them with greater comfort. (ii. 3, 4.) 2. To declare that his sentence against the incestuous person was neither rigid nor tyrannical (ii. 5—11.), but necessary and pious; and now, as excommunication had produced so good an effect upon that offender, the apostle, commending the obedience of the Corinthians, exhorts them to absolve him from that sentence and to restore him to communion with the church. 3. *To intimate his great success in preaching the Gospel*, which he does, not for his own glory, but for the glory of the Gospel, which had peculiar efficacy upon the Corinthians above others (2 Cor. iii.), and far surpassed the ministry of Moses (iv.), and was under a veil only to those who were perishing. In preaching which Gospel he used all diligence and faithfulness, notwithstanding all his afflictions for the Gospel; which afflictions, far from reflecting disgrace upon the Gospel, or its ministers, prepared for him a far greater glory in heaven (v.) to which he aspired, inviting others to do the same, by accepting the grace of reconciliation tendered in the Gospel. 4. *To stir them up to lead a holy life*, and particularly to avoid communion with idolaters. 5. *To excite them to finish their contributions for their poor brethren in Judæa.* (viii. ix.) 6. Lastly, to *apologise for himself* against the personal contemptibleness imputed to him by the false teacher and his adherents. (x.—xiii.) In the course of this apology, he reproves their vain-glory, and enters upon a high commendation of his apostolic office and power, and his extraordinary revelations, which far outshone the counterfeit glory of the false teacher; but at the same time declares that he had rather use meekness than exert his power, unless he should be forced to do it by their contumacy and impenitence.[1]

IV. This Epistle consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1, 2.)

PART II. *The Apologetic Discourse of Saint Paul*, in which,

SECT. 1. He justifies himself from the imputations of the false teacher and his adherents, by showing his sincerity and integrity in the discharge of his ministry; and that he acted not from worldly interest, but from true love for them, and a tender concern for their spiritual welfare. (i. 3—24. ii.—vii.)

[1] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 754. The various emotions, which evidently agitated the mind of St. Paul, when writing this epistle, and also his elegance of diction, powers of persuasion, and force of argument, are all admirably discussed and illustrated by M. Royaards, in his Disputatio Inauguralis de alterâ Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolâ, et observandâ in illâ apostoli indole et oratione. 8vo. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1818.

SECT. 2. He exhorts them to a liberal contribution for their poor brethren in Judæa. (viii. ix.)

SECT. 3. He resumes his apology; justifying himself from the charges and insinuations of the false teacher and his followers; in order to detach the Corinthians from them, and to re-establish himself and his authority. (x.—xiii. 10.)

PART III. *The Conclusion.* (xiii. 11—14.)

V. "The most remarkable circumstance in this Epistle is, the confidence of the apostle in the goodness of his cause, and in the power of God to bear him out in it. Opposed as he then was by a powerful and sagacious party, whose authority, reputation, and interest were deeply concerned, and who were ready to seize on every thing that could discredit him, it is wonderful to hear him so firmly insist upon his apostolical authority, and so unreservedly appeal to the miraculous powers which he had exercised and conferred at Corinth. So far from shrinking from the contest, as afraid of some discovery being made, unfavourable to himself or to the common cause, he, with great modesty and meekness indeed, but with equal boldness and decision, expressly declares that his opposers and despisers were the ministers of Satan, and menaces them with miraculous judgments, when as many of their deluded hearers had been brought to repentance, and re-established in the faith, as proper means could in a reasonable time effect. It is inconceivable that a stronger internal testimony, not only of integrity, but of divine inspiration, can exist. Had there been any thing of imposture among the Christians, it was next to impossible, but such a conduct must have occasioned a disclosure of it."[1]

Of the effects produced by this second Epistle, we have no circumstantial accounts; for Saint Luke has only briefly noticed (in Acts xx. 2, 3.) Saint Paul's second journey to Corinth, after he had written this Epistle. We know, however, that he was there, and that the contributions were brought to him in that city for the poor brethren at Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 26.); and that, staying there several months, he sent salutations from some of the principal members of that church to the Romans. (xvi. 22, 23.) "From this time we hear no more of the false teacher and his party; and when Clement of Rome wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, Saint Paul was considered by them as a divine apostle, to whose authority he might appeal without fear of contradiction. The false teacher, therefore, must either have been silenced by Saint Paul, in virtue of his apostolical powers, and by an act of severity which he had threatened (2 Cor. xiii. 2, 3.); or this adversary of the apostle must have quitted the place. Whichever was the cause, the effect produced must operate as a confirmation of our faith, and as a proof of Saint Paul's divine mission.[2]

VI. A considerable chronological difficulty occurs in 2 Cor. xii. 14. and xiii. 1, 2., in which passages the apostle mentions his design of visiting Corinth a *third* time; whereas only *one* visit before the date of this Epistle is noticed in the Acts (xviii. 1.), about A. D. 51, and

[1] Scott's Pref. to 1 Cor.

[2] Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 74.

the next time that he visited Greece (xx. 2.), about A. D. 57, no mention is made of his going to Corinth. And, indeed, for the reasons already stated, he purposely avoided that city. It has been conjectured by Grotius, and Drs. Hammond and Paley, that his first Epistle virtually supplied the place of his presence, and that it is so represented by the apostle in a corresponding passage. (1 Cor. v. 3.) Admitting this solution to be probable, it is, however, farfetched, and is not satisfactory as a matter of fact. Michaelis has produced another, more simple and natural, viz. that Paul, on his return from Crete, visited Corinth a second time before he went to winter at Nicopolis. This second visit is unnoticed in the Acts, because the voyage itself is unnoticed.[1] The *third* visit promised in 2 Cor. xii. 14. and xiii. 1, 2. was actually paid on the aposle's second return to Rome, when he took Corinth in his way. (2 Tim. iv. 20.) "Thus critically does the book of the Acts harmonise, even in its omissions, with the Epistles: and these with each other, in the minute *incidental* circumstance of the third visit."[2]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. IV.[3]

SECTION VI.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

I. *Notice of the Christian Church in Galatia.* — II. *Date.* — III. *Genuineness and Authenticity of this Epistle.* — IV. *Its Occasion and Scope.* — V. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — VI. *Observations on this Epistle.*

I. CHRISTIANITY was very early planted in Galatia by Paul himself[4], and it appears from the Acts of the Apostles that he visited the churches in this country more than once. Two distinct visits are clearly marked, viz. the first about the year 50 (Acts xvi. 6.) and the second about the year 54 or 55. (xviii. 23.)

II. There is great diversity of opinion among learned men concerning the date of the Epistle to the Galatians. Weingart supposes it to have been written so early as the year 48; Michaelis in 49; Cappel, in 51; Bishop Pearson, in 57; Mill, Fabricius, Moldenhawer, and others, in 58; Van Til and Dr. Doddridge, in 53; Hottinger, in 54; Lord Barrington, Drs. Benson and Lardner, in 53; Beausobre, Rosenmüller, and Dr. A. Clarke, in 52 or 53; Bishop Tomline, in 52. Theodoret, who is followed by Dr. Lightfoot and some others, imagine that it was one of those Epistles which Saint

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[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 37.

[2] Dr. Hales's Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 1123.

[3] Calmet, Preface sur la seconde Epitre aux Corinthiens. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 324, 325.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 296. Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. iv. pp. 251, 252.; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 192—203.; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 385—392. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 73—75. Whitby's and Macknight's Prefaces to 2 Corinthians.

[4] Compare Gal. i. 8. 11. iii. 1. *et seq.*

Paul wrote from Rome during his first confinement; but this opinion is contradicted by the apostle's silence concerning his bonds, which he has often mentioned in the letters that are known to have been written at that time.

It is evident that the Epistle to the Galatians was written *early*, because he complains in it of their speedy apostacy from his doctrine (Gal. i. 6.), and warns them in the strongest and most forcible terms against the judaising teachers, who disturbed the peace of the churches in Syria and Asia Minor. (i. 7—9. iii. 1.) The warmth of the apostle's expressions led Tertullian to conclude that Saint Paul was himself a *neophyte* or novice in the Christian faith at the time of writing this Epistle.[1] And as no intimation is given through the whole of it that he had been with them more than once, we are authorised to conclude, that he wrote this letter from Corinth about the end of 52, or early in the year 53. The subscription, indeed, states it to have been written from Rome: but this is evidently spurious, for Saint Paul's first journey to Rome did not take place until at least ten years after the conversion of the Galatians.

III. The Genuineness of this Epistle was never doubted. It is cited by the apostolic fathers, Clement of Rome[2], Hermas[3], Ignatius[4], and Polycarp[5]; and is declared to be authentic by Irenæus[6], Clement of Alexandria[7], Tertullian[8], Caius[9], Origen[10], and by all subsequent writers. It is worthy of remark, that this Epistle was acknowledged to be genuine by the heretic Marcion, who reckoned it the earliest written of all Saint Paul's Letters, and accordingly placed it first in his Apostolicon, or Collection of Apostolical Writings.[11]

IV. The Churches in Galatia, as in most other countries, were composed partly of converted Jews, and partly of Gentile converts, but the latter seem to have been most numerous. It appears from the contents of this Epistle, that, not long after the Galatians had embraced Christianity, a certain judaising teacher or false apostle had either crept in or risen up among them, who, to advance his own doctrine, questioned Saint Paul's apostolical authority, insinuating that Peter and the apostles of the circumcision were superior to him, and consequently much more to be regarded. It was further insinuated that they never preached against the circumcision of Gentile converts: but that it was a doctrine peculiar to Paul, who was only an apostle of men, and had not such extraordinary powers and illumination as had been conferred on the other apostles. The false teacher seems even to have intimated, that Saint Paul did himself, secretly, and at some times, preach the necessity of circumcision to

[1] Cont. Marcion, lib. i. c. 20.
[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 37.; 4to. vol. i. p. 298.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 57.; 4to. vol. i. p. 309.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 76.; 4to. vol. i. p. 319.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 95.; 4to. vol. i. p. 330.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 163, 164.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.
[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 223.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.
[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.
[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 374.; 4to. vol. i. p. 482.
[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 471.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.
[11] Epiphanius, Hæres. 42.

the Gentile converts; though generally, and at other times, he insisted on the contrary. In short, the false apostle was desirous that all the Gentile Christians should submit themselves to circumcision, and consequently oblige themselves to observe the whole law of Moses, as if the Gospel of Jesus Christ alone were insufficient to justify and save them. And so successful was this teacher in propagating this error, that some of the Galatians actually submitted to be circumcised. (Gal. v. 2—12.) From the expression of Saint Paul in Gal. v. 9—10., it is probable that this disturbance in the Galatian churches was made by one judaising teacher only, and not by several zealots, as some commentators have supposed; and, from what is said in vi. 12, 13., it appears that he was a man of immoral character, who acted not from any religious views or motives, but from vain-glory and fear; that he might conciliate the favour of the Jews by increasing the number of proselytes, and so escape the persecutions raised by the unbelieving Jews against Saint Paul, and those who adhered to his doctrines.

Such were the circumstances that occasioned Saint Paul to write this Epistle with his own hand (Gal. vi. 11.), contrary to his usual practice of dictating his letters. Accordingly, its SCOPE is, to assert his apostolical character and authority, and the doctrine which he taught, and to confirm the Galatian churches in the faith of Christ, especially with respect to the important point of justification by faith alone; to expose the errors which had been disseminated among them, by demonstrating to them the true nature and use of the moral and ceremonial law; and to revive those principles of Christianity which he had taught when he first preached the Gospel to them.

V. The Epistle to the Galatians, therefore, consists of three parts, viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1—5.)

PART II. *The Discussion of the Subjects which had occasioned this Epistle: in which*

SECT. 1. is a vindication of Saint Paul's apostolical doctrine and authority, and shows that he was neither a missionary from the church at Jerusalem, nor a disciple of the apostles, but an immediate apostle of Christ himself, by divine revelation; consequently that he was in no respect inferior to Saint Peter himself. (i. 6—24. ii.)

SECT. 2. The apostle disputes against the advocates for circumcision and the observance of the law of Moses, and shows,

§ i. That justification is by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the Mosaic law. (iii. 1—18.)

§ ii. That the design of God in giving the law was, not to justify but to convince of sin, as well as to restrain from the commission of it; and that being intended only for a temporary institution, instead of vacating the promise, it was designed to be subservient to it, by showing the necessity of a better righteousness than that of the law, and so to lead convinced souls to Christ; that, being justified by faith in him, they might obtain the benefit of the promise. (iii. 19—24.) Such being the end and design of the law, the apostle infers from it, that now, under the Gospel, we are freed from the law (25—29); and illustrates his inference by God's treatment of the Jewish church, which he put under the law, as a father puts a minor under a guardian. (iv. 1—7.)

SECT. 3. shows the great weakness and folly of the Galatians in going about to subject themselves to the law, and that by submitting to circumcision they became subject to the whole law, and would forfeit the benefits of the covenant of grace. (iv. 8—31. v. 1—9.)

SECT. 4. contains various instructions and exhortations for Christian behaviour, and particularly concerning a right use of their Christian freedom. (v. 10—26. vi. 1—10.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, which is a Summary of the Topics discussed in this Epistle, terminates with an Apostolical Benediction.* (vi. 11—18.)

VI. Although the subject discussed in the Epistle to the Galatians is the same that is treated in the Epistle to the Romans, viz. the doctrine of *justification* by *faith alone*, yet the two Epistles differ materially in this respect. The Epistle to the Galatians (which was first written) was designed to prove against the Jews, that men are justified by faith *without the works of the law of Moses*[1], which required perfect obedience to all its precepts, moral and ceremonial, under the penalty of the curse, from which the atonements and purifications prescribed by Moses had no power to deliver the sinner. On the contrary, in his Epistle to the Romans, Saint Paul treats of justification on a more enlarged plan; his design being to prove against both Jews and Gentiles, that neither the one nor the other can be justified meritoriously by performing *works of law*, — that is, the works enjoined by the law of God, which is written on men's hearts; but that all must be justified gratuitously by faith through the obedience of Christ. The two Epistles, therefore, taken together, form a complete proof, that justification is not to be obtained meritoriously, either by works of morality, or by rites and ceremonies, though of divine appointment: but that it is a *free* gift, proceeding entirely from the mercy of God, to those who are qualified by faith to receive it.[2]

This Epistle is written with great energy and force of language, and at the same time affords a fine instance of Saint Paul's skill in managing an argument. The chief objection, which the advocate or advocates for the Mosaic law had urged against him, was, that he preached circumcision. In the beginning of the Epistle he overturns this slander by a statement of facts, without taking any express notice of it; but at the end he fully refutes it, that he might leave a strong and lasting impression upon their minds.

Though the erroneous doctrines of the judaising teacher and his followers, as well as the calumnies which they spread for the purpose of discrediting him as an apostle, doubtless occasioned great uneasiness of mind to him and to the faithful in that age, and did considerable injury among the Galatians, at least for some time: yet, ultimately, these evils have proved of no small service to the church in general. For, by obliging the apostle to produce the evidences of his apostleship, and to relate the history of his life, especially after his conversion, we have obtained the fullest assurance that he really was an apostle, called to be an apostle by Jesus Christ himself, and acknowledged to be such by those who were apostles before him; consequently, we are assured that our faith in the doctrines of the Gospel as taught by him (and it is he who has taught the *peculiar* doctrines of the Gospel most fully) is not built on the credit of men,

[1] Compare, among other passages, Gal. iii. 2, 3, 5. iv. 21. v. 1—4.
[2] Dr. Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians, sect. 3.

but on the authority of the Spirit of God, by whom Saint Paul was inspired in the whole of the doctrine which he has delivered to the world.

As this letter was directed to the *churches* of Galatia, Dr. Macknight is of opinion, that it was to be read publicly in them all. He thinks, that it was in the first instance sent by Titus to the brethren in Ancyra, the chief city of Galatia, with an order to them to communicate it to the other churches, in the same manner as the first Epistle to the Thessalonians was appointed to be read to all the brethren in that city, and in the province of Macedonia.[1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. V.[2] In critically studying this Epistle, much assistance will be obtained from Mr. Bloomfield's Recensio Synoptica, vol. vii. pp. 311—509.

SECTION VII.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

I. *Account of the Church at Ephesus.*—II. *Genuineness and Authenticity of this Epistle, which was addressed to the Ephesians, and not to the Church at Laodicea.*—III. *Date.*—IV. *Occasion and Scope.*—V. *Synopsis of its Contents.*—VI. *Observations on its Style.*

I. CHRISTIANITY was first planted in this city by Saint Paul, about A. D. 54, when he reasoned with the Jews in their synagogues for the space of three months; he did not, however, continue long there at that time, but hastened to keep the feast at Jerusalem, promising to return again to his hearers. (Acts xviii. 19—21.) Accordingly he came to Ephesus early the following year (Acts xix. 1. *et seq.*) and preached the word with such success, and performed such extraordinary miracles among them, that a numerous church was formed there, chiefly composed of Gentile converts; whose piety and zeal were so remarkable, that many of them, in abhorrence of the *curious arts* which they had used, burnt their magical books, to a great value. (xix. 19.) And such was the apostle's concern for their spiritual welfare, that he did not leave them until A. D. 56, when he had been about three years among them. (xx. 31.) After this he spent some time in Macedonia and Achaia; and on his return to Jerusalem (A. D. 57) he sent for the elders of the Ephesian church to meet him at Miletus. There he took an affectionate leave of them, as one that should *see them no more*; appealing to them with what fidelity he had discharged his ministry among them, and exhorting them to "take heed unto themselves, and unto the flock" commit-

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[1] Dr. Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians, sect. 3.

[2] Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre aux Galates. Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. iv. pp. 394—396.; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 131—159.; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 305—314.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 287—291.; Whitby's Preface; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 361—367.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 8—22.

ted to their care, lest they should be corrupted by seducing teachers who would rise among them, and artfully endeavour to pervert them. (xx. 17—38.)

II. The apostle Paul is universally admitted to be the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is expressly *cited as his production* by Ignatius[1], who has not fewer than seven distinct allusions to it[2]; and as he was contemporary with Saint Paul, his testimony alone is sufficient to determine its genuineness. This Epistle is likewise alluded to by Polycarp[3], and is cited by *name* by Irenæus[4], Clement of Alexandria[5], Tertullian[6], Origen[7], and by all subsequent writers without exception. Most of the antient manuscripts, and *all* the antient versions, have the words εν Εφεσω, "at Ephesus," in the first verse of this Epistle, which is an evident proof that the Epistle was written to the Ephesians. But Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Vitringa, Venema, Benson, Paley, and other learned men, have doubted or denied that this Epistle was written to the Ephesians, and have argued that it must have been written to the Laodiceans. They rest this opinion, first, on the assertion of Marcion, a heretic of the second century, who affirmed the same thing, but his testimony is of no weight; for Marcion altered and interpolated the writings of the New Testament, to make them favourable to *his* sentiments, and upon this very account he is censured by Tertullian (A. D. 200), as setting up an interpolation of his own with regard to the Epistle in question, in opposition to the *true testimony* of the church.[8] They further appeal to a passage in Basil's second book against Eunomius, in which he thus cites Eph. i. 1. "And writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him 'who is' through knowledge, he called them in a peculiar sense 'such who are,' saying; 'to the saints who are' (or even) 'to the faithful in Christ Jesus.' For so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in antient copies."[9] From the concluding sentence of this quotation it is inferred that certain manuscripts, which Basil had seen, omitted the words εν Εφεσω, "at Ephesus." Michaelis, however, has shown at considerable length, that the omission of the word ουσιν "who are," was the subject of Basil's implied censure, as being hostile to the inference he wished to deduce, and not the omission of the words εν Εφεσω. And, as this father, in another passage of his writings, *expressly cites* the Epistle to the Ephesians[10] without any hesitation, it is evident that in his time (the latter part of the fourth century) this Epistle was not considered as being addressed to the Laodiceans.

Thirdly, it is contended that there are no allusions in this Epistle

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1 Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 70.; 4to. vol. i. p. 316.
2 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 78.; 4to. vol. i. p. 320.
3 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 95.; 4to. vol. i. p. 330.
4 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 163.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.
5 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 223.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.
6 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.
7 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 472.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.
8 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.
9 See the original passage in Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 401.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 466.; or in Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 142—146.
10 Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 404.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 467.

to St. Paul's having resided among the persons to whom it is addressed; and that the expressions in Eph. i. 15. iii. 2. and iv. 21. appear to be more suitable to persons whom he had never seen (which was the case of the Christians at Laodicea), than to the Ephesians, among whom he had resided about three years. (Acts xx. 31.) But these passages admit of easy and satisfactory interpretations, which directly refute this hypothesis. It will be recollected that four or five years had elapsed since Saint Paul had quitted Ephesus: he might, therefore, with great propriety, express (in i. 15.) his complacency on *hearing* that they continued stedfast in the faith, notwithstanding the various temptations to which they were exposed. Again, the expression in iii. 2. (εἰγε ηκουσατε την οικονομιαν) which many translate and understand to mean, *if ye have heard of the dispensation*,—more correctly means, *since ye have heard the dispensation* of the grace of God, which had been made known to them by Saint Paul himself. Consequently this verse affords no countenance to the hypothesis above-mentioned. The same remark applies to iv. 21., where a similar construction occurs, which ought in like manner to be rendered, *since indeed ye have heard him*, &c. But most stress has been laid upon the direction given by Saint Paul in Col. iv. 16.—that the Colossians should "cause the Epistle which he wrote to them to be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that they should likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea;"—which (it is contended) affords a plain proof that the Epistle, in our copies inscribed to the Ephesians, must be that which is intended in Col. iv. 16., and consequently was originally written to the Laodiceans. But this conclusion does not necessarily follow: for it is most probable, that by "*the Epistle from Laodicea*," Saint Paul meant the Epistle to the Ephesians, a copy of which was sent by the apostle's direction to the Laodiceans, whose city lay between Ephesus and Colosse; and, as it was within the circuit of the Ephesian church (which was the metropolitan of all Asia, as Ephesus was the chief city of proconsular Asia,) the Epistle to the Ephesians, as already remarked[1], may refer to the whole province.

Michaelis, Haenlein, Hug, and Cellérier, after Archbishop Usher and Bengel, get rid of all the difficulties attending this question, by supposing the Epistle to have been *encyclical* or circular, and addressed to the Ephesians, Laodiceans, and some other churches in Asia Minor. But it could hardly be circular in the sense in which Michaelis understands that term: for he supposes that the different copies transmitted by Saint Paul had εν Εφεσω, *at Ephesus*, εν Λαοδικεια, *at Laodicea*, &c. as occasion required, and that the reason why all our manuscripts read εν Εφεσω is, that when the books of the New Testament were first collected, the copy used was obtained from Ephesus: but this, Bishop Middleton observes, seems to imply—what cannot be proved—that the canon was established by authority, and that all copies of this Epistle, not agreeing with the approved edition, were suppressed.

[1] See Vol. I. p. 123.

Dr. Macknight is of opinion, that Saint Paul sent the Ephesians word by Tychicus, who carried their letter, to send a copy of it to the Laodiceans, with an order to them to communicate it to the Colossians. This hypothesis will account, as well as that of Michaelis, for the want of those marks of personal acquaintance which the apostle's former residence might lead us to expect, and on which so much stress has been laid: for every thing local would be purposely omitted in an Epistle which had a further destination.

The reader will adopt which of these hypotheses he may deem the best supported: we think the solution last stated, the most natural and probable; and that, when the united testimonies of manuscripts, and all the fathers, with the exception of Basil, are taken into consideration, we are fully justified in regarding this Epistle as written to the Ephesians.[1]

III. The subscription to this Epistle states, that it was written from Rome, and sent to the Ephesians by Tychicus, who was also the bearer of the Epistle to the Colossians, the similarity of which in style and subject shows that it was written at the same time. That this Epistle was written during Saint Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, is evident from its allusions to his confinement (iii. 1. iv. 1. vi. 20.); and as he does not express in it any hopes of a speedy release (which he does in his other Epistles sent from that city), we conclude with Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, and others, that it was written during the early part of Saint Paul's imprisonment, and probably in the year 61, soon after he arrived at Rome.

IV. As Saint Paul was, in a peculiar manner, the apostle of the Gentiles, and was now a prisoner at Rome in consequence of his having provoked the Jews, by asserting that the observance of the Mosaic law was not necessary to obtain the favour of God, he was apprehensive lest advantage should be taken of his confinement to unsettle the minds of his Ephesian converts, who were almost wholly Gentiles. Hearing, however, that they stood firm in the faith of Christ, he wrote this Epistle in order to establish them in that faith, and to give them more exalted views of the love of God, and of the excellency and dignity of Christ; and at the same time to fortify their minds against the scandal of the cross. With this view, he shows them that they were saved by grace; and that, however wretched they once were, now they had equal privileges with the Jews. He then proceeds to encourage them to persevere in their Christian calling, by declaring with what stedfastness he suffered for the truth, and with what earnestness he prayed for their establishment and continuance in it; and urges them to walk in a manner

[1] Stosch, de Epistolis Apostolorum non deperditis, p. 101. et seq. Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre aux Ephesians; Rosenmüller and Koppe in their respective Prolegomena to this epistle. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 128—146. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 416—456.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 342—362. Macknight on Col. iv. 16. Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. p. 423. Hug's Introd. vol. ii. pp. 425—433. Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 508—518. (first edit.) who observes, that if ever there were an epistle from Saint Paul to the Laodiceans, it is lost: for that which is extant in Fabricius and in Mr. Jones's work on the canon (and of which we have given a translation in the Appendix to Vol. I. pp. 509, 510.) is universally admitted to be a forgery; yet the loss of a canonical writing is of all suppositions the most improbable.

becoming their profession, in the faithful discharge both of the general and common duties of religion, and of the special duties of particular relations.

V. In this Epistle we may observe the following particulars, besides the inscription (i. 1, 2.); viz.

PART I. *The Doctrine pathetically explained, which contains,*

SECT. 1. Praise to God for the whole Gospel-blessing (i. 3—14.), with thanksgiving and prayer for the saints. (i. 15—23. ii. 1—10.)

SECT. 2. A more particular admonition concerning their once wretched but now happy condition. (ii. 11—22.)

SECT. 3. A prayer for their establishment. (iii.)

PART II. *The Exhortation.*

SECT. 1. *General,* to walk worthy of their calling, agreeable to,

(1.) The unity of the Spirit, and the diversity of his gifts. (iv. 1—16.)

(2.) The difference between their former and present state. (iv. 17—24.)

SECT. 2. *Particular.*

(1.) To avoid lying, anger, theft, and other sins (iv. 25—31. v. 1—21.), with a commendation of the opposite virtues.

(2.) To a faithful discharge of the relative duties of wives and husbands (v. 22—33.), of children and parents (vi. 1—4.), and of masters and servants. (vi. 5—9.)

SECT. 3. *Final.* — To war the spiritual warfare. (vi. 10—20.)

PART III. *The Conclusion.* (vi. 21—24.)

VI. The Style of this Epistle is exceedingly animated, and corresponds with the state of the apostle's mind at the time of writing. Overjoyed with the account which their messenger had brought him of their faith and holiness (i. 15.), and transported with the consideration of the unsearchable wisdom of God, displayed in the work of man's redemption, and of his astonishing love towards the Gentiles in making them partakers, through faith, of all the benefits of Christ's death, he soars high in his sentiments on these grand subjects, and gives his thoughts utterance in sublime and copious expressions. Many of them contain happy allusions to the temple and statue of Diana at Ephesus. "No *real* Christian," says Dr. Macknight, "can read the doctrinal part of the Epistle to the Ephesians, without being impressed and roused by it, as by the sound of a trumpet." [1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. VI.

For a table of the corresponding passages in this Epistle and in that of the Colossians, see page 391. *infra.*

SECTION VIII.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

I. *Account of the Church at Philippi.* — II. *Date.* — III. *Occasion.* — IV. *Scope and Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. CHRISTIANITY was first planted at Philippi, in Macedonia, by Saint Paul, A. D. 50, the particulars of which are related in Acts

[1] Preface to Ephesians, sect. 6.

xvi. 9—40.; and it appears from Acts xx. 6. that he visited them again A. D. 57, though no particulars are recorded concerning that visit. Of all the churches planted by Saint Paul, that at Philippi seems to have cherished the most tender concern for him: and though it appears to have been but a small community, yet its members were peculiarly generous towards him. For when the Gospel was first preached in Macedonia, no other church contributed any thing to his support, except the Philippians; who, while he was preaching at Thessalonica, the metropolis of that country, sent him money twice, that the success of the Gospel might not be hindered by its preachers becoming burthensome to the Thessalonians. (Phil. iv. 15, 16.) The same attention they showed to the apostle, and for the same reason, while he preached the Gospel at Corinth. (2 Cor. xi. 9.) And when they heard that Saint Paul was under confinement at Rome, they manifested a similar affectionate concern for him: and sent Epaphroditus to him with a present, lest he should want necessaries during his imprisonment. (ii. 25. iv. 10. 14—18.)

II. It appears from Saint Paul's own words, that this Epistle was written while he was a prisoner at Rome (i. 7. 13. iv. 22.); and from the expectation which he discovers, of being soon released and restored to them [1], as well as from the intimations contained in this letter (i. 12. ii. 26.), that he had then been a considerable time at Rome, it is probable that he wrote the Epistle to the Philippians towards the close of his first imprisonment, at the end of A. D. 62, or perhaps at the commencement of 63. The genuineness of this letter was never questioned.

III. The more immediate occasion of the Epistle to the Philippians was the return of Epaphroditus, one of their pastors, by whom Paul sent it, as a grateful acknowledgment of their kindness in sending him supplies of money. From the manner in which Paul expressed himself on this occasion, it appears that he was in great want of necessaries before their contributions arrived; for as he had not converted the Romans, he did not consider himself as entitled to receive supplies from them. Being a prisoner, he could not work as formerly; and it was his rule never to receive any thing from the churches where factions had been raised against him. It also appears that the Philippians were the only church from whom he received any assistance, and that he conferred this honour upon them, because they loved him exceedingly, had preserved the Christian doctrine in purity, and had always conducted themselves as sincere Christians.

IV. The scope of this Epistle, therefore, is to confirm the Philippians in the faith, to encourage them to walk in a manner becoming the Gospel of Christ, to caution them against the intrusion of judaising teachers, and to testify his gratitude for their Christian bounty.

[1] M. Oeder, in a programma published in 1731, contended that this Epistle was written at a much earlier period at Corinth, and shortly after the planting of the church at *Philippi*: this hypothesis was examined and refuted by Wolfius in his Curæ Philologicæ, vol. iii. pp. 168. et seq. and 271. et seq. In 1799 the celebrated Professor Paulus published a programma, de Tempore scriptæ prioris ad Timotheum atque ad Philippenses Epistolæ Paulinæ; in which he endeavours to shew that it was written at Cæsarea; but his hypothesis has been refuted by Heinrichs in his notes on this Epistle.

Accordingly, after a short introduction (i. 1, 2.), he proceeds,

SECT. 1. To express his gratitude to God for their continuing steadfast in the faith, and prays that it may continue (i. 3—11.); and, lest they should be discouraged by the tidings of his imprisonment, he informs them that his sufferings and confinement, so far from impeding the progress of the Gospel, had "rather fallen out to its furtherance;" and assures them of his readiness to live or die, as should be most for their welfare and the glory of God. (12—20.)[1]

SECT. 2. He then exhorts them, in a strain of the most sublime and pathetic eloquence, to maintain a conduct worthy of the Gospel, and to the practice of mutual love and candour, enforced by the highest of all examples, — that of Jesus Christ; and to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, that he may rejoice in the day of Christ on their account (i. 21—30. ii. 1—17.); and promises to send Timothy and Epaphroditus, of whom he makes a very affectionate mention. (19—30.)

SECT. 3. He solemnly cautions them against judaising teachers, *who preached Christ through envy and strife.* (iii. iv. 1.)

SECT. 4. After some admonitions to particular persons (iv. 2, 3.), and some general exhortations to Christian cheerfulness, moderation, and prayer (4—7.), he proceeds to recommend virtue in the most extensive sense, mentioning all the different bases on which it had been placed by the Grecian philosophers. (8, 9.) Towards the close of his Epistle, he makes his acknowledgments to the Philippians for their seasonable and liberal supply, as it was a convincing proof of their affection for him, and of their concern for the support of the Gospel, which he preferred far before any secular interest of his own, expressly disclaiming all selfish mercenary views, and assuring them, with a noble simplicity, that he was able upon all occasions to accommodate his temper to his circumstances; and had learned, under the teachings of divine grace, in whatever station Providence might see fit to place him, therewith to be content. (10—18.) After which the apostle, having encouraged them to expect a rich supply of all their wants from their God and Father, to whom he devoutly ascribes the honour of all (19.), concludes with salutations from himself and his friends at Rome to the whole church, and a solemn benediction. (21—23.)

It is remarkable that the Epistle to the church at Philippi is the only one, of all Saint Paul's letters to the churches, in which not one censure is expressed or implied against any of its members; but, on the contrary, sentiments of unqualified commendation and confidence pervade every part of this Epistle. Its style is singularly animated, affectionate, and pleasing.

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. VII.[2]

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[1] Verses 15—18. are a parenthesis, though not so marked in any editions or translations which we have seen.

[2] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Nov. Test. tom. iv. pp. 472—475.; Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre aux Philippiens; Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. pp. 152—160. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 485—487.; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 152—161.; Macknight's Preface to this epistle. But the fullest view of the epistle to the Philippians will be found in Hoog's Specimen Academicum Inaugurale de Coetus Christianorum Philippensis Conditione primævâ, ex epistolâ iis ab apostolo Paulo scriptâ, præcipuè dijudicanda. Lugd. Bat. 1825. 8vo.

SECTION IX.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

I. *Account of the Church at Colossæ.*—II. *Date.*—III. *Occasion of this Epistle.*—IV. *Scope and Analysis.*

I. BY whom or at what time Christianity was planted at Colossæ [1], we have no certain information. Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, and others, are of opinion that the church at Colossæ was founded by Paul; and they ground this opinion principally on the following considerations; viz.

That Paul was twice in Phrygia, in which country were the cities of Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis, — that he does in effect say that he had dispensed the Gospel to the Colossians (i. 21—25.), — and that it appears from the terms of affection and authority discoverable in this Epistle, that he did not address them as strangers, but as acquaintances, friends, and converts. It is true that Paul was twice in Phrygia, but he does not seem to have visited the three cities above mentioned; for his route lay considerably to the northward of them, from Cilicia and Derbe to Lystra, and thence through Phrygia and Galatia to Mysia and Troas. (Acts xvi. 6.) And in his second tour he also passed through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus and Troas (Acts xviii. 23.), and so through the upper parts, or northern districts, of Asia Minor. (xix. 1.) That Paul did *not* plant the church at Colossæ, is evident from his own declaration in ii. 1. where he says, that neither the Colossians nor the Laodiceans had then "seen his face in the flesh." But though Paul had never been in Colossæ when he wrote this Epistle, yet Christianity had evidently been taught, and a church planted there. Rosenmüller is of opinion, that the Gospel was introduced into that city by Epaphras. It is not improbable that Epaphras, who is mentioned in i. 7. iv. 12, 13., was one of the earliest teachers; but it does not necessarily follow that he was the person who first planted Christianity there. Indeed, it is not likely that the Colossians would send away the founder of their church while it was yet in an infant state. As it appears from Acts xix. 10. that, during Paul's residence at Ephesus, many persons, both Jews and Greeks, came from various parts of Asia to hear the Gospel, Michaelis supposes that several Colossians, particularly Philemon, were of this number. He also thinks that Timothy might have taught them the Christian faith; as Paul subjoins his name to his own (i. 1.), and throughout the first chapter speaks in their joint names, except where the subject relates to his own imprisonment, and where Timothy of course could not be included.

II. But though it is impossible now to ascertain the founder of the church at Colossæ, the Epistle itself furnishes us with a guide to its

[1] In Col. i. 2. instead of εν Κολοσσαις, *at Colossæ*, the Alexandrian, Vatican, Codex Ephrem, and several other antient manuscripts, read εν Κολασσαις, *at Colassæ*, or among the Colassians. With them agree the Syriac, Coptic, and Sclavonic versions, as well as Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and many other learned fathers: but as the coins of this city are stamped ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΟΙ, and ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ, Colossæ appears to be the more correct name.

date. In Col. iv. 3. the apostle alludes to his imprisonment, from which circumstance, as well as from its close affinity to the Epistle addressed to the Ephesians, it is evident that it was written nearly at the same time. Accordingly most commentators and critics refer it to the year 62. Its genuineness was never disputed.

III. At the time of writing this Epistle, Paul was "an ambassador in bonds," for maintaining the freedom of the Gentile converts from all subjection to the law of Moses.

Its immediate Occasion was, some difficulties that had arisen among the Colossians, in consequence of which they sent Epaphras to Rome, to acquaint the apostle with the state of their affairs; to which we may add the letter (Col. iv. 16.) sent to him by the Laodiceans, who seem to have written to him concerning the errors of the false teachers, and to have asked his advice. Paul, therefore, replies in the present Epistle, which he sent to the Colossians as being the larger church, and also because the false teachers had probably caused greater disturbances among the Colossians; but desired that they would send the same Epistle to the Laodiceans, and ask them for a copy of their letter to Paul, in order that they might the better understand his answer.

Who the false teachers were, is a point not satisfactorily determined. Michaelis is of opinion that this Epistle was directed against the tenets and practices of the Essenes, of which sect an account has been given in the preceding volume. But it is more probable that they were partly superstitious judaising teachers, who diligently inculcated not only the Mosaic law, but also the absurd notions of the rabbins, and partial converts from Gentilism who blended Platonic notions with the doctrines of the Gospel. It is well known that the Platonists entertained singular ideas concerning demons, whom they represented as carrying men's prayers to God, from whom they brought back the blessings supplicated: and the doctrines of the Jews concerning angels were nearly the same as that of the Platonics concerning demons. It appears from Col. ii. 16—23. that the false teachers inculcated the worship of angels, abstinence from animal food, the observance of the Jewish festivals, new moons and Sabbaths, the mortification of the body by long-continued fastings, and, in short, the observance of the Mosaic ritual law, as absolutely necessary to salvation.

IV. The Scope of the Epistle to the Colossians is, to show that all hope of man's redemption is founded on Christ our Redeemer, in whom alone all complete fulness, perfections, and sufficiency, are centered: to caution the Colossians against the insinuations of judaising teachers, and also against philosophical speculations and deceits, and human traditions, as inconsistent with Christ and his fulness for our salvation; and to excite the Colossians, by the most persuasive arguments, to a temper and conduct worthy of their sacred character. The Epistle, therefore, consists of two principal parts besides the introduction and conclusion.

I. After a short inscription or introduction (i. 1, 2.) Paul begins with expressing great joy for the favourable character which he had heard of them, and assures them that he daily prayed for their further improve-

ment. (3—14.) He then makes a short digression in order to describe the dignity of Jesus Christ, who, he declares, created all things, whether thrones or dominions, principalities or powers, — that he alone was the head of the church, and had reconciled men to the Father. (15—20.) The inference from this description is evident, that Jesus was superior to angels; that they were created beings, and ought not to be worshipped. In verse 21. Paul returns from this digression to the sentiments with which he had introduced it in the thirteenth and fourteenth verses; and again expresses his joy, that the Colossians remained faithful to the Gospel, which was to be preached to the Gentiles, without the restraints of the ceremonial law. From this view of the excellency of Christ's person, and the riches of his grace, the apostle takes occasion to express the cheerfulness with which he suffered in the cause of the Gospel, and his earnest solicitude to fulfil his ministry among them in the most successful manner; assuring them of his concern for them and for the other Christians in the neighbourhood, that they might be established in their adherence to the Christian Faith. (i. 21—29. ii. 1—7.)

II. Having given these general exhortations, he proceeds directly to caution them against the vain and deceitful philosophy of the new teachers, and their superstitious adherence to the law; shows the superiority of Christ to angels, and warns Christians against worshipping them. He censures the observations of Jewish sabbaths and festivals, and cautions the Colossians against those corrupt additions which some were attempting to introduce, especially by rigours and superstitions of their own devising. (ii. 8—23.) To these doctrinal instructions succeed precepts concerning the practical duties of life, especially the relative duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, servants and masters. (iii. iv. 1—6.) The Epistle concludes with matters chiefly of a private nature, except the directions for reading it in the church of Laodicea, as well as in that of Colossæ. (iv. 7—18.) For an illustration of iv. 16. see Vol. I. pp. 122, 123.

Whoever, says Michaelis, would understand the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, must read them together. The one is in most places a commentary on the other; the meaning of single passages in one Epistle, which, if considered alone, might be variously interpreted, being determined by the parallel passages in the other Epistle. Yet, though there is a great similarity, the Epistle to the Colossians contains many things which are not to be found in that to the Ephesians; especially in regard to the worship of angels, and many single points, which appear to be Essene, and might prevail at Colossæ.

The following Table exhibits the corresponding passages of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians.

Ephesians.	Colossians.	Ephesians.	Colossians.
Chap. i. 1, 2.	Chap. i. 1, 2.	Chap. iv. 22—25.	Chap. iii. 9, 10.
i. 6, 7.	i. 13.	iv. 17—21.	i. 21. ii. 6. iii. 8–10.
i. 10.	i. 19, 20.	iv. 29.	iv. 6.
i. 15, 16.	i. 3, 4.	iv. 32.	iii. 12, 13.
i. 17—21.	i. 9—15.	iv. 31.	iii. 8.
i. 22. iii. 10, 11.	i. 16—18.	v. 5.	iii. 5.
i. 19. ii. 1—5.	ii. 12, 13.	v. 6.	iii. 6.
ii. 1.	i. 21.	v. 7, 8.	iii. 7, 8.
ii. 13—16.	i. 20. ii. 14.	v. 15, 16.	iv. 5.
iii. 1.	i. 24, 25.	v. 18—20.	iii. 16, 17.
iii. 3, &c.	i. 26—29.	v. 21–23. vi. 1–9.	iii. 18—25. iv. 1.
iv. 2—4.	ii. 12—15.	vi. 18—20	iv. 2—4.
iv. 16.	ii. 19.	vi. 21, 22.	iv. 7—9. [1]

[1] Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre à les Colossiens; Michaelis's Introd. vol. iv. pp. 116—

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. VIII.

SECTION X.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

I. *Account of the Christian Church there.* — II. *Genuineness of this Epistle.* — III. *Its Occasion and Scope.* — IV. *Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. CHRISTIANITY was first planted at Thessalonica by Saint Paul, A. D. 50, who formed a church, composed both of Jews and Gentiles, but the latter were most numerous. Acts xvii. 2—4. The unbelieving Jews, however, having stirred up a persecution against him and his company, they were forced to flee to Beræa, and thence to Athens (xvii. 5—15.), from which city he proceeded to Corinth. Being thus prevented from visiting the Thessalonians again as he had intended (1 Thess. ii. 17, 18.), he sent Silas and Timothy to visit them in his stead (iii. 6.), and, on their return to him from Macedonia (Acts xvii. 14, 15. xviii. 5.), he wrote the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, A. D. 52, from Corinth, and not from Athens, as the spurious subscription to this Epistle imports. [1]

II. The first Epistle to the Thessalonians is generally admitted to have been one of the earliest written, if indeed it be not the *very first* [2], of all Saint Paul's letters, and we find that he was anxious that it should be read to all the Christian churches in Macedonia. In chap. v. 27. he gives the following command: *I adjure you by the Lord that this Epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.* This direction is very properly inserted in his first Epistle. Its genuineness has never been disputed. Polycarp [3], has probably referred to it, and it is certainly quoted and recognised as Saint Paul's production (together with the second Epistle) by Irenæus [4], Clement of Alexandria [5], Tertullian [6], Caius [7], Origen [8], and all subsequent ecclesiastical writers.

III. The immediate occasion of Paul's writing this Epistle was, the favourable report which Timothy had brought him of the stedfastness of the Thessalonians in the faith of the Gospel. He there-

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124.; Hug's Introd. vol. ii. pp. 433—435.; Macknight's Preface; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iv. pp. 134—136. In instituting a collation of these two epistles the student will find a very valuable help in M. Van Bemmelen's Dissertatio Exegetico-Critica, de epistolas Pauli ad Ephesios et Colossenses inter se collatis. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1803.

[1] Grotius has contended that the *first* Epistle to the Thessalonians is in reality the second, but he has not supported that conjecture by any historical evidence.

[2] Calmet, Bloch, Dr. Macknight, and many other modern critics, after Chrysostom and Theodoret, are decidedly of opinion that this is the earliest written of all St. Paul's Epistles.

[3] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 96.; 4to. vol. i. p. 330.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 164.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 223.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 374.; 4to. vol. i. p. 482.

[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 528. 530.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 566, 567.

fore wrote to convince them of its truth, and to confirm them in that faith, lest they should be turned aside from it by the persecutions of the unbelieving Jews, and also to excite them to a holy conversation, becoming the dignity of their high and holy calling. With this view, after a short introduction (i. 1.), in which he unites the names of Timothy and Sylvanus, his two assistants in planting and watering the church at Thessalonica, with his own name, Paul expresses his thanks to God for their faith, love, and patient expectation of Christ's coming (2—4.); and then proceeds to show the divine origin of the Christian revelation by the four following arguments.

1. That many and great miracles were performed by the preachers of the Gospel, professedly for the purpose of demonstrating that they were commissioned by God to preach it to the world. (i. 5—10.) In this part of his discussion Paul highly commends their faith and constancy.

2. That the character, behaviour, and views of the first preachers of the Gospel are an evidence of its truth. The apostles and their assistants, by preaching the Gospel, every where brought upon themselves all manner of present evils, without obtaining the least temporal advantage, in possession or in prospect; that, in preaching this new doctrine, they did not in any respect accommodate it to the prevailing inclinations of their hearers, nor encourage them in their vicious practices: that they used none of the base arts peculiar to impostors, in order to obtain belief; but that their manner of preaching was in all respects suitable to the character of missionaries from God; so that on account of their personal character, they were entitled to the highest credit as divine teachers. (ii. iii.)

3. That the first preachers of the Gospel delivered to their disciples, from the very beginning, precepts of the greatest strictness and holiness; so that by the sanctity of its precepts, the Gospel is shown to be a scheme of religion, every way worthy of the true God, and highly beneficial to mankind. (iv. 1—12.) The practical directions introduced in this part of the Epistle were admirably suited to the state of the Thessalonian church. The first was, that they should live chastely, and carefully abstain from that impurity to which the Gentiles were much addicted; for Christianity requires the utmost purity of life. The Christians at Thessalonica loved each other and all the Christians in that place so affectionately, that the apostle recommended it to them, only to abound therein more and more; and, by their exemplary conduct, to live in peace and credit with all men.

The heathens had such imperfect notions and wavering expectations of a future state, that they used to howl at their funerals, and excessively lament over their dead, as if they were utterly lost, and never to live in another state. Saint Paul, therefore, advises the Christians not to sorrow, like those who had no hope of a resurrection to a happy immortality. Thence he takes occasion to prove,

4. That Jesus Christ, the author of our religion, was declared to be the Son of God and the judge of the world by his resurrection from the dead; and that by the same miracle, his own promise, and the predictions of his apostles concerning his return from Heaven to reward the righteous and punish the wicked — especially those who obey not the Gospel — are rendered absolutely certain. (iv. 13—18. v. 1—11.)

The Epistle concludes with various practical advices and instructions. (v. 12—28.)

IV. The following tabular synopsis will perhaps show the bearings of the preceding arguments more clearly:

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1—4.)

PART II. *The Treatise or Argumentative Part of the Epistle.* (i. 5—10. ii.—v. 1—11.)

SECT. 1. The *first* argument in proof of the divine original of the Gospel, founded upon the miracles by which it was confirmed. (i. 5—10.)

SECT. 2. The *second* argument, taken from the character, behaviour, and views of its first preachers. (ii. 1—13.)

(1.) Answer to the objection against the truth of the Christian miracles, taken from the unbelief of the Jews in Judæa, and their persecuting Jesus and his disciples. (ii. 14—20.)

(2.) Answer to the objection urged against the preachers of the Gospel, for not delivering themselves from persecution by their miraculous powers. (iii. 1—4.)

(3.) Answer to the objection against Saint Paul in particular, that his quitting Thessalonica was a proof that he did not love the Thessalonians. (iii. 5—13.)

SECT. 3. The *third* argument in proof of the divine original of the Gospel, taken from the holy nature of its precepts. (iv. 1—12.)

SECT. 4. The *fourth* argument, taken from the resurrection of Jesus Christ, the author of the Gospel, by which God declared him to be his Son, the governor and judge of the world. (iv. 13—18. v. 1—11.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, containing various practical Admonitions and Instructions.* (v. 12—28.)

In thus exhibiting the proofs of the divine original of the Gospel, Dr. Macknight remarks[1], that Saint Paul with great propriety insisted on the character, behaviour, and views of the first Christian teachers: because an argument of that kind could not fail to have great weight with the Greeks, as it made them sensible that the ministers of the Gospel were the very reverse of their philosophers, the only teachers to whom that intelligent and inquisitive people had hitherto listened. At the same time, besides proving the divine original of the Gospel, the apostle, by wholesome reproofs, with great address and affection, corrected certain vices and irregularities which the Thessalonians had not yet amended.

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ. Chap. IX.[2]

SECTION XI.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

I. *Date, Occasion, and Scope of this Epistle.* — II. *Analysis of its Contents.* — III. *Observations on this Epistle.*

I. THE second Epistle to the Thessalonians was evidently written soon after the first (A. D. 52), and from the same place: for Silvanus or

[1] Pref. to 1 Thess. sect. 3. We have adopted this learned commentator's view of this Epistle, as presenting its scope to the best possible advantage.

[2] Calmet, Preface sur la première Epitre aux Thessaloniens; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iv. pp. 681, 682.; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 99—109.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 23—29.; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 349—352. But the fullest view of all the circumstances of this epistle is given in Burgerhoudt's Specimen Academicum Inaugurale de Coetus Christianorum Thessalonicensis Ortu Fatisque, et prioris Pauli iis scriptæ Epistolæ Consilio et Argumento. Ludg. Bat. 1825. 8vo.

Silas, and Timothy, are joined together with the apostle in the inscription of this Epistle as well as that of the former. This Epistle was occasioned by the information communicated to Paul by the person who had conveyed his first letter to the Thessalonians, respecting the state of their church. Among other things he was informed, from some expressions in it [1], that many of them expected that the day of judgment would happen in that age: and that such of them, as thought the advent of Christ and the end of the world to be at hand, were neglecting their secular affairs, as being inconsistent with a due preparation for that important and awful event. As soon, therefore, as the state of the Thessalonians was made known to Paul, he wrote this second Epistle, to correct their misapprehension, to rescue them from an error which (appearing to rest on apostolical authority) must ultimately be injurious to the spread of the Gospel, and to recommend several Christian duties.

II. After a short introduction, the apostle begins with commending the faith and charity of the Thessalonians, of which he had heard a favourable report. He expresses his joy on account of the patience with which they endured persecution; which, he observes, was a proof of a righteous judgment to come, where their persecutors would meet with their proper recompense, and the righteous be delivered out of all their afflictions. And all this (he assures them) will take place, when Jesus Christ returns with pomp and majesty as universal judge. He further assures them of his constant prayers for their further improvement, in order that they may attain the felicity promised. (ch. i.)

He then proceeds to rectify the mistake of the Thessalonians, who, from misunderstanding a passage in his former letter, believed that the day of judgment was at hand. "The day of the Lord," he informs them, will not come until a great apostacy has overspread the Christian world, the nature of which he describes. Symptoms of this mystery of iniquity had then appeared; but the apostle expresses his thankfulness to God, that the Thessalonians had escaped this corruption; and he exhorts them to stedfastness, praying that God would comfort and strengthen them. (ii.)

He next requests their prayers for himself, and for Silvanus and Timothy, his two assistants; at the same time expressing his confidence that they would pay a due regard to the instructions he had given them. And he proceeds to correct some irregularities that had crept into their church. Many of the Thessalonians seem to have led an idle and disorderly life: these he severely reproves, and commands the faithful to shun their company, if they still remained incorrigible. The apostle concludes with his apostolical benediction; and informs them that his writing the salutation with his own hand was a token of the genuineness of all the Epistles which he wrote.

From the preceding view of this Epistle, it will be seen that it consists of five parts, viz.

1. The Inscription. (i. 1, 2.)
2. Saint Paul's Thanksgiving and Prayer for them. (i. 3—12.)

[1] See 1 Thess. iv. 15. 17. v. 4. 6.

3. The Rectification of their Mistake concerning the day of judgment and the doctrine concerning the man of sin. (ii.)
4. Various advices relative to Christian virtues, particularly,
   i. To prayer, with a prayer for the Thessalonians. (iii. 1—5.)
   ii. To correct the disorderly. (iii. 6—16.)
5. The Conclusion. (iii. 17, 18.)

III. Although the second Epistle to the Thessalonians is the shortest of all Saint Paul's letters to the churches it is not inferior to any of them in the sublimity of the sentiments, and in that excellent spirit by which all the writings of this apostle are so eminently distinguished. Besides those marks of genuineness and authority which it has in common with the rest of the apostolical Epistles, it has *one* peculiar to itself, in the exact representation it contains of the papal power, under the characters of the "Man of Sin," and the "Mystery of Iniquity." For, considering how directly opposite the principles here described were to the genius of Christianity, it must have appeared, at the time when this Epistle was written, highly improbable to all human apprehension that they should ever have prevailed in the Christian church; and consequently a prediction like this, which answers so exactly in every particular to the event, must be allowed to carry its own evidence along with it, and to prove that its author wrote under divine influence.[1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. X.

SECTION XII.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

I. *Account of Timothy.* — II. *Date of this Epistle.* — III. *Genuineness and Authenticity of the Two Epistles to Timothy.* — IV. *Scope and Synopsis of the First Epistle.* — V. *Observations on the Use which the Church is to make in every Age of Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus.*

I. TIMOTHY, to whom this Epistle was addressed, was a native of Lystra, a city of Lycaonia, in Asia Minor. His father was a Greek, but his mother was a Jewess (Acts xvi. 1.), and, as well as his grandmother Loïs, a person of excellent character. (2 Tim. i. 5.) The pious care they took of his education soon appeared to have the desired success; for we are assured by Saint Paul, that from his childhood, Timothy was well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. (2 Tim. iii. 15.) It is generally supposed that he was converted to the Christian faith during the first visit made by Paul and Barnabas to Lystra. (Acts xiv.) From the time of his conversion, Timothy made such

[1] Dr. Doddridge's Introd. to 2 Thess. Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 109—115. Calmet's Preface sur la seconde Epitre aux Thessaloniens; Hug's Introd. vol. ii. pp. 353, 354. For a full illustration of the prophecy above mentioned, see Bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. ii. Diss. 22. Dr. Benson's Dissertation on the Man of Sin, (Paraphrase on 1 and 2 Thess. pp. 173—197. 2d edit.,) or Drs. Macknight and A. Clarke on 2 Thess. ii.

proficiency in the knowledge of the Gospel, and was so remarkable for the sanctity of his manners, as well as for his zeal in the cause of Christ, that he attracted the esteem of all the brethren in those parts. Accordingly, when the apostle came from Antioch in Syria to Lystra the second time, they commended Timothy so highly to him, that Paul selected him to be the companion of his travels, having previously circumcised him (Acts xvi. 2—3.), and ordained him in a solemn manner by imposition of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14.; 2 Tim. i. 6.), though at that time he probably was not more than twenty years of age. (1 Tim. iv. 12.) From this period, frequent mention is made of Timothy, as the attendant of Paul in his various journeyings, assisting him in preaching the Gospel, and in conveying his instructions to the churches. When the apostle was driven from Thessalonica and Beræa by persecution, he left Silas and Timothy there to strengthen the churches in the faith. (Acts xvii. 13, 14.) Thence they went to Paul at Corinth (xviii. 5.), and from Ephesus he again sent Timothy to Thessalonica (Acts xix. 22.; 1 Thess. iii. 2, 3.) to comfort the believers under their tribulations and persecutions. Timothy returning to the apostle next accompanied him into Asia (Acts xx. 4.), and was left at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3, 4.) to instruct the church in that city, the care of which was confided to Timothy. How long he governed the Ephesian church is not known; and we are equally uncertain as to the time of his death. An ecclesiastical tradition relates that he suffered martyrdom, being slain with stones and clubs, A. D. 97, while he was preaching against idolatry in the vicinity of the temple of Diana at Ephesus. His *supposed* relics were translated to Constantinople, with great pomp, A. D. 356, in the reign of Constantius.

II. The Date of this Epistle has been much disputed. Dr. Lardner refers it to the year 56; Dr. Benson, Michaelis, and Hug, (after Cappel, Grotius, Lightfoot, and several other critics) date it in A. D. 58; Bishop Pearson, Le Clerc, Dr. Mill, and Rosenmüller, in A. D. 65; Drs. Whitby, Macknight, and Paley, and Bishop Tomline, in 64.

In favour of the EARLY DATE *it is argued,*

1. That it appears from the third chapter of this Epistle, that no bishops had been then appointed at Ephesus. Saint Paul instructs Timothy in the choice, as of an appointment to a new office, and "hopes to return to him shortly." And it is not probable the apostle would suffer a community to be long without governors. Now he departed from Ephesus when he travelled into Macedonia (Acts xx. 1.), and we see from v. 17. 28. that on his return bishops had been appointed. Consequently this Epistle must have been written at the beginning of his journey; for Timothy soon left Ephesus, and was at Corinth with Paul (Acts xviii. 5.) He even joined him in Macedonia, for the second Epistle to the Corinthians, written in Macedonia, was in the joint names of Paul and Timothy. This Epistle, therefore, was written a short time before the second to the Corinthians.

2. It is further contended, that Timothy, at the time this Epistle was written, was in danger of being "despised for his youth." (1 Tim. iv. 12.) As he became an associate of Paul at Lystra (Acts xvi. 1.) so early as

A. D. 50, he must then have been, as an assistant in the Gospel, at least twenty years of age. If this Epistle was written A. D. 65, he must have been of the age of thirty-five years, and could not have been less than fifteen years a preacher of the Gospel. He could not in that case have been despised for his youth; though he might, before he had reached his twenty-seventh year.

On the contrary, *in behalf of the* LATER DATE, which supposes this Epistle to have been written after Saint Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, A. D. 64 or 65, it is insisted,

1. That it appears from Saint Paul's Epistles to Philemon (22.) and to the Philippians (ii. 24.), that he evidently designed, when he had a prospect of being released, to go both to Colossæ and into Macedonia. Now it is admitted, that these two Epistles were written towards the close of Saint Paul's first imprisonment at Rome; and, if he executed his intention of going to Colossæ immediately after his release, it is very probable that he would visit Ephesus, which was in the vicinity of Colossæ, and proceed thence to Philippi.

2. We further learn from the first Epistle to Timothy, that he was left at Ephesus to oppose the following errors: 1. Fables invented by the Jewish doctors to recommend the observance of the law of Moses as necessary to salvation;—2. Uncertain genealogies, by which individuals endeavoured to trace their descent from Abraham, in the persuasion that they would be saved, merely because they had Abraham to their father;—3. Intricate questions and strifes about some words in the law;—4. Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, who reckoned that which produced most gain to be the best of godliness; and oppositions of knowledge falsely so named. But these errors had not taken place in the Ephesian church before the apostle's departure; for, in his charge to the Ephesian elders at Miletus, he foretold that false teachers would enter among them after his departing, Acts xx. 29., *I know that after my departing, shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.* 30. *Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.* The same thing appears from the two Epistles which the apostle wrote to the Corinthians; the one from Ephesus before the riot of Demetrius, the other from Macedonia after that event; and from the Epistle which he wrote to the Ephesians themselves from Rome, during his confinement there. For in none of these letters is there any notice taken of the above-mentioned errors as subsisting among the Ephesians at the time they were written, which cannot be accounted for on the supposition that they were prevalent in Ephesus, when the apostle went into Macedonia after the riot. We conclude, therefore, with Dr. Macknight, that the first epistle to Timothy, in which the apostle desired him to abide at Ephesus, for the purpose of opposing the judaisers and their errors, could not be written, either from Troas, or from Macedonia, after the riot, as those who contend for the early date of that Epistle suppose: but it must have been written some time after the apostle's release from his confinement in Rome, when, no doubt, he visited the church at Ephesus, and found the judaising teachers there busily employed in spreading their pernicious errors.

3. In the first Epistle to Timothy, the same persons, doctrines, and practices are reprobated, which are condemned in the second. Compare 1 Tim. iv. 1—6. with 2 Tim. iii. 1—5., and 1 Tim. vi. 20. with 2 Tim. i. 14., and 1 Tim. iv. 7. and vi. 20. with 2 Tim. ii. 16. The same commands, instructions, and encouragements are given to Timothy in the first Epistle as in the second. Compare 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. with 2 Tim. iv. 1—5. The

same remedies for the corruptions, which had taken place among the Ephesians, are prescribed in the first Epistle as in the second. Compare 1 Tim. iv. 14. with 2 Tim. i. 6, 7. And as in the second Epistle, so in the first, every thing is addressed to Timothy, as superintendent both of the teachers and of the laity in the church at Ephesus: all which Dr. Macknight justly thinks, implies that the state of things among the Ephesians was the same when the two Epistles were written. Consequently, the first Epistle was written only a few months before the second, and not long before the apostle's death.

To the late date of this first Epistle, however, there are three plausible objections, which admit of easy solutions.

1. It is thought, that if the first Epistle to Timothy was written after the apostle's release, he could not, with any propriety, have said to Timothy, iv. 12. *Let no man despise thy youth.*—But it is replied, that Servius Tullius, in classing the Roman people, as Aulus Gellius relates[1], divided their age into three periods. Childhood, he limited to the age of seventeen: Youth, from that to forty-six: and old age, from forty-six to the end of life. Now, supposing Timothy to have been twenty years old, A. D. 50, when he became Paul's assistant, he would be no more than 34, A. D. 64, two years after the apostle's release, when it is supposed this Epistle was written. Since, therefore, Timothy was then in that period of life, which, by the Greeks as well as the Romans, was considered as youth, the apostle, with propriety, might say to him, *Let no man despise thy youth.*

2. When the apostle touched at Miletus, in his voyage to Jerusalem, with the collections, the church at Ephesus had a number of elders, that is, of bishops and deacons, who came to him at Miletus, Acts xx. 17. It is therefore asked, What occasion was there, in an Epistle written after the apostle's release, to give Timothy directions concerning the ordination of bishops and deacons, in a church where there were so many elders already? The answer is, the elders who came to the apostle at Miletus, in the year 58, might have been too few for the church at Ephesus, in her increased state, in the year 65. Besides false teachers had then entered, to oppose whom, more bishops and deacons might be needed than were necessary in the year 58. Not to mention, that some of the first elders having died, others were wanted to supply their places.

3. Because the apostle wrote to Timothy, that *he hoped to come to him soon*, 1 Tim. iii. 14., it is argued, that the letter, in which this is said, must have been written before the apostle said to the Ephesian elders, Acts xx. 25., *I know that all ye, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.* But if, by this, the first Epistle to Timothy is proved to have been written before the apostle's interview with the elders at Miletus, his Epistles to the Philippians, to the Hebrews, and to Philemon, in which he promised to visit them, must likewise have been written before the interview: for his declaration respected the Philippians, the Hebrews, and Philemon, as well as the Ephesians; for they certainly were persons among whom the apostle had gone preaching the kingdom of God: yet no commentator ever thought the Epistles abovementioned were written to them before the apostle's interview with the Ephesian elders. On the contrary, it is universally acknowledged, that these Epistles were written four years after the interview; namely, during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome. When, therefore, he told the Ephesian elders, that they and his other converts, among whom he had

[1] Noctes Atticæ, lib. x. c. 28.

gone preaching the kingdom of God, should see his face no more, as it was no point either of faith or practice which he spake, he may well be supposed to have declared nothing but his own opinion resulting from his fears. He had lately escaped the rage of the Jews, who laid wait for him in Cenchrea to kill him. (Acts xx. 3.) This, with their fury on former occasions, filled him with such anxiety, that in writing to the Romans from Corinth, he requested them *to strive together with him in their prayers, that he might be delivered from the unbelieving in Judæa.* (Rom. xv. 30, 31.)—Further, that in his speech to the Ephesian elders, the apostle only declared his own persuasion, dictated by his fears, and not any suggestion of the Spirit, Dr. Macknight thinks, is plain from what he had said immediately before, verse 22. *Behold I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things which shall befal me there:* 23. *Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me.* Wherefore, although his fears were happily disappointed, and he actually visited the Ephesians after his release, his character as an inspired apostle is not hurt in the least; if in saying, *he knew they should see his face no more*, he declared his own persuasion only, and no dictate of the Holy Spirit.[1]

We conclude, therefore, that Saint Paul wrote his first Epistle to Timothy about the end of the year 64.

III. But whatever uncertainty may have prevailed concerning the date of this Epistle, it has always been acknowledged to be the undisputed production of the apostle Paul. *Both the first and second* Epistles to Timothy are cited or alluded to by the apostolical fathers, Clement of Rome[2], and Polycarp[3]; and the first Epistle by Ignatius[4]: and in the following centuries by Irenæus[5], Clement of Alexandria[6], Tertullian[7], Caius[8], Origen[9], and by all subsequent ecclesiastical writers without exception.

Decisive as these testimonies confessedly are, the authenticity of this Epistle has been denied by Dr. Schleiermacher, Professor Eichhorn, and others, and vindicated by Professor Hug: the following is an abstract of the objections and their refutation.

1. The language of the Epistle cannot be that of Saint Paul, because (it is alleged) expressions occur which are either not to be found in his other Epistles, or at least not with the same signification. But this is more or less the case in other Epistles; and some of the words alluded to are found in the New Testament, "while the composition of others betrays the apostle, who, unshackled by the laws of grammatical authority, either compounds his own words

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[1] Dr. Benson's Preface to 1 Tim. (pp. 220—222.) Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 75—78. Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. v. pp. 1—4.; Hug's Introd. vol. ii. pp. 393—402. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 316—320.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 292—294. Doddridge and Whitby's Prefaces to 1 Tim. Macknight's Preface to 1 Tim. sect. ii. Dr. Paley has advocated the late date of this Epistle by arguments similar to those above stated. Horæ Paulinæ, pp. 288—294.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 38, 39.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 298, 299.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 96, 97.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 330, 331.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 78, 79.; 4to. vol. i. p. 321.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 164.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 224.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 264, 265.; 4to. vol. i. p. 424.

[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 374.; 4to. vol. i. p. 483.

[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 471.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.

and forcible expressions, or derives them in a manner in which tragic authors would scarcely have indulged themselves." If, however, "independently of this peculiarity, we examine the whole of the diction, we shall find it assuredly Paul's. The accumulation of words of allied significations, or false synonyms, the enumerations, the short instantaneous bursts, the parentheses, particularly the long parenthesis in i. 5—18., then the animation which pervades the whole;—all is not an imitation in the use of certain words, in which any one might easily succeed, but the fac-simile of his peculiar mode of communication."[1] Besides, the difference of style in this Epistle, as compared with that of the preceding Epistles, is accounted for by new adversaries arising, by the difference of the times when the several Epistles were written, and also by the diversity of the subjects discussed, all which circumstances would necessarily produce a diversity of expression.[2]

2. The great doubts which have been raised against this Epistle, because the apostle (i. 20.) has so very briefly mentioned Hymenæus and Alexander, are of no moment. He mentions them incidentally, as well-known examples of erring self-conceit, and for no other purpose besides, as he has also done in other passages, at this period of his life, viz. 2 Tim. i. 15. and ii. 17. where he also points out well-known examples of error, as a warning to others, and this he also does incidentally.[3]

3. It has been asserted, that there is a contradiction between 1 Tim. i. 20. where Alexander is mentioned as a heretic, and 2 Tim. iv. 14. where he is an enemy of St. Paul. But the apostle carefully distinguishes the individual in the second epistle from him who is noticed in the first, by the epithet of ὁ χαλκευς, *the worker in metals*, or *the smith*. Beza and Bolten have conjectured that he was the person who appeared at the Roman tribunal among the accusers of Paul. This, however, is of little moment, as from this name being very common, there must have been hundreds of persons who bore the name of Alexander.[4]

In short, whoever carefully and impartially examines the style of this Epistle, will find that the language and genius of the apostle of the Gentiles pervades it throughout; and that the animating, urgent, and affecting motives which it presents, are such as proceeded from the heart, and such as no impostor could imitate.[5]

IV. Timothy having been left at Ephesus, to regulate the affairs of the church in that city, Saint Paul wrote this Epistle chiefly to instruct him in the choice of proper officers in the church, as well as in the exercise of a regular ministry. Another and very important part of the apostle's design was to caution this young evangelist against the influence of those false teachers (Michaelis thinks they were Essenes), who, by their subtle distinctions and endless controversies, had corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; to press upon him, in all his preaching, a constant regard to the interests of prac-

[1] Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 403, 404.
[2] Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. p. 432.
[3] Hug, vol. ii. p. 405.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. p. 432.

tical religion; and to animate him to the greatest diligence, fidelity, and zeal, in the discharge of his office. The Epistle, therefore, consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1, 2.)

PART II. *Instructions to Timothy how to behave in the Administration of the Church at Ephesus; in which,*

SECT. 1. After reminding Timothy of the charge which had been committed to him, viz. To preserve the purity of the Gospel against the pernicious doctrines of the false teachers (enumerated above[1]) whose opinions led to frivolous controversies, and not to a holy life, Saint Paul shows the use of the law of Moses, of which these teachers were ignorant. This account of the law, he assures Timothy, was agreeable to the representation of it in the Gospel, with the preaching of which he was intrusted. (i. 3—11.) Having mentioned the Gospel, the apostle, in the fulness of his heart, makes a digression to express his gratitude to God in calling him, who had been a persecutor, to the Christian faith and ministerial office; and observes, that this favour was extended to him, though so unworthy, as an encouragement to all that should believe in every future age. (12—20.)

SECT. 2. Paul then proceeds to give Timothy particular instructions,

§ i. Concerning the manner in which divine worship was to be performed in the Ephesian church. (ii.)

§ ii. Concerning the qualifications of the persons whom he was to ordain bishops and deacons of that church. (iii.)[2]

§ iii. After foretelling the great corruptions which were to prevail in the church in future times (iv. 1—5.), the apostle instructs Timothy,

1. How to support the sacred character. (6—16.)
2. How to admonish aged men and women (v. 1, 2.), and in what manner he should treat widows (3—16.), elders (17—19.), and offenders. (20, 21.) Annexed are some instructions to Timothy himself. (22—24.)
3. Concerning the duties of slaves. (vi. 1, 2.)

SECT. 3. condemns trifling controversies and pernicious disputes, censures the excessive love of money, and charges the rich, to be rich in good works. (vi. 3—19.)

PART III. *The Conclusion.* (20, 21.)

V. Although the errors of the judaising teachers at Ephesus, which gave rise to Saint Paul's Epistles to Timothy, have long disappeared, yet "the Epistles themselves are still of great use, as they serve to show the impiety of the principles from which these errors proceeded. For the same principles are apt in every age to produce errors and vices, which, though different in name from those which

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[1] See pp. 398, 399. *supra.*

[2] In using this expression — *Great is the mystery of godliness* (iii. 16.), the apostle is generally supposed to allude to the heathen mysteries. As those mysteries have always a reference to some deity, this circumstance greatly favours — not to say, confirms — the common reading of this text, which has been so much controverted: for, if no mention had been made in this case of a God, such an omission would have maimed the apostle's description in a most essential point, and obscured the beauty of his fine allusion. (Brekell's Discourses, p. 424. note.) On the much litigated question respecting the reading of Θεος in 1 Tim. iii. 16. the reader will find a perspicuous statement of the evidence in Mr. Holden's Scripture Testimonies to the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, pp. 181—188. There is an elaborate essay on this passage in the Christian Observer for 1809, vol. i. pp. 271—277. See also Dr. Berriman's Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16. 8vo. London, 1741. Velthusen's Observations on Various Subjects, pp. 49—104. 8vo. London, 1773. Dr. Hales's Treatise on Faith in the Holy Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 67—104. and Mr. Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, pp. 274—276.

prevailed in Ephesus in the apostle's days, are precisely of the same kind, and equally pernicious.—These Epistles are likewise of great use in the church, as they exhibit to Christian bishops and deacons, in every age, the most perfect idea of the duties of their function; teach the manner in which these duties should be performed; describe the qualifications necessary in those who aspire to such holy and honourable offices, and explain the ends for which these offices were originally instituted, and are still continued in the church.

"The very same things, indeed, the apostle about the same time, wrote to Titus in Crete; but more briefly, because he was an older and more experienced minister than Timothy. Nevertheless the repetition of these precepts and charges is not without its use to the church still, as it maketh us more deeply sensible of their great importance: not to mention, that in the Epistle to Titus, there are things peculiar to itself, which enhance its value. In short, the Epistles to Timothy and Titus taken together, containing a full account of the qualifications and duties of the ministers of the Gospel, may be considered as a complete body of divinely inspired *ecclesiastical canons*, to be observed by the Christian clergy of all communions, to the end of the world.

"These Epistles, therefore, ought to be read frequently, and with the greatest attention, by those in every age and country, who hold sacred offices, or who have it in view to obtain them: not only that they may regulate their conduct according to the directions contained in them, but that, by meditating seriously on the solemn charges delivered to all the ministers of the Gospel, in the persons of Timothy and Titus, their minds may be strongly impressed with a sense of the importance of their function, and of the obligation which lieth on them to be faithful in discharging every duty belonging to it.

"It is of importance also to observe, that, in these Epistles, there are some explications of the Christian doctrines, and some displays of Saint Paul's views and expectations as an apostle of Christ, which merit our attention. For if he had been, like many of the Greek philosophers, an hypocrite who held a double doctrine, one for the vulgar, and another for the learned; and if his secret views and expectations had been different from those which he publicly professed to the world, he would have given, without all doubt, some insinuation thereof in letters written to such intimate friends. Yet, throughout the whole of these Epistles, no discovery of that kind is made. The doctrine contained in them is the same with that taught in the Epistles designed for the inspection and direction of the church in general; and the views and hopes which he expresses, are the same with those which he uniformly taught mankind to entertain. What stronger proofs can we desire of the apostle's sincerity and faithfulness than these?"[1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XI.

[1] Dr. Macknight's Pref. to 1 Tim. sect. iv.

SECTION XIII.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

I. *Date.* — II. *Of the Place where Timothy was, when Paul wrote this Epistle to him.* — III. *Its Scope.* — IV. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — V. *Observations on this Epistle.*

I. THAT Paul was a prisoner when he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, is evident from i. 8. 12. 16. and ii. 9.; and that his imprisonment was in Rome appears from i. 17. and is universally admitted. But, whether he wrote it during his first imprisonment, recorded in Acts xxviii., or during a *second* imprisonment there (which was the uniform tradition of the primitive church), is a point that has been much disputed. The former opinion is advocated by Drs. Hammond, Lightfoot, Lardner, and Hug; and the latter, by Drs. Benson, Macknight, and Paley, Bishop Tomline, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, and others. That the last-mentioned opinion is most correct, we think will appear from the following considerations: —

1. A collation of the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon (which are known to have been written during Saint Paul's *first* imprisonment), with the second Epistle to Timothy, will show that this Epistle was not written during the time when those Epistles were written. In the former Epistles, the author confidently looked forward to his liberation from confinement, and his speedy departure from Rome. He tells the Philippians (ii. 24.), "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." Philemon he bids to prepare for him a lodging; "for I trust," says he, "that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." (ver. 22.) In the Epistle before us, he holds a language extremely different: "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day." (iv. 6—8.)

Again, when the former Epistles were written from Rome, Timothy was with Paul; and he is joined with him in writing to the Colossians, the Philippians, and to Philemon. The present Epistle implies that he was absent. Further, in the former Epistles, Demas was with Paul at Rome: "Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas, greet you." In the Epistle now before us: "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is gone to Thessalonica." Once more: in the former Epistle, Mark was with Paul, and joins in saluting the Colossians. In the present Epistle, Timothy is ordered to bring him with him, "for he is profitable to me for the ministry." (iv. 11.)

2. The circumstances of Paul's imprisonment, as referred to in this Epistle, are widely different from the imprisonment related in Acts xxviii. 30, 31. Then he was permitted to dwell alone in his own hired house, and receive all who came to him, and publicly to preach the Gospel, being guarded only by a single soldier. But it appears from 2 Tim. i. 16—18., that the apostle was in *close* confinement, so that Onesiphorus, on his coming to Rome, had considerable difficulty in finding him out. And that crimes were now laid to his charge very different from those formerly alleged against him, appears from ii. 9.; where he

says that he *suffers evil, even unto bonds, as a malefactor;* plainly implying that he was not only abridged of all liberty, but also that he was bound, hands and feet, in a close dungeon. Dr. Macknight thinks this was probably under the pretence that he was one of those Christians whom Nero accused of having set Rome on fire. Hence the word *malefactor* (κακουργος), which in this passage may mean that the apostle was treated as one of the worst of criminals.

3. The situation of Paul, when he wrote this Epistle, was extremely dangerous. This appears from 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8. and from verse 16. where, at his first answer, all men forsook him. Further, (verse 17.) *the Lord delivered him from the mouth of the lion,* or the cruelty of Nero. And in verse 18. he hopes *the Lord will deliver him from every evil work, by preserving him unto his heavenly kingdom.* This was totally different from the gentle treatment recorded in Acts xxviii., and shows that this Epistle was written at a later period than the two years' imprisonment mentioned by Luke.

4. It appears from 2 Tim. iv. 13. 20. that when the apostle wrote, he had lately been at Troas, Miletus, and Corinth. This was a different route from that described in the Acts. Also in 2 Tim. iv. 13. he desires Timothy to bring with him a trunk and some books which he had left at Troas. But in his journey to Italy in Acts xxvii. he did not come near Troas. It is true he visited that place on his way to Jerusalem. (Acts xx. 5—7.) But as this visit to Troas happened in the year 57, and the present Epistle was not written before the year 65, these articles were not then left there; for he would hardly have delayed sending for them for seven or eight years. He would rather have sent for them to Cæsarea, where he was in prison two years; or more early on his first coming to Rome.

5. When he wrote this Epistle, he had left Trophimus sick at Miletus. (iv. 20.) But this could not have happened on the journey to Jerusalem, because Trophimus was with Saint Paul at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29.), and in his voyage from Cæsarea to Italy he did not touch at Miletus. It is obvious, contrary to Dr. Lardner's hypothesis, that the north wind would not suffer them to proceed further north from Cnidus along the coast of Asia. (Acts xxvii. 7.)

6. Paul says (2 Tim. iv. 20.) that Erastus staid behind at Corinth. The apostle must therefore have passed through Corinth on that journey to Rome, after which he wrote this Epistle. But from Cæsarea to Italy, in Acts xxviii. he did not pass through Corinth. Dr. Lardner's two objections to this argument are not satisfactory. For he says that Erastus staid behind at Corinth when Saint Paul left that city to go to Jerusalem, though Timothy, who was then with Saint Paul, must have known that circumstance, but Saint Paul only wished to remind him of it,—or he mentions his stay, because he was sent by Paul from Ephesus into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22.); and when Paul, going there also, returned to Asia Minor, he did not return with him, not being mentioned in Acts xx. 4.

The result of the preceding observations is, that this Epistle was written by Paul at Rome, and during an imprisonment different from that recorded in Acts xxviii. Paul, we have seen[1], was released from his confinement A. D. 63, and, after visiting several churches, returned to Rome early in 65; where, after being confined rather more than a year, it is generally agreed that he suffered mar-

[1] See p. 345. *supra.*

tyrdom A. D. 66. Now, as the apostle requests Timothy to come to him before winter (2 Tim. iv. 21.), it is probable that this Epistle was written in the month of July or August A. D. 65.[1]

II. It is generally supposed that Timothy was at Ephesus when Paul wrote his second Epistle to him. This opinion is advocated by Drs. Lardner, Benson, and Macknight, but is opposed by Michaelis; who has shown that Timothy was most probably somewhere in Asia Minor when Paul sent this letter to him, because the apostle, towards the close of the first chapter, mentions several persons who dwelt in that region, and also because (2 Tim. iv. 13.) he requests Timothy to bring with him *the cloak, books, and parchments*, which he had left behind him at Troas; and because Troas does not lie in the route from Ephesus to Rome, to which city Timothy was desired to "make haste to come to him before winter." (iv. 21.) Michaelis concludes, therefore, that Paul, not knowing exactly where Timothy was, wrote to him this Epistle, which he intrusted to a safe person (whom Dr. Benson supposes to have been Tychicus) that was travelling into Asia Minor, with an order to deliver it to him wherever he might find him.[2]

III. The immediate design of Paul in writing this Epistle to Timothy, was to apprise him of the circumstances that had befallen him during his second imprisonment at Rome, and to request him to come to him before the ensuing winter. But, being uncertain whether he should live so long, he gave him in this letter a variety of advices, charges, and encouragements, for the faithful discharge of his ministerial functions, with the solemnity and affection of a dying parent; in order that, if he should be put to death before Timothy's arrival, the loss might in some measure be compensated to him by the instructions contained in this admirable Epistle. With this view, after expressing his affectionate concern for him, he exhorts him to stir up the gift which had been conferred upon him (2 Tim. i. 2—5.); not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord, nor of Paul's sufferings (6—16.); to hold fast the form of sound words, and to guard inviolable that good deposit of Gospel doctrine (i. 13, 14.), which he was to commit to faithful men who should be able to teach others (ii. 1, 2.); to animate him to endure, with fortitude, persecutions for the sake of the Gospel (ii. 3—13.); to suppress and avoid logomachies (14. 23.); to approve himself a faithful minister of the word (15—22.); and to forewarn him of the perils of the last days, in consequence of wicked hypocritical seducers and enemies of the truth, who even then were beginning to rise in the church. These Saint Paul admonishes Timothy to flee, giving him various cautions against them. (iii.)

IV. The Epistle therefore consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Inscription.* (i. 1—5.)

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[1] Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, pp. 303—305.; Calmet, Preface sur la seconde Epitre à Timothée; Macknight's Preface to 2 Tim. sect. i.; Dr. Benson's Preface to 2 Tim. pp. 501—517.; Michaelis's Introd. vol. iv. pp. 165—177.; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 338—375.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 303—321.; Hug's Introd. vol. ii. pp. 440—448.

[2] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 161—164.

PART II. *An Exhortation to Timothy.*

SECT. 1. To diligence, patience, and firmness in keeping the form of sound doctrine, in which is introduced an affecting prayer in behalf of Onesiphorus. (i. 2—18.)

SECT. 2. To fortitude under afflictions and persecutions, to deliver the uncorrupted doctrine of the Gospel to others, and to purity of life. (ii.)

SECT. 3. To beware of false teachers in the last times (whose practices are described), to be constant in his profession of the Gospel, and to be diligent in his ministerial labours. (iii. iv. 1—8.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, containing the Apostle's Request to Timothy to come to him as soon as possible, together with various Salutations for the Brethren in Asia Minor.* (iv. 9—22.)

V. As this Epistle was written to Saint Paul's most intimate friend, under the miseries of a gaol and the near prospect of death, and was not designed for the use of others, it may serve to exhibit the temper and character of the apostle, and to convince us that he was no deceiver, but sincerely believed the doctrines which he preached. "This excellent writing, therefore, will be read by the disciples of Christ, to the end of the world, with the highest satisfaction. And the impression which it must have on their minds, will often be recollected by them with the greatest effect, for the confirmation of their faith in the Gospel, and their consolation under all the evils which their adherence to the Gospel may bring upon them."

"Imagine," says Dr. Benson, "a pious father, under sentence of death for his piety and benevolence to mankind, writing to a dutiful and affectionate son, that he might see and embrace him again before he left the world; particularly that he might leave with him his dying commands, and charge him to live and suffer as he had done: — and you will have the frame of the apostle's mind, during the writing of this whole Epistle." [1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XII.

SECTION XIV.

ON THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

I. *Account of Titus.* — II. *Christianity, when planted in Crete.* — III. *Date.* — IV. *Scope and Analysis of this Epistle.* — V. *Observations on it.*

I. TITUS was a Greek (Dr. Benson thinks he was a native of Antioch in Syria), and one of Paul's early converts, who attended him and Barnabas to the first council at Jerusalem, A. D. 49, and afterwards on his ensuing circuit. (Tit. i. 4. Gal. ii. 1—3. Acts xv. 2.) Some years after this we find that Paul sent him to Corinth (2 Cor. xii. 18.), to investigate and report to him the state of the church in

[1] Preface to 2 Tim. p. 517. The topics above noticed are ably treated at length by Dr. Macknight in his Preface to 2 Tim. sect. 3.

that city, and particularly to report what effect had been produced by his first Epistle to the Corinthians. The intelligence brought to the apostle by Titus afforded him the highest satisfaction, as it far exceeded all his expectations. (vii. 6—13.) And as Titus had expressed a particular regard for the Corinthians, the apostle thought proper to send him back again, with some others, to hasten the collection for the poor brethren in Judæa. (viii. 6.) After this, we meet with no further notice of Titus; except that he is mentioned in this Epistle as having been with Paul in Crete (Tit. i. 5.), and in 2 Tim. iv. 10. (shortly before that apostle's martyrdom) as being in Dalmatia. How highly he was esteemed by the great apostle of the Gentiles, is evident from the affectionate manner in which he has spoken of him to the Corinthians.[1] Whether Titus ever quitted Crete we know not: neither have we any certain information concerning the time, place, or manner of his death: but according to antient ecclesiastical tradition, he lived to the age of ninety-four years, and died and was buried in that island.

II. We have no certain information when or by whom Christianity was first planted in Crete. As some Cretans were present at the first effusion of the Holy Spirit at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 11.), Bishop Tomline thinks it not improbable, that, on their return home, they might be the means of introducing the Gospel among their countrymen.[2] But Michaelis, Dr. Hales, and many other critics are of opinion that Christianity was first planted there by Paul, during the year and a half that he spent at Corinth, between the latter part of A. D. 51, and the former part of A. D. 53. It appears from 2 Cor. xii. 14. and xiii. 1. that the apostle did make an excursion during this interval, and returned to Corinth. In this excursion it is supposed that he made a voyage to Crete, in order to preach the Gospel there, and took Titus with him as an assistant, whom he left behind to regulate the concerns of that church. (Tit. i. 5.) Josephus informs us that there were many Jews[3] in this island at the time Paul wrote this Epistle to Titus; and the apostle seems to have considered them a more dangerous people than the Cretans themselves, who were formerly notorious for piracy, luxury, debauchery, and especially for lying. So infamous were they for their habitual practice of falsehood, that κρητιζειν, *to act like a Cretan*, was a proverbial term for *telling a lie*. With these vices they were charged by Epimenides, one of their own poets; and Paul has quoted him as expressing their true character. (Tit. i. 12.)

III. No date is so controverted as that of the Epistle to Titus. Michaelis, who thinks it was written soon after his supposed visit to Crete, is of opinion, that, in the chronological arrangement of Paul's Epistles, it should be placed between the second Epistle to the Thessalonians (A. D. 52) and the first Epistle to the Corinthians (A. D. 57). Hug places it between the two Epistles to the Corinthians; Dr. Hales dates this Epistle in A. D. 52; Dr. Lardner in

[1] See particularly 2 Cor. ii. 13. vii. 6, 7. 13—15. viii. 16—23. and xii. 18.
[2] Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 446.
[3] Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 12. § 1. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 7. § 1, &c.

56; Lord Barrington in 57; Dr. Benson and Bishop Tomline in 64; and Bishop Pearson, Drs. Whitby and Paley, and the Bible chronology in A. D. 65. The subscription states this Epistle to have been written from Nicopolis of Macedonia, probably because Saint Paul desired to meet him at a city called Nicopolis, but which could not be the place intended by the author of the subscription; for the Nicopolis referred to by him was situated on the river Nessus in Thrace, and was not built till *after* this period by the emperor Trajan. As Luke is totally silent concerning Saint Paul's preaching at Crete, though he has noticed that he touched at the Fair Havens and Lasea in his first voyage to Rome, it is most probable that this Epistle was written after his liberation from his first imprisonment, A. D. 64. And this opinion is strengthened by the verbal harmony subsisting between the first Epistle to Timothy and the letter to Titus; which cannot be naturally accounted for, but by supposing that they were both written about the same time, and while the same ideas and phrases were present to the writer's mind. Among other instances, that might be adduced, compare 1 Tim. i. 1—3. with Tit. i. 4, 5.; 1 Tim. i. 4. with Tit. i. 14.; 1 Tim. iv. 12. with Tit. ii. 7. 15., and 1 Tim. iii. 2—4. with Tit. i. 6—8.[1] The genuineness and authenticity of the Epistle to Titus were never questioned.[2]

IV. Titus having been left in Crete to settle the churches in the several cities of that island according to the apostolical plan, Paul wrote this Epistle to him, that he might discharge his ministry among the Cretans with the greater success, and to give him particular instructions concerning his behaviour towards the judaising teachers, who endeavoured to pervert the faith and disturb the peace of the Christian church. The Epistle, therefore, consists of three parts.

PART I. *The Inscription.* (i. 1—4.)

PART II. *Instructions to Titus,*

SECT. 1. concerning the ordination of elders, that is, of bishops and deacons, whose qualifications are enumerated. (5—9.) Further, to show Titus how cautious he ought to be in selecting men for the sacred office, Paul reminds him of the acts of the judaising teachers. (10—16.)

SECT. 2. That he should accommodate his exhortations to the respective ages, sexes, and circumstances of those whom he was commissioned to instruct; and, to give the greater weight to his instructions, he admonishes him to be an example of what he taught. (ii.)

SECT. 3. That he should inculcate obedience to the civil magistrate, in opposition to the Jews and judaising teachers, who, being averse from all civil governors, except such as were of their own nation, were apt to imbue Gentile Christians with a like seditious spirit, as if it were an indignity for the people of God to obey an idolatrous magistrate; and also that he should enforce gentleness to all men. (iii. 1—7.)

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[1] Calmet, Preface sur l'Épitre de S. Paul à Tite; Dr. Benson's Preface to his Paraphrase and Commentary on this Epistle; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 320—324.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 294—296.; Michaelis's Introd. vol. iv. pp. 29—41.; Hug's Introd. vol. ii. pp. 354—360. Dr. Macknight's Preface to Titus.

[2] It is cited or alluded to by all the fathers who have quoted the two Epistles to Timothy. See the references to them in p. 400. *supra*.

SECT. 4. That he should enforce good works, avoid foolish questions, and shun heretics. (iii. 8—11.)

PART III. *An Invitation to Titus, to come to the Apostle at Nicopolis, together with various Directions.* (iii. 12—15.)

V. From a comparison of the Epistle of Titus, with the two Epistles to Timothy, Dr. Macknight remarks, we learn that the judaising teachers were every where indefatigable in propagating their erroneous doctrine concerning the necessity of obedience to the law of Moses, as the only means of obtaining salvation; that in the most distant countries they uniformly taught the same doctrine, for the purpose of rendering the practice of sin consistent with the hope of salvation; and that, in order to draw disciples after them, they encouraged them in sin by the vicious practices which they themselves followed, in the persuasion that they would be pardoned by the efficacy of the Levitical sacrifices. That eminent critic thinks it probable, from the apostle's commanding Titus in Crete, and Timothy in Ephesus, to oppose those errors, that the judaising teachers were more numerous and successful in Ephesus and Crete than in other places. As, however, Titus was a Gentile convert, whose interest it was to maintain the freedom of the Gentiles from the law of Moses, and also a teacher of long standing in the faith, Paul was not so full in his directions and exhortations to him, as to Timothy: neither did he recommend to him meekness, lenity, and patience in teaching, as he did to Timothy, but rather sharpness. (Tit. i. 13. ii. 15.) Dr. Macknight accounts for this difference in the apostle's letters to those two evangelists, by supposing that Titus was a person of a soft and mild temper; whereas Timothy, being a young man, might have been of a more ardent spirit that stood in need of some restraint. [1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XIII.

SECTION XV.

ON THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

I. *Account of Philemon.* — II. *Date.* — III. *Genuineness and Authenticity.* — IV. *Occasion and Scope of this Epistle.* — V. *Observations on it.*

I. PHILEMON was an inhabitant of Colossæ, as appears from Paul's mentioning Onesimus in his Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 9.) as *one of them*, and also from his saluting Archippus in this Epistle (ver. 2.), who appears from Col. iv. 17. to have been a pastor of that church. Philemon seems to have been a person of great worth as a man, and of some note as a citizen in his own country: for his family was so numerous, that it made a church by itself, or at least a considerable part of the church at Colossæ. (ver. 2.) He was likewise so opulent, that he was able *by the communication of his faith*, that is,

[1] Dr. Macknight's Preface to Titus, sect. 4. *fine.*

by his beneficence, to refresh the bowels of the saints. (6, 7.) According to Grotius, Philemon was an elder of Ephesus; Beausobre and Dr. Doddridge suppose him to have been one of the ministers of the Colossian church: and from Paul's requesting him (22.) to provide a lodging for him at Colossæ, Michaelis thinks that he was a deacon of that church. These opinions appear to have been founded on the inscription of this Epistle, where Paul calls him a fellow-labourer. But this appellation, Drs. Whitby, Lardner, and Macknight have remarked, is of ambiguous signification; being given not only to those who were employed in preaching the Gospel, but also to such pious individuals, of either sex, as assisted the apostles in any manner.[1]

Philemon was, most probably, a converted Gentile, and from the nineteenth verse of this Epistle, some have supposed that he was converted under the ministry of Paul; but, from the apostle's saying in the fifth verse that he had *heard* of Philemon's faith in Christ (which was his usual phrase when writing to Christians whom he had never seen[2]), Dr. Benson is of opinion that, during Paul's long stay at Ephesus, some of the Colossians had gone thither, and heard him preach the Christian doctrine (Acts xix. 10. xx. 31.); or that the apostle had sent some of his assistants who had planted the Gospel at Colossæ. If Saint Paul had not come into those parts of Asia Minor, it is highly probable that Philemon would never have become a Christian; the apostle might therefore well say, that Philemon owed unto him himself, or his own soul.

II. It appears from verses 1. 10. 13. and 23. of this Epistle, that Paul was under confinement when he wrote it; and as he expresses (22.) his expectation of being shortly released, it is probable that it was written during his first imprisonment at Rome towards the end of A. D. 62, or early in 63; and was sent, together with the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, by Tychicus and Onesimus.

III. So early as the time of Jerome, some fastidious critics showed an inclination to expunge this Epistle from the sacred canon as being a private letter, and consequently of very little importance to the Christian church. Unquestionably the apostles might (and, for aught we know to the contrary, did) write *private* letters as well as other persons. But we have no reason to consider the Epistle to Philemon in this light; it was wholly written with the apostle's *own* hand, which was much more than what he called the *token in all his Epistles.* (2 Thess. iii. 17.) Although from its brevity, and the private nature of its subject, it was but rarely mentioned by the primitive ecclesiastical writers, yet we know that it was alluded to, though not cited by name, by Tertullian[3], and was reckoned among Saint Paul's Epistles by Caius.[4] It was likewise most expressly quoted by Origen[5], and was pronounced to be authentic by all the antient writers cited by Eusebius[6], as also by all subsequent ecclesiastical writers; and it has

[1] See instances of this in Rom. xvi. 8. and 3 John 8.
[2] See Eph. i. 15. Col. i. 4. and ii. 1.
[3] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 465.; 4to. vol. i. p. 424.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 274.; 4to. vol. i. p. 482.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 472.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.
[6] Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25.

always been inserted in every catalogue of the books of the New Testament. Stronger external testimony to the authenticity of any part of the Bible exists not, than that which we have for the Epistle to Philemon, the argument of which is not mean, nor is any part of it unworthy of the great apostle of the Gentiles.

"Whoever," says Dr. Benson, "will carefully study it, will discern a great number of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity expressed or insinuated: for instance, 1. In a religious view, or upon a spiritual account, all Christians are upon a level. Onesimus, the slave, upon becoming a Christian, is the apostle's dear son and Philemon's brother. 2. Christianity makes no alteration in men's civil affairs. By Christian baptism a slave did not become a freedman; his temporal estate or condition was still the same; and, though Onesimus was the apostle's son and Philemon's brother upon a religious account, yet he was obliged to be Philemon's slave for ever, unless his master voluntarily gave him his freedom. 3. Servants should not be taken or detained from their own masters without their master's consent. (See ver. 13, 14.) 4. We should love and do good unto all men. We should not contemn persons of low estate, nor disdain to help the meanest slave when it is in our power. The apostle has here set us an example of benevolence, condescension, and Christian charity, which it well becomes us to follow. He took pains with and converted a slave, and in a most affectionate and earnest manner interceded with his master for his pardon. 5. We should not utterly despair of those who are wicked, but should use our best endeavours to reclaim them. Though Onesimus had robbed his master and run away from him, the apostle attempted his conversion among others, and succeeded therein. 6. Restitution is due where an injury has been done, unless the injured party freely forgive: accordingly, the apostle Paul gives a promise, under his own hand, for Onesimus's making restitution as a matter of justice, if Philemon insisted upon it. 7. We should be grateful to our benefactors. This Saint Paul touches upon very gently (ver. 19.), where he intimates to Philemon that he owed unto him himself also: and therefore in point of gratitude, he was obliged to grant his request. 8. We should forgive the penitent, and be heartily reconciled to them. 9. The apostle's example teaches us to do all we can to make up quarrels and differences, and reconcile those who are at variance. 10. A wise man chooses sometimes to address in a soft and obliging manner, even in cases where there is authority to command. 11. The bishops and pastors of the Christian church, and all teachers of religion, have here the most glorious example set before them, to induce them to have a most tender regard to the souls of men of all ranks and conditions; and to endeavour to convert a slave, as well as the rich and great and honourable of the earth. He who disdained not to teach a slave, a fugitive, and a thief, but preached the doctrine of salvation to him, and took pains with him, till he had restored him to his master, an honest worthy man; — how disinterested must he have been? To whom would he not condescend? or whose salvation and happiness would he not endeavour to promote? Would to God there

was the same spirit in all the teachers of Christianity, at all times and in all places! 12. Here is a most glorious proof of the good effects of Christianity, where it is rightly understood and sincerely embraced. It transforms a worthless slave and thief into a pious, virtuous, amiable, and useful man; makes him not only happier and better in himself, but a better servant, and better in all relations and circumstances whatever.

"Shall an epistle, so full of useful and excellent instructions, be rejected for its brevity? or because the occasion required that it should be written concerning one particular person? or addressed to a private man? Men would do well to examine it carefully before they reject it, or speak of it so slightly." [1]

IV. We learn from this Epistle that Onesimus was the slave of Philemon, whom he had probably robbed [2], and ran away from him as far as Rome. Whether he repented of what he had done, and voluntarily went to Paul, or in what other manner they came to meet there, we have no information. But the apostle, during his confinement *in his own hired house*, opened a way to the heart of the rude slave, converted him to the Christian faith, and baptised him. It also appears that Paul kept Onesimus with him for some time, to wait upon himself, until Onesimus, by his conduct, confirmed the truth and sincerity of his conversion. During his abode with the apostle, he served him with the greatest assiduity and affection: but, being sensible of his fault in running away from his master, he wished to repair that injury by returning to him. At the same time being afraid lest, on his return, his master should inflict upon him the punishment which by the law or custom of Phrygia was due to a fugitive slave [3], he entreated Paul to write to Philemon in his behalf, and requested him to forgive and receive him again into his family. The apostle therefore wrote this Epistle to Philemon, "in which, with the greatest softness of expression, warmth of affection, and delicacy of address, he not only interceded for Onesimus's pardon, but urged Philemon to esteem him and put confidence in him as a sincere Christian. And because restitution, by repairing the injury that has been done, restores the person who did the injury to the character which he had lost, the apostle, to enable Onesimus to appear in Philemon's family with some degree of reputation, bound himself in this Epistle by his hand-writing, not only to repay all that Onesimus owed to Philemon, but to make full reparation also to Philemon for whatever injury he had done to him by running away." [4] To account for the solicitude expressed by Paul in this Epistle in order to obtain Onesimus's pardon, and procure a thorough reconciliation, it is not necessary to suppose, with some critics, that Philemon was keen and obstinate in his resentments, or of that rough and intractable disposition for which

[1] Dr. Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 311. 2d edit.

[2] Macknight and Lardner are of opinion that Saint Paul's expression in the eighteenth verse does not insinuate that Onesimus had *robbed* his master of any thing but his service.

[3] Grotius informs us that masters had a power to torture their slaves who behaved ill, and even to put them to death, without applying to the magistrate; and that this was agreeable not only to the Roman but also to the Grecian law.

[4] Macknight's Preface to Philemon, sect. 2.

the Phrygians were proverbial. The contrary is insinuated by the apostle, who has in other places commended his benevolence and charity. It is most probable, as Dr. Macknight has conjectured, that Philemon had a number of slaves, on whom the pardoning of Onesimus too easily might have had a bad effect; and therefore he might judge some punishment necessary as an example to the rest. At least Paul could not have considered the pardoning of Onesimus as an affair that merited so much earnest entreaty, with a person of Philemon's piety, benevolence, and gratitude, unless he had suspected him to have entertained some such intention.

V. Whether Philemon pardoned or punished Onesimus, is a circumstance concerning which we have no information. From the earnestness with which the apostle solicited his pardon, and from the generosity and goodness of Philemon's disposition, the eminent critic above cited conjectures that he actually pardoned Onesimus, and even gave him his freedom, in compliance with the apostle's insinuation, as it is interpreted by some, *that he would do more than he had asked.* For it was no uncommon thing, in antient times, to bestow freedom on those slaves whose faithful services had procured for them the esteem and good will of their masters. The primitive Christians preserving this Epistle, and placing it in the sacred canon (Dr. Benson remarks), are strong arguments to induce us to believe that Philemon granted the apostle's request, and received Onesimus into his house and favour again. As Onesimus was particularly recommended by Saint Paul to the notice of the Colossians (iv. 9.), it cannot be doubted that they cheerfully received him into their church. In the Apostolical Constitutions [1], Onesimus is said to have been bishop of Berœa; but they are a compilation of the fourth century, and consequently of no authority. When Ignatius wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians (A. D. 107), their bishop's name was Onesimus: and Grotius thought that he was the person for whom Saint Paul interceded. But this, as Dr. Lardner [2] remarks, is not certain. Dr. Mill [3] has mentioned a copy, at the conclusion of which it is said that Onesimus suffered martyrdom at Rome by having his legs broken.

The whole of this Epistle is indeed a most beautiful composition. Such deference and respect for Philemon, such affection and concern for Onesimus, such distant but just insinuation, such a genteel and fine address pervade the whole, that this alone might be sufficient to convince us that Paul was not unacquainted with the world, and was not that weak and visionary enthusiast, which the enemies of revelation have sometimes represented him to be. It is, indeed, impossible to peruse this admirable Epistle without being touched with the delicacy of sentiment, and the masterly address that appear in every part of it. We see here, in a most striking light, how perfectly consistent true politeness is, not only with all the warmth and sincerity of the friend, but even with the dignity of the Christian and the apostle. Every word has its force and propriety. With what

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[1] Lib. viii. c. 46. [2] Works, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 381.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 324.
[3] Nov. Test. Millii et Kusteri, p. 513.

dignity and authority does Paul entreat, though a prisoner! With what condescension and humility does he command, though an apostle! And if this letter were to be considered in no other point of view than as a mere human composition, it must be allowed to be a master-piece in its kind. As an illustration of this remark, it may not be improper to compare it with an Epistle of the younger Pliny [1], that seems to have been written on a similar occasion; which, though composed by one who has always been reckoned to excel in the epistolary style, and though it undoubtedly has many beauties, yet it must be acknowledged by every impartial reader to be vastly inferior to this animated composition of the apostle. Pliny seems desirous of saying something; the apostle has urged every thing that can be said upon the occasion. Pliny is too affected to be affecting; the apostle takes possession of our heart, and excites our compassion whether we will or not. [2]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XIV.

SECTION XVI.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

I. *To whom written.* — II. *In what Language.* — III. *Its Genuineness and Authenticity.* — *Proofs that it was written by Paul.* — IV. *Its Date.* — V. *Occasion and Scope of this Epistle.* — VI. *Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. AFTER the thirteen Epistles avowedly written by Paul, with his name prefixed to them, succeeds what we call the Epistle to the Hebrews; the nature and authenticity of which has been more controverted, perhaps, than any other book of the New Testament. As the initiatory formula, usual in the other apostolical letters, is wanting in this Epistle (notwithstanding the superscription terms it *the Epistle to the Hebrews*), it has been questioned whether it was really an Epistle sent to a particular community, or only a discourse or dissertation intended for general readers. Michaelis determines that it *is* an Epistle, and remarks that not only the second person plural *ye* incessantly occurs in it, which alone indeed would be no proof, but also that the author alludes to special circumstances in this writing, in chapters v. 11, 12. vi. 9. x. 32—34., and above all in chapter xiii. 23, 24., which contains the promise of a visit, and various salutations; all which circumstances taken together show that it really is an apostolical Epistle.

Who the Hebrews were, to whom this letter was addressed, learned men are by no means agreed. Sir Isaac Newton was of opinion that by "the Hebrews" in this Epistle we are to understand those Jewish believers who had left Jerusalem a short time before its

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[1] Lib. ix. ep. 21.

[2] Doddridge, Introd. to Philemon.

destruction, and were now dispersed throughout Asia Minor [1]; but of this we have no authentic record. Others again have imagined that it was addressed to the Hebrew Christians in Spain, Galatia, Macedonia, or at Corinth or Rome, or to those who resided in Palestine. Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, Euthalius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, and other fathers, were of opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was sent to the converted Jews living in Judæa; who in the apostle's days were called Hebrews, to distinguish them from the Jews in the Gentile countries, who were called Hellenists or Grecians. (Acts vi. 1. ix. 29. xi. 20.) The opinion of these learned fathers is adopted by Beza, Louis Cappel, Carpzov, Drs. Lightfoot, Whitby, Mill, Lardner, and Macknight, Bishops Pearson and Tomline, Hallet, Rosenmüller, Hug, Scott, and others. Michaelis considers it as written for the use of the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem and in Palestine; and Professor Stuart, that it was directed to Hebrews in Palestine, and probably to the church at Cæsarea. [2] The very antient opinion last stated is corroborated by the contents of the Epistle itself, in which we meet with many things peculiarly suitable to the believers in Judæa.

1. It is evident from the whole tenor of this Epistle, that the persons, to whom it was addressed, were in imminent danger of falling back from Christianity to Judaism, induced partly by a severe persecution, and partly by the false arguments of the rabbins. This could hardly have happened to several communities at the same time, in any other country than Palestine, and, therefore, we cannot suppose it of several communities of Asia Minor, to which, in the opinion of some commentators, the Epistle was addressed. Christianity at this time enjoyed, from the tolerating spirit of the Roman laws and the Roman magistrates, throughout the empire in general, so much religious liberty, that out of Palestine it would have been difficult to have effected a general persecution.[3] But, through the influence of the Jewish sanhedrin in Jerusalem, the Christians in that country underwent several severe persecutions, especially during the high priesthood of the younger Ananus, when Saint James and other Christians suffered martyrdom.

2. Further, if we examine the Epistles of Saint Paul, especially those to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, and compare them with the two Epistles of Saint Peter, which were addressed to the Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, we shall find, though mention is made of seducers, not the smallest traces of imminent danger of an apostacy to Judaism, and still less of blasphemy against Christ, as we find in the sixth and tenth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The two passages of this Epistle (vi. 6. x. 29.), which relate to blasphemy against Christ, as a person justly condemned and crucified, are pecu-

[1] Observations on the Apocalypse of Saint John, p. 244.

[2] Stuart's Comm. on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. pp. 67—73. (Andover, N. Am. 1827.) In pp. 8—67. he has discussed the various hypotheses of Dr. Storr, who supposes it to have been written to the Hebrew church at Galatia; of Noesselt, who considered it as addressed to the church at Thessalonica; of Bolten, who imagined that it was directed to Hebrews who were sojourners in Asia Minor; of Michael Weber, who advanced and endeavoured to support the opinion that it was addressed to the church at Corinth; and of the antients (whose opinion he adopts) that this epistle was written to the Hebrew church in Palestine.

[3] This is evident from the Acts of the Apostles. See also Lardner's Credibility, chap. vii. (Works, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 164—201.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 90—110.)

liarly adapted to the situation of communities in Palestine; and it is difficult to read these passages without inferring that several Christians had really apostatised and openly blasphemed Christ; for it appears from Acts xxvi. 11. that violent measures were taken in Palestine for this very purpose, of which we meet with no traces in any other country at that early age. Neither the Epistles of Saint Paul, nor those of Saint Peter, furnish any instance of a public renunciation of Christianity and return to Judaism: and yet, if any such instances had happened in the communities to which they wrote, these apostles would hardly have passed them over in silence, or without cautioning other persons against following such examples. The circumstance, likewise, to which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews alludes (x. 25.), that several, who still continued Christians, forsook the places of public worship, does not occur in any other Epistle, and implies a general and continued persecution, which deterred the Christians from an open confession of their faith. In this melancholy situation, the Hebrews, almost reduced to despair, are referred (x. 25. 35—38.) to the promised coming of Christ, which they are requested to await with patience, as being not far distant. This can be no other than the promised destruction of Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv.), of which Christ himself said (Luke xxi. 28.), "When these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh." Now this coming of Christ was to the Christians in Palestine a deliverance from the yoke with which they were oppressed: but it had no such influence on the Christians of other countries. On the contrary, the first persecution under Nero happened in the year 65, about two years before the commencement of the Jewish war, and the second under Domitian, about five-and-twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

3. From ch. xii. 7. though no mention is made in express terms of martyrs who had suffered in the cause of Christianity, we may with great probability infer, that several persons had really suffered, and afforded a noble example to their brethren. If this inference be just, the Hebrews, to whom this Epistle was written, must have been inhabitants of Palestine; for in no other part of the Roman empire, before the year 65, had the enemies of Christianity the power of persecuting its professors in such a manner as to deprive them of their lives, because no Roman court of justice would have condemned a man to death, merely for religious opinions: and the pretence of the Jews, that whoever acknowledged Jesus for the Messiah was guilty of treason against the emperor, was too sophistical to be admitted by a Roman magistrate. But, in Palestine, Stephen and the elder James had already suffered martyrdom (Acts vii. xiii.); both Saint Peter and Saint Paul had been in imminent danger of undergoing the same fate (Acts xii. 3—6. xxiii. 11—21. 26. 30.); and, according to Josephus [1], several other persons were put to death, during the high-priesthood of the younger Ananus, about the year 64 or 65. [2]

4. The declarations in Heb. i. 2. and iv. 12., and particularly the exhortation in ii. 1—4., are peculiarly suitable to the believers of Judæa, where

[1] Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 9. § 1. The words of Josephus are as follow:— "The younger Ananus, who had obtained the office of high-priest, was a man of desperate character, of the sect of the Sadducees, who, as I have observed in other places, were in general severe in their punishments. This Ananus embraced the opportunity of acting according to his inclination, after the death of Festus, and before the arrival of his successor Albinus. In this interval he constituted a court of justice, and brought before it James, a brother of Jesus who was called Christ, and several others, where they were accused of having violated the law, and were condemned to be stoned to death. But the more moderate part of the city, and they who strictly adhered to the law, disapproved highly of this measure."

[2] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 193—197.

Jesus Christ himself first taught, and his disciples after him, confirming their testimony with very numerous and conspicuous miracles.

5. The people to whom this Epistle was sent were well acquainted with our Saviour's sufferings, as those of Judæa must have been. This appears in Heb. i. 3.; ii. 9. 18.; v. 7, 8.; ix. 14. 28.; x. 12.; xii. 2, 3.; and xiii. 12.

6. The censure in v. 12. is most properly understood of Christians in Jerusalem and Judæa, to whom the Gospel was first preached.

7. Lastly, the exhortation in Heb. xiii. 12—14. is very difficult to be explained, on the supposition that the Epistle was written to Hebrews who lived out of Palestine; for neither in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in the other Epistles, do we meet with an instance of expulsion from the synagogue merely for a belief in Christ; on the contrary, the apostles themselves were permitted to teach openly in the Jewish assemblies. But if we suppose that the Epistle was written to Jewish converts in Jerusalem, this passage becomes perfectly clear, and, Dr. Lardner observes, must have been very suitable to their case, especially if it was written only a short time before the commencement of the Jewish war, about the year 65 or 66. The Christians, on this supposition, are exhorted to endure their fate with patience, if they should be obliged to retire, or should even be ignominiously expelled from Jerusalem, since Christ himself had been forced out of this very city, and had suffered without its walls. It was a city devoted to destruction, and they who fled from it had to expect a better in heaven. The disciples of Christ had been already warned by their Master to flee from Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv. 15—22.), and the time assigned for their flight could, when this Epistle was written, be not far distant. That they actually followed his advice, appears from the relation of Eusebius [1]; and, according to Josephus [2], the most sensible inhabitants of Jerusalem took similar measures after the retreat of Cestius Gallus, which happened in November 66, and likewise left the city. If we suppose, therefore, that the Epistle was written to the Hebrews of Jerusalem, the passage in question is clear; but on the hypothesis, that it was written to Hebrews, who lived in any other place, the words, "*Let us go forth with him out of the camp, bearing his reproach,*" lose their meaning. Further (x. 25.), the exhortation, *Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another, and so much the more as ye see the day approaching,* is an additional confirmation of this opinion. The *approaching day* can mean only the day appointed for the destruction of Jerusalem, and the downfall of the Jewish nation: but this event immediately concerned only the Hebrews of Palestine, and could have no influence in determining the inhabitants of other countries, such as Asia Minor, Greece, and Spain, either to forsake or to frequent the places of public worship. [3]

To these clear and decisive evidences, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to Jewish Christians resident in Palestine, it has been objected,

1. That the words in Heb. xii. 4. (*ye have not resisted unto blood, combating against sin,*) cannot apply to the church at Jerusalem, where there had already been two martyrs, viz. Stephen and James. But this objection is of no weight: for the apostle was addressing the laity of that church, to whom alone this Epistle was directed, and not to the rulers;

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[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25. [2] Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 20. § 1.

[3] Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 199. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 383—387.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 326, 327.

and few, if any, of the common people had hitherto been put to death, though they had been imprisoned, pillaged, and defamed. Compare Acts viii. 1—3. xxvi. 10, 11. and 1 Thess. ii. 14.

2. That the remark in Heb. vi. 10. (*God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister,*) is not suitable to the state of the church at Jerusalem, at that time, because, though the members of that church at *first* were in a state of affluence, when they had all things in common, yet afterwards they became so poor that they were relieved by the contributions of the Gentile Christians in Macedonia, Galatia, Corinth, and Antioch. There is, however, no force in this objection. Ministering to the saints in those days did not consist solely in helping them with money. Attending on them in their imprisonment — rendering them any little offices of which they stood in need — speaking to them in a kind and consolatory manner — these and such other services as may be performed without money were, and still are, as much ministering to the saints as affording them pecuniary aid. And, doubtless, the members of the church at Jerusalem ministered in that manner to one another in their afflictions. But, though the generality of the members of that church were reduced to poverty by the sufferings they had sustained, yet in all probability there were some among them in better circumstances who might have deserved the commendation, that they *had administered and did minister to the saints*, by giving them a share of their worldly goods.[1]

Upon a review, therefore, of all the circumstances, we shall be justified in adopting the opinion of the antient church, that this Epistle was addressed to Hebrew Christians in Palestine; but it is (as Michaelis has observed) a matter of little or no moment, whether it was sent to Jerusalem alone, or to other cities in Palestine; because an Epistle, intended for the use of Jewish converts at Jerusalem, must equally have concerned the other Jewish converts in that country.

II. The next question concerning this Epistle relates to the LANGUAGE in which it was written. On this subject there have been two principal opinions; one, that it was originally written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by Luke or Barnabas; and the other, that it was written in Greek. The former opinion is entertained by the fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Euthalius, Theodoret, Theophylact, Jerome, and (as some have supposed) Origen, and also by Bahrdt, Michaelis, and others among the moderns. The latter opinion — that it was originally composed in Greek — is held by Fabricius, Beausobre, Cappel, Owen, Basnage, Mill, Leusden, Pictet, Wetstein, Braunius, Heidegger, Van Til, Calmet, Carpzov, Pritius, Moldenhawer, Lardner, Doddridge, Macknight, Rosenmüller, Rumpæus, Viser, Alber, Bishop Tomline, Dr. Hales, Professor Stuart, and, we believe, by almost every modern commentator and critic who has treated on this book.

The arguments for the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic original of this Epistle may be reduced to the two following: —

1. As this Epistle was written for the use of Hebrew Christians, it was proper that it should be written in their own language. To this argument, it has been replied, *first*, That if it was proper that the apostle

[1] Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews, sect. 2. § 1.

should write to them in the Hebrew tongue, it must have been equally proper for him to write his letter to the Romans in their own language; yet we know that Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans was not written in Latin, the language of Rome, but in Greek: nay, that all his Epistles, and those of the other apostles, were written in Greek, and not in the languages of the churches and persons to whom they were addressed. *Secondly*, The Apostolical Epistles being intended for the use of the whole Christian world in every age, as well as for the persons to whom they were sent, it was more proper that they should be written in Greek than in any provincial dialect; because the Greek language was then universally understood. The arguments already adduced, to show that Greek was the original language of the New Testament generally, are equally applicable to prove that the Epistle to the Hebrews was never written in Hebrew. [1]

2. It is objected, that this Epistle has been originally written in Hebrew, becase its Greek style is superior to that of Saint Paul's other Epistles. To which Rosenmüller, after Carpzov, has replied by observing, that the difference in style may be readily accounted for, by considering, that this was one of the apostle's last Epistles, and that from his extensive intercourse with men of various ranks and conditions, during his numerous journeys, "Paul the aged" would naturally write in a different style from Paul when a young man. To this remark we may add, that there are such coincidences of expression between this Epistle and Saint Paul's other letters, which were in Greek, as plainly show that he was its author, and consequently did not write it in Hebrew; but as this topic is discussed more at length in a subsequent page [2], we proceed to remark, that, as the Syriac version of this Epistle was made from the *Greek* at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second century, it is evident that no Hebrew original was then extant; and consequently that Michaelis's hypothesis, respecting the blunders committed by the supposed translator, has no foundation whatever. Again, the Epistle is said to have been translated by Clement of Rome, but where or when, we are not informed. Was this translation executed in Italy before it was sent to the Hebrews? If so, what purpose could be answered by writing it in Hebrew when it was only to be used in Greek? Was it sent in Hebrew before the supposed translation? In what language was it communicated to others by the Christians who first received it? Clement was never in the East to translate it. And if all the first copies of it were dispersed in Hebrew, how came they to be so utterly lost, that no authentic report or tradition concerning them, or any one of them, ever remained: besides, if it were translated by Clement in the West, and that translation alone were preserved, how came it to pass, that it was so well known and generally received in the East before the Western churches received it into their canon of Scripture? This tradition, therefore, respecting its translation by Clement, is every way groundless and improbable.

Independently of the preceding considerations, which show that the Epistle to the Hebrews was never extant in the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic dialect, the Epistle itself furnishes us with decisive and positive evidence that it was originally written in the language in which it is now extant.

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[1] See Vol. II. Part I. Chap. I. Sect. III. § II. pp. 13—18. To the above argument we may add, that the apostolic father Barnabas wrote his Epistle to the *Hebrews* in the Greek language.

[2] See pp. 422—435. *infra*, where the question respecting the author of this epistle is considered.

1. In the first place, the style of this Epistle, throughout, manifests that it is no translation. It has altogether the air of an original. There is nothing of the constraint of a translator, nor do we meet with those Hebraisms which occur so constantly in the Septuagint version. [1]

2. Hebrew names are interpreted: as *Melchizedek* by *King of Righteousness* (vii. 2.), and *Salem* by *Peace*, which interpretation would have been superfluous if the Epistle had been written in Hebrew. If this Epistle be a translation, and not an original, because the interpretation of a few words is added, we may with equal propriety affirm that Saint Paul wrote his Epistles to the Galatians and Romans in Hebrew, because he has added the interpretation of the Syriac word *Abba*, — father (Rom. viii. 15. Gal. iv. 6.), or that John wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, because (i. 47. xx. 16.) he has explained the meaning of the Hebrew word Rabboni. The same remark may be extended to the other three evangelists, all of whom, we have seen, wrote in Greek, as the whole current of Christian antiquity also attests. A further proof that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Greek, and consequently was not a translation, is, that the argument of the author is founded on the interpretation which he has given us of the words above cited.

3. The passages, cited from the Old Testament in this Epistle, are not quoted from the Hebrew but from the Septuagint, where that faithfully represented the Hebrew text. Frequently the stress of the argument taken from such quotations relies on something peculiar in that version, which could not possibly have taken place if the Epistle had been written in Hebrew. And in a few instances, where the Septuagint did not fully render the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the author of the Epistle has substituted translations of his own, from which he argues in the same manner, whence it is manifest that this Epistle never was extant in Hebrew. [2]

Independently of these (we think indisputable and positive) arguments for the Greek original of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Michaelis has attempted to answer, but without success, the hypo-

[1] The numerous paronomasias, or occurrences of words of like sound, but which cannot be rendered in English with due effect, that are to be found in this Epistle, have been urged as a clear proof that it is not a translation. See instances of such paronomasias in Hebrews v. 8. 14. vii. 3. 19. 22. ix. 10. x. 34. xi. 37. and xiii. 14. (Gr.) But of these paronomasias, Prof. Stuart observes that the instance from Heb. x. 34. is the only one which appears to betray any marks of design; and even here the marks are by no means of a decisive nature. "If they are altogether accidental, they may have occurred in the Epistle to the Hebrews, even if its present language is merely that of a *translation*. In fact, even designed paronomasias may, not unfrequently, occur in a translation. The argument in favour of the Greek being the original language of the Epistle to the Hebrews built on such instances of paronomasia as those above cited (where, in most" examples "it is a mere homophony of like tenses or cases,) is too uncertain and too slender to be rested on, as a proper support of the opinion in question." Stuart's Comm. on the Hebrews, vol. i. p. 282.

[2] Dr. Owen has ably treated this topic in his fifth exercitation on the Hebrews, vol. i. pp. 46—53. folio edition. Calmet, Comment. Literal. tom. viii. pp. 631, 632. Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. pp. 282—285. Calvin and several other divines have laid much stress upon the rendering of the Hebrew word *berith* by διαθηκη, which denotes either testament or covenant: and Michaelis has acknowledged that this is the most specious of all the arguments adduced to prove that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Greek. But Braunius affirms that it proves nothing either way. Proleg. in Ep. ad Hebr. p. 25. The objections to this Epistle of Drs. Schulz and Seyffarth, grounded on the mode in which its author quotes and appeals to the Old Testament (and also on particular phrases and expressions), are examined in detail, and most satisfactorily refuted by Professor Stuart. (Commentary, vol. i. pp. 205—252., or pp. 236—290. of the London edition.)

thesis that it was written in Hebrew is attended with several difficulties, and particularly the two following: —

1. That at that time the author (Paul, as is shown in a subsequent page[1]), could not determine in what dialect he should write to the Hebrews, which they might all understand: for the pure Hebrew then existed in the Old Testament, though it was not in popular use. Among the Jews there were several dialects spoken, as the East Aramæan or Chaldee, and the West Aramæan or Syriac; which suffered various alterations from the places where the Jews were dispersed; so that the original Hebrew was known comparatively to few, and those who were conversant in Syriac might not be acquainted with the Chaldee. If therefore this Epistle had been written in biblical Hebrew, the *learned few* only could have read it; and had it been written in either of the other dialects, a part only of the Jews could have perused it.

2. By writing in Hebrew, the author of this Epistle could have instructed only his own nation; and his arguments would have availed only with the pious few, while the unbelieving multitude would in all probability have ridiculed his doctrines, and misrepresented them to the uninformed and to strangers. But by writing the Epistle in Greek, which language, we have seen, was at that time universally known and understood, he instructed his own countrymen, and also explained the Christian covenant to the Gentiles.[2]

The preceding is a summary of the arguments adduced on this much litigated point: and upon the whole, we are compelled to draw the conclusion, that the original language of the epistle to the Hebrews must have been GREEK. The reader, however, will adopt which opinion he deems best supported concerning the Hebrew or Greek original of this Epistle. If he prefer the *former*, it may be satisfactory to him to be reminded, that the circumstance of this Epistle being *first* written in Hebrew, and then translated into Greek, by no means affects its genuineness and authenticity.[3]

III. The next object of inquiry respects the AUTHOR of this Epistle, some ascribing it to Barnabas, the companion of Paul; others to Clement of Rome, to the evangelist Luke, to Silas or Silvanus, or to Apollos; and the Christian church generally to the apostle Paul.

Tertullian[4] was the first who ascribed this Epistle to Barnabas, and his opinion was adopted by Cameron, and subsequently by Dr. Storr; but it rests on mere conjecture, for Tertullian cites no authority, and does not even say that this opinion was received by the church. He is also contradicted by Clement of Alexandria[5], who mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews as Saint Paul's; to which we may add, that the style of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas differs so widely from that of the letter to the Hebrews, as to prove that it could not have been written by him. Further, it appears from Heb. xiii. 24. that this Epistle was written from Italy, where there is no evidence that Barnabas ever went. Philastrius[6] relates,

[1] See pp. 423—435. *infra.*

[2] Francisci Junii Parallela Sacra, lib. 3. c. 9. in Ep. ad Hebr. tom. i. p. 1595. edit. Genevæ. 1613.

[3] See the observations on this topic in Vol. I. p. 97.

[4] De Pudicitia, c. 20.

[5] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 34. See the passage also in Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 211.; 4to. vol. i. p. 394.

[6] Hær. c. 89. Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 500.; 4to. vol. i. p. 522.

that at the end of the fourth century, many persons attributed this Epistle to Clement of Rome; but this notion is contradicted by the fact that Clement has himself repeatedly quoted this Epistle.

The same author also informs us that some ascribed it to Luke; and this hypothesis has been adopted by Grotius and by Janssens, on account of a supposed resemblance of style between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of Luke, and especially on account of the greater elegance of style and choice of words discoverable in this Epistle, than is to be found in Paul's other letters. But to this hypothesis there are several objections. For, 1. Luke was a Gentile by birth, and could not have acquired that intimate knowledge of the Hebrew literature and religion which Paul possessed, who was instructed by Gamaliel and other celebrated Jewish teachers. 2. If Luke wrote this Epistle, why did he not rather inscribe it to the Greeks, who were his countrymen? 3. Ecclesiastical antiquity is totally silent concerning this Epistle as being written by that evangelist, to whom all the primitive Christian writers unanimously ascribe the Gospel which bears his name, and also the Acts of the Apostles. 4. The author of this Epistle addresses the Hebrews (xiii. 18, 19.) as persons among whom he had preached the Gospel: and as it no where appears that Luke had preached to the converted Jews, it follows that he could not be the author of this Epistle.

Among the modern writers, C. F. Boehme, in his Latin translation of this Epistle, ascribes it to Silas or Silvanus (by whom he imagines it was directed to the church at Antioch)[1], and the illustrious reformer Luther thought that this Epistle was written by Apollos, who is mentioned in Acts xviii. 24. 28. as being an eloquent man, mighty in the Scripture, fervent in spirit, and one that convinced the Jews out of the Scripture itself; all which characters unquestionably are found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But both these conjectures are totally unsupported by historical testimony, no mention whatever being made of any Epistle or other writing as being composed either by Silas or by Apollos. Some weight would certainly have attached to Luther's conjecture, if the excellent qualities ascribed to Apollos had been peculiar to him, or if they had not all been found in Paul in a more eminent degree than in Apollos. But Paul being endowed with more ample gifts and excellencies than Apollos, and being also a divinely constituted apostle, the conjecture of Luther necessarily falls to the ground.[2]

We are now to consider the evidence, both external and internal, for the opinion which has generally prevailed in the Christian church, viz. that the Epistle to the Hebrews is the genuine production of the great apostle to the Gentiles.

1. External Evidence or Historical Testimony.

[i.] *In the* first place, *it is acknowledged to be the production of Paul by the apostle Peter in his second Epistle* (iii. 15, 16.); *from which passage it is evident,*

(1.) That Peter had read all Paul's letters.

[1] Epistola ad Hebræos, Præfat. pp. xl.—xlviii. (Lipsiæ, 1825. 8vo.)

[2] It is adopted, however, by Dindorf, in his Excursus ad J. A. Ernesti Lectiones Academicas in Epistolam ad Hebræos, p. 1180. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1815.

(2.) That Paul had written to those Christians to whom Peter was then writing, that is, to the believing Jews in general (2 Pet. i. 1.), and to those of the dispersion mentioned in 1 Pet. i. 1. Now, since there is no evidence to prove that this Epistle was lost, it follows that it must be that which is now inscribed *to the Hebrews.*

(3.) That Paul wrote to them concerning the same topics which were the subjects of Peter's Epistle. Thus Peter writes, that *by Christ are given to us all things pertaining to life and godliness* (2 Pet. i. 3, 4.), and that Jesus Christ is the *Son of God, in whom the Father is well pleased with us, of whom the prophets spoke.* These very topics are copiously discussed in Heb. i. to x. 19. Again, Peter exhorts them to faith *and holiness* (2 Pet. i. 5—16. ii. 15.); so also does Paul. (Heb. ii. 1—5. iii. 1. 6—19.) Peter shows the danger of apostasy (2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.), and so does the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. (Heb. vi. 4—9.)

(4.) In the Epistle mentioned by Peter, he seems to ascribe to Paul an eminency of wisdom. It was, he says, *written according to the wisdom given to him.* As Paul made use of that wisdom which had been conferred on him in writing all his other Epistles, so there is no doubt that he exerted the same wisdom, zeal, and love in writing the Epistle to the Hebrews: but, in the passage now under consideration, Peter eminently distinguishes that apostle's wisdom. He does not refer to Paul's spiritual wisdom in general, in the knowledge of the will of God and of the mysteries of the Gospel; but he particularly alludes to the especial holy prudence which Paul has displayed in the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whom the structure of his arguments was singularly adapted to convince, if unbelievers: while his warnings and encouragements were admirably calculated to animate the believing Hebrews to constancy and fortitude in the faith of the Gospel. At the same time, nothing more clearly shows the singular wisdom, which Peter asserts to be manifest in this letter, than Paul's condescension to the capacities, prejudices, and affections of those to whom he wrote and whom he constantly urged with their own principles and concessions.

(5.) That Peter affirms there were *some things* discussed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were *hard or difficult to be understood* (τινα δυσνοητα). Now Paul explicitly states (Heb. v. 11.) that some of the topics which he was to discuss in that Epistle were δυσερμηνευτα, *hard to be uttered,* or difficult to be interpreted, and consequently hard to be understood; particularly the topic he immediately had in view, viz. the *typical* nature of the person of Melchisedek. Or if it refer to the priesthood of Christ, that would be still more "hard to be uttered," because it implies not only his being constituted a priest after this *typical* order, but also his paying down the ransom for the sins of the whole world, and his satisfaction of divine justice by this sacrifice, and thus opening the kingdom of heaven to all believers. Topics like these it would be difficult for the apostle to explain in a proper manner to the Hebrews; not because they were in themselves abstruse, but because the Hebrews were dull of apprehension, through their prejudiced attachment to the Levitical law and priesthood.[1]

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[1] To the preceding argument it has been objected, that the Epistle particularly intended by Peter may be that written to the Romans, in which Saint Paul speaks to the Jews by name (ii. 17.), and in which there is an exhortation to account the long-suffering of God to be salvation, or that which leads to repentance. But to this objection Whitby has well replied, (1.) That what is written in the Epistle to the Romans is addressed to the unbelieving Jews only, whereas Peter writes to the brethren (2 Pet. iii. 12.), the *beloved* (verses 1. 14. 17.), to those who *had received like precious faith.* (i. 1.) He therefore could

The preceding considerations will show that the Epistle to the Hebrews was the identical letter which Peter had in view. We have insisted the more strenuously upon his testimony, because, as he was an inspired apostle, we think his evidence sufficient to determine the controversy respecting this Epistle, and to demonstrate (notwithstanding the sceptical declaration of Michaelis to the contrary) that it is a genuine and inspired production of the illustrious apostle Paul. There are, however, many other testimonies to prove the same point, which we shall now proceed to state; each of them singly outbalancing the weight of the conjectures advanced against it, but all of which, taken collectively, furnish such a body of evidence in favour of Paul being the author of this Epistle, as can be adduced for no other antient anonymous writing whatever. We therefore proceed to remark,

[ii.] Secondly, *that the Epistle to the Hebrews is found in the most antient Oriental and Western Versions which are extant.*

It is found in the Peschito or Old Syriac Version of the New Testament, which (as remarked in a former volume [1]) was executed at the close of the first, or in the early part of the second century, and in the Old Latin Versions made during the former part of the second century.[1] As these versions were in common use and authority among the churches of the East and the West, this is a fact of very great importance; because it affords palpable evidence that the Epistle to the Hebrews was widely circulated among Christians, a short time after the apostolic age.

[iii.] Thirdly, *the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity decidedly ascribes this Epistle to Paul.*

(1.) Among the fathers of the GREEK or EASTERN CHURCH, who wrote in the Greek language, we find allusions to it in the Epistles of Ignatius, about the year 107. The Epistle to the Hebrews seems to be referred to by Polycarp bishop of Smyrna, in his Epistle to the Philippians in the year 108, and in the relation of his martyrdom, written about the middle of the second century. This Epistle is quoted twice by Justin Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, A. D. 140. It is often cited as Paul's, without any hesitation, by Clement of Alexandria, about the year 194. It is received and quoted as Paul's by Origen about 230.[2] It was also

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not mean the Jews, of whom Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Romans. Nor (2.) can that Epistle with propriety be said to be written to the dispersed Jews, because it is addressed to those at Rome only (Rom. i. 7.), and chiefly to the Gentiles there. (i. 13. xi. 13. xv. 15, 16.)—(3.) The words of Paul in Rom. ii. are not an exhortation to count the long-suffering of God salvation, but a *reproof* for despising this long-suffering: whereas in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii.) he commends their patience under sufferings, and assures them that it would obtain salvation; and that, if they lived by faith, their Lord would come, and would not tarry. To which we may add, that in the Epistle to the Hebrews (iv. 9. xii. 14. 18. 24.) mention is made of the introduction of the righteous into the heavenly country, which is one of the topics mentioned in the second Epistle of Peter.

[1] On the date, &c. of the old Syriac Version, see Vol. II. pp. 56—58.; and for the old Latin Versions, pp. 69, 70. of the same volume.

[2] The words of Origen (who was of opinion that the ideas were those of Paul, though not the style,) are very remarkable. He says that "not without cause did the antients transmit this [epistle] as Paul's." (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 25.) Now, it is very certain that the churches and writers, who were antients with respect to Origen, must have conversed with the apostles themselves, or at least with their successors. And since this tradition was *antient* in the times of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, about one hundred and thirty years after the Epistle was written, it must have had its rise in the days of Paul himself, and so cannot reasonably be contested.

received as the apostle's by Dionysius bishop of Alexandria in 247. It is plainly referred to by Theognostus of Alexandria about 282. It appears to have been received by Methodius about 292, by Pamphilus about 294, and by Archelaus bishop of Mesopotamia at the beginning of the fourth century, by the Manicheans in the fourth, and by the Paulicians in the seventh century. It was received and ascribed to Paul by Alexander bishop of Alexandria in the year 313, and by the Arians in the fourth century. Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, about 315, says, "There are fourteen Epistles of Paul before the public and well known: but yet there are some who have rejected (τινες ηθετηκασι) that to the Hebrews, alleging in behalf of their opinion, that it was not received by the church of the Romans as a writing of Paul."[1] It is often quoted by Eusebius himself as Paul's and as sacred Scripture. This Epistle was received by Athanasius without any hesitation. In his enumeration of Paul's fourteen Epistles, this is placed next after the two to the Thessalonians and before the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. The same order is observed in the Synopsis of Scripture ascribed to him. This Epistle is received as Paul's by Adamantius, author of a dialogue against the Marcionites, in 330, and by Cyril of Jerusalem in 348; by the council of Laodicea in 363, where Paul's Epistles are enumerated in the same order as in Athanasius, just noticed. This Epistle is also received as Paul's by Epiphanius about 368; by the apostolical constitutions about the end of the fourth century; by Basil about 370; by Gregory Nazianzen in 370; by Amphilochius also. But he says it was not universally received as Paul's. It was received by Gregory Nyssen about 371; by Didymus of Alexandria about the same time; by Ephraim the Syrian in 370, and by the churches of Syria: by Diodore of Tarsus in 378; by Hierax, a learned Egyptian, about the year 302; by Serapion bishop of Thmuis in Egypt about 347; by Titus bishop of Bostra in Arabia about 362; by Theodore bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia about the year 394; by Chrysostom in the year 398; by Severian bishop of Gabala in Syria in 401; by Victor of Antioch about 401; by Palladius, author of a life of Chrysostom, about 408; by Isidore of Pelusium about 412; by Cyril bishop of Alexandria in 412; by Theodoret in 423; by Eutherius bishop of Tyana in Cappadocia in 431; by Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, about 440; by Euthalius in Egypt about 458; and, probably, by Dionysius, falsely called the Areopagite; by the author of the *Quæstiones et Responsiones*, commonly ascribed to Justin Martyr, but rather written in the fifth century. It is in the Alexandrian manuscript written in the sixth century, and in the Stichometry of Nicephorus about 806; and is received as Paul's by Cosmas of Alexandria about 535; by Leontius of Constantinople about 610; by John Damascen in 730; by Photius about 858; by Œcumenius about the year 950; and by Theophylact in 1070.

(2.) Among the fathers of the LATIN or WESTERN CHURCH, we may first cite Clement, who was bishop of Rome, though he wrote his Epistle to

[1] Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 3. It does not follow that the τινες of Eusebius were writers; but even if they were, they did not appeal to older Greek writers, but only to the Roman church. This word τινες — SOME — indicates merely an exception to the general opinion of the Greeks, there being some who were influenced by respect or prepossession for the Romans: and this exception is itself a proof that the Greek church at large acknowledged this epistle as a production of the apostle Paul, according to the well known principle, *exceptio firmat regulam*. The fact, that the Arians were the first in the Greek churches, whom history charges with denying Paul to be the author of this epistle, adds no ordinary degree of weight to the declarations of Eusebius; and recommends his character as a historian, whom no predilection for a party could betray into a departure from historical truth. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 509. Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. p. 109.

the Corinthians in Greek A. D. 96, or, according to some critics, about the year 70. In this Epistle there are several allusions or references to the Epistle to the Hebrews.[1] Irenæus, bishop of Lyons about 178, we are assured by Eusebius, cited some passages out of this Epistle in a work now lost; nevertheless it does not appear that he received it as Saint Paul's. By Tertullian, presbyter of Carthage, about the year 200, this Epistle is ascribed to Barnabas. Caius, about 212, supposed to have been presbyter in the church of Rome, reckoning up the Epistles of Saint Paul, mentioned thirteen only, omitting that to the Hebrews. Hippolitus, who flourished about 220, did not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews as Saint Paul's. This Epistle is not quoted by Cyprian bishop of Carthage about 248 and afterwards, nor does it appear to have been received by Novatus, or Novatian, presbyter of Rome, about 251; nevertheless, it was in after-times received by his followers. It may be thought by some that this Epistle is referred to by Arnobius about 306, and Lactantius about the same time. It is plainly quoted by another Arnobius in the fifth century. It was received as Paul's by Hilary of Poictiers about 354; and by Lucifer bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia about the same time, and by his followers; it was also received as Paul's by C. M. Victorinus. Whether it was received by Optatus of Milevi in Africa, about 370, is doubtful. It was received as Paul's by Ambrose bishop of Milan about 374; by the Priscillianists about 378. About the year 380 was published a commentary upon thirteen Epistles of Paul only, ascribed to Hilary deacon of Rome. It was received as Paul's by Philaster bishop of Brescia in Italy about 380; but he takes notice that it was not then received by all. His successor Gaudentius, about 387, quotes this Epistle as Paul's; it is also readily received as Paul's by Jerome about 392; and he says it was generally received by the Greeks, and the Christians in the East, but not by all the Latins.[2] It

[1] It is a singular circumstance that no book of the New Testament has been so frequently quoted by Clement as the Epistle to the Hebrews. Prof. Stuart has arranged his quotations under four different classes; viz. 1. Passages in which the exact words, or nearly so, of the epistle, are cited; — 2. Passages containing the same sentiment, with more or less contraction of the expression, or an exchange of the original word for a synonymous one; — 3. Passages which are a paraphrastic imitation of the Epistle to the Hebrews; or in which the style or phraseology of this epistle is more or less exhibited; — and, 4. Passages similar to texts in the Old Testament, but which Clement probably quoted from the Epistle to the Hebrews. These different classes of quotations Prof. Stuart has elucidated with many valuable observations, for which the reader is necessarily referred to his Commentary, vol. i. pp. 77—84., or pp. 94—105. of the London edition.

[2] The non-recognising of this epistle as St. Paul's production "by all the Latins," according to Jerome, and the circumstance of its being "of doubtful authority with some" in the Latin church, according to Augustine, are thus accounted for by Hug. The Western church was kept actively employed by the Montanists. In vindication of their tenet, that those guilty of grievous transgressions should be irrevocably cut off from the church, they relied especially on Hebrews vi. 4, 5. as we learn from Tertullian (de Pudicitia, c. 20.) and Jerome (adv. Jovinian, l. ii. c. 3.): on which account the ministers of the Latin church made cautious and sparing use of this epistle. Not long probably after the death of Irenæus, the presbyter Caius assumed the tone of clamorous opposition against this epistle, in a work which he published against the Montanists: and from that time this opinion was adopted by the greater part of the Latin church. Even the Montanists themselves receded from their original position on this subject, and in their polemical works received this epistle only as far as its authority was acknowledged by their opponents, namely, as a production of an apostolical teacher, Barnabas, or Clement, &c. About forty years after Caius's attack, arose the Novatians; who, as we learn from Jerome, Augustine, Epiphanius, Theodoret, and others, also used the passage Heb. vi. 4, 5. as the principal defence of their tenets. While the Greeks were calm spectators of the contest, and evaded the argument from Heb. vi. by their interpretations, the Latin churches were led by the pressure of circumstances to deny the authority of the book, whose contents they were unable to refute. But the Latin churches had no ecclesiastical

was received as Paul's by Ruffinus in 397; it is also in the catalogue of the third council of Carthage in 397. It is frequently quoted by Augustine as Paul's. In one place he says, "It is of doubtful authority with some, but he was inclined to follow the opinion of the churches in the East, who received it among the canonical Scriptures." It was received as Paul's by Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia in Italy about 401; by Innocent bishop of Rome about 402; by Paulinus bishop of Nola in Italy about 403. Pelagius about 405 wrote a commentary upon thirteen Epistles of Paul, omitting that to the Hebrews; nevertheless it was received by his followers. It was received by Cassian about 424; by Prosper of Aquitaine about 434, and by the authors of the works ascribed to him; by Eucherius bishop of Lyons in 434; by Sedulius about 818; by Leo bishop of Rome in 440; by Salvian presbyter of Marseilles about 440; by Gelasius bishop of Rome about 496; by Facundus, an African bishop, about 540; by Junilius, an African bishop, about 556; by Cassiodorus in 556; by the author of the imperfect work upon Matthew, about 560; by Gregory bishop of Rome about 590; by Isidore of Seville about 596; and by Bede about 701, or the beginning of the eighth century.[1]

From the preceding testimonies it is evident, that within about thirty years at most after this Epistle was written (for its date see p. 435. *infra*), "it had acquired such currency and credit, that the church at Rome, the metropolitan of the world, in a letter addressed by Clement their bishop to the church at Corinth, made repeated appeals to it as a book of divine authority, and in such a way as to imply a knowledge and acknowledgment of it by the Corinthian church, similar to their own. Further, Justin Martyr has evidently appealed to its contents as sacred, A. D. 140; about which time, or not long after, it was inserted among the canonical books of the New Testament by the churches of the East and West: and consequently it must have had, a period very little after the apostolic age, a currency and a credit not at all or at most very little inferior to that of other acknowledged books of the New Testament."[2]

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE THAT THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS IS THE GENUINE PRODUCTION OF SAINT PAUL.

[i.] In the first place, *Paul cherished an ardent zeal and affection towards his kinsmen according to the flesh.* (Rom. ix. 1—4, &c.)

And can we think it likely that he should never write to those who were so exceedingly dear to him? Knowing their prejudices concerning the Levitical law, what subject could he select more appropriate for their instruction and edification, than the abrogation of the Levitical priesthood, and the surpassing excellence of Christ's person and office, especially of his true, spiritual, and eternal priesthood, of which the Levitical

tradition, no authority of earlier churches to which they could appeal: the whole controversy proceeded on the ground of internal evidence. It was for this reason that Jerome and Augustine could not adopt the opinion of the church to which they belonged; because they were convinced of the contrary by the testimony of the antients: and their influence tended to give, at a subsequent day, a different turn to the opinion of the Latin church. Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 115, 116. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 516—525.

[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 391—395.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 329—331. In his notes there are references to the various parts of the preceding volumes, in which the extracts from the above-named fathers are to be found.

[2] Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. p. 109.

priesthood was but a shadow, and of which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has treated so largely?

[ii.] Secondly, *If an author's method of treating his subjects, together with his manner of reasoning, is a sure mark by which he may be ascertained (as all good judges of composition allow), we shall without hesitation pronounce Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

(1.) *The general arrangement or method pursued in this Epistle corresponds with that of Paul in his other Epistles.*

His method of procedure is the same with that of his other Epistles, which was also peculiar to him. He first lays down the doctrinal mysteries of the Gospel, vindicating them from oppositions and exceptions; and then he descends to exhortations to obedience, deduced from them, with an enumeration of those moral duties of which it was necessary to remind those Christians to whom he wrote. In this respect the Epistle to the Hebrews bears the greatest resemblance to the Epistle to the Galatians, and especially that addressed to the Romans. Like them, the former half of this Epistle (ch. i.—x. 19.) is principally doctrinal, but with occasional exhortations intermixed, which the strength of the writer's feelings plainly appears to have forced from him. From ch. x. 20. to the end, the Epistle is hortatory and practical. "In the Epistle to the Romans, just before the salutatory part begins, the writer earnestly asks for a special interest in the prayers of those whom he addressed, in order that he may be delivered from the power of persecution; and he follows this request with a petition, that the *God of Peace*—ὁ Θεος τῆς εἰρηνης—might be with them, and concludes with an *Amen.* (Rom. xv. 30—33.) The very same order, petition, style, and conclusion, appear at the close of the Epistle to the Hebrews. (xiii. 18—21.) The writer begs an interest in their prayers, that he may be restored to them the sooner; commends them to the *God of Peace* (an expression used no where else but in Saint Paul's writings and in the Epistle to the Hebrews); and concludes with an *Amen.*"[1] Similar coincidences as to method occur in the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians (Professor Stuart adds, to the Philippians and Thessalonians also); which conclude with an Amen before the salutation.

(2.) *In this letter, we find that overflowing of sentiment briefly expressed, which distinguishes Paul from every other sacred writer.*

"Therein also are abrupt transitions from the subject in hand to something subordinate, but at the same time connected with it; which, having pursued for a little while, the writer returns to his subject[2], and illustrates it by arguments of great force, couched sometimes in a short expression, and sometimes in a single word,—all which are peculiar to Paul. In this Epistle, likewise, contrary to the practice of other writers, but in Paul's manner, we meet with many elliptical expressions, which are to be supplied either from the foregoing or from the following clauses. In it also, as in Paul's acknowledged Epistles, we find reasonings addressed to the thoughts of the reader, and answers to objections not proposed; because, being obvious, the writer knew they would naturally occur, and therefore needed to be removed. Lastly, after Paul's manner, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has subjoined to his reasonings many exhortations to piety and virtue; all which, to persons who are judges of writing, plainly point out the apostle Paul as the author of this Epistle."[3]

(3.) *Many things in this Epistle (too numerous and indeed too obvious to require any enumeration) evidently manifest that its author was not only mighty in the Scriptures, but also exceedingly well skilled in the customs, practices, opinions, traditions, expositions, and applications of Scripture, then received in the Jewish church.*

[1] Stuart's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. pp. 152, 153.; or pp. 185—187. of the London edition. Schmidii Hist. et Vindicatio Canonis, pp. 665, 666. Owen on the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercitation 2.

[2] Of these parentheses see an example in Heb. i. 2—4., in which the truth of the Gospel is argued from the dignity of Christ's person; in verse 5. the discourse is continued from the first verse. See other instances in Heb. iii. 7—11. 14. and iv. 2, &c.

[3] Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Sect. I. § iii.

"In the Epistle to the Hebrews, we find such enlarged views of the divine dispensations respecting religion; such an extensive knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures, according to their antient and true interpretation, which Paul, no doubt, learned from the celebrated doctors under whose tuition he studied in his younger years at Jerusalem; such a deep insight also into the most recondite meanings of these Scriptures, and such admirable reasonings founded thereon for the confirmation of the Gospel revelation, as, without disparagement to the other apostles, seem to have exceeded, not their natural abilities and education only, but even that degree of inspiration with which they were endowed. None of them but Paul, who was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and who profited in the Jewish religion and learning above many of his fellow-students, and who, in his riper years, was intimately acquainted with the learned men of his own nation (Acts ix. 1, 2. 14. xxvi. 4, 5.), and who was called to the apostleship by Christ himself, when for that purpose he appeared to him from heaven, — nay, who was caught up by Christ into the third heaven, — was equal to the subjects treated of in this most admirable Epistle." [1]

[iii.] *In the* third place, *Not only does the general scope of this Epistle tend to the same point, on which Saint Paul lays so much stress in his other Epistles, namely, that we are justified and obtain salvation only through Jesus Christ, and that the Mosaic institutions cannot effect this object; but there are various* DOCTRINAL PROPOSITIONS *in this Epistle, which are found in the other acknowledged Epistles of Paul.*

Professor Stuart and M. De Groot have discussed this subject at length, especially the former: our limits will only permit a very few examples to be given, showing the superiority of the Gospel over the Mosaic dispensation: —

1. *As to the superior degree of* RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE *imparted by the Gospel.*

"In his acknowledged Epistles, Paul calls Judaism τα στοιχεῖα του κοσμοῦ (Gal. iv. 3.), the *elements* or *rudiments of the world*, that is, the elements or principles of a religion accommodated to the ignorant and imbecile men of the present age or world; and again, τα ἀσθενη και πτωχα στοιχεῖα (Gal. iv. 9.), *weak and beggarly elements*, to denote its imperfection. He represents it as adapted to *children*, νηπιοι (Gal. iv. 3.), who are in a state of nonage and pupilage, or in the condition of servants rather than that of heirs. (Gal. iv. 1.) On the other hand, Christians attain to a higher knowledge of God (Gal. iv. 9.): they are no more as servants, but become sons, and obtain the privileges of adoption. (Gal. iv. 5, 6.) They are represented as τελειοι (1 Cor. xiv. 20.); as being furnished with instruction adequate to make them ανδρας τελειους. (Eph. iv. 11—13.) Christianity leads them to see the glorious displays of himself which God has made, with an unveiled face, that is, clearly (2 Cor. iii. 18.); while Judaism threw a veil over these things. (2 Cor. ii. 13.) Christianity is engraven on the hearts of its votaries, διακονια του πνευματος (2 Cor. iii. 8.), while Judaism was engraven on tablets of stone, ἐντετυπομενη ἐν τοις λιθοις. (2 Cor. iii. 7.)"

Let us now compare the preceding sketch of the apostle's views on this point, as contained in his acknowledged Epistles, with those which are developed in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

"This Epistle commences with the declaration, that God, who in times past spake to the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son. (Heb. i. 1. ii. 1.) Judaism was revealed only by the mediation of angels (ii. 2.), while Christianity was revealed by the Son of God, and abundantly confirmed by miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost. (ii. 3, 4.) The antient covenant was imperfect with respect to the means which it furnished for the diffusion of knowledge; but the new covenant provides that all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest. (viii. 9—11.) The law was only a sketch or imperfect representation of religious blessings; while the Gospel proffers the blessings themselves. (x. 1.) The worthies of antient times had only imperfect views of spiritual blessings, while Christians enjoy them in full measure. (xi. 39, 40.) [2]

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[1] Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Sect. I. § iii.

[2] Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. pp. 143, 144. (174, 175. of the London edition.) In pp. 144—148. (175—178. of the London edition), he admirably illustrates the supe-

2. *As to the views which the Gospel displays concerning* GOD *the Father, in the bestowment of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.*

No one has spoken so frequently as Saint Paul concerning the Holy Spirit, nor has any one of the inspired writers adduced the gifts of the Holy Spirit as an argument for the truth of the Gospel, besides Saint Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. (See 1 Cor. xiv. 22, &c.) The apostle expressly uses the word μεριζω, to *distribute*, with regard to these gifts in Rom. xii. 3. and 2 Cor. vii. 17.; and in Heb. ii. 4. he says, that the mission of the apostles was confirmed by God with divers miracles, and Πνευματος Αγιου μερισμοις, *distributions* or *gifts of the Holy Spirit*. These gifts, Saint Paul exclusively affirms, are variously imparted according to the *will* of God (Rom. xii. 3—6. Eph. iv. 7. and especially 1 Cor. xii. 4. 7—11. 28.); and in the Epistle to the Hebrews these gifts are conferred κατα την αυτου θελησιν, according to his will.

3. *Concerning the person and mediatorial office of the* LORD JESUS CHRIST.

He is the Creator of all things (Col. i. 16. Eph. iii. 9. 1 Cor. viii. 6.), and by Him all things subsist. (Col. i. 17.) He is the *image* or *likeness of God*, εικων του Θεου (2 Cor. iv. 4.); *the image of the invisible God*, εικων του Θεου του αορατου. (Col. i. 15.), He *being in the form* of God, εν μορφη Θεου, — that is, in the condition of God, — humbled himself, assumed an inferior or humble station, — taking the condition of a servant, being made after the similitude of men, and being found in fashion as a man, he exhibited his humility by obedience, even to the death of the cross, wherefore God highly exalted him to supreme dignity: and he must reign till he hath put all things under his feet. (Phil. ii. 6—9. 1 Cor. xv. 25—27.)

Correspondent to these representations are the declarations in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Son of God is affirmed to be the reflected splendour of the glory of God, that is, one in whom the divine majesty is conspicuous, the χαρακτηρ υποστασεως του Πατρος, the *exact image*, representation, or counterpart of the Father (i. 3.), by whom God made all things (i. 2.), and upholds the universe by his word. Yet he was in a state of humiliation, being *made a little lower than the angels* (ii. 9.); he assumed flesh and blood, "in order that he might by his own death render null and void the destructive power of the devil. (ii. 14.) On account of the suffering of death he is exalted to a state of glory and honour. (ii. 9.) He endured the suffering of the cross, making no account of its disgrace, but having a regard to the reward set before him, which was a seat at the right hand of God. (xii. 2.) All things are put under his feet (ii. 8. x. 13.); where the very same passage from the Old Testament is quoted, which Paul quotes in 1 Cor. xv. 25—28., and it is applied in the same manner." [1]

But chiefly does St. Paul expatiate in his acknowledged Epistles on the death of Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and the reconciliation of sinners to God by means of this sacrifice. He is there said to have come into the world to save sinners (1 Tim. i. 15.); to have died for us and for our sins (Tit. ii. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 3.), and to be a propitiation for our sins. (Rom. iii. 25.) In him we have redemption through his blood. (Eph. i. 7.) This salvation it was impossible to obtain by the law; it could only be effected by Jesus Christ, who accomplished what the law could not do. (Rom. iii. 20—28. viii. 3. Gal. ii. 16. 21.) Finally, Jesus is our constant Mediator and Intercessor with God. (1 Tim. 2. 5. Rom. viii. 34.) In the Epistle to the Hebrews, we find the same sentiments urged with the same ardour, particularly in chapters vii.—x. To adduce a few instances: — Christ was offered to bear the sins of many. (Heb. ix. 28.) He tasted death for every man. (Heb. ii. 9.) He put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. (Heb. ix. 26.) The Jewish offerings being altogether insufficient to make expiation, Christ has by his own blood once for all made expiation for sin. (ix. 9—15. x. 10—12. 14. 19.) He is the Mediator of a new covenant (ix. 15. xii. 24.), which is better than the antient one. (vii. 22. viii.) Exalted to the throne of the universe (ii. 6—10.), he appears in the presence of God for us (ix. 24.); he ever lives to make intercession for all that come unto God by him (vii. 25.); and he is ever able and ready to assist us. (iv. 14—16.) Many of the doctrines explained in

riority of the motives to piety contained in the Gospel, as well as its superior efficacy in ensuring the happiness of mankind, and the perpetuity of the Christian dispensation.

[1] De Groot, de Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. 240, 241. Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. p. 149. (or p. 182. of the London edition.)

this Epistle, particularly those concerning the mediation and intercession of Jesus Christ, are not mentioned by any of the inspired writers, except Paul.

[iv.] Fourthly, *There is such a similarity between the modes of quotation, and style of phraseology of this Epistle, and those which occur in the apostle's acknowledged Epistles, as clearly shows that the Epistle to the Hebrews is his undoubted production.*

Braunius, Carpzov, Langius, Schmidt, Lardner, Macknight, De Groot, and above all Professor Stuart, have adduced numerous instances at considerable length, from which the following have been abridged: —

(1.) *Modes of quotation and interpretations of some passages of the Hebrew Scriptures which are peculiarly Pauline, because they are to be found only in the writings of Saint Paul.*

That the apostle should more abound with testimonies and quotations out of the Old Testament in this than his other epistles, is nothing more than the subject of which he treats, and the persons to whom he wrote, necessarily required. Thus, Psal. ii. 7. "*Thou art my Son: to-day I have begotten thee;*" is quoted and applied to Jesus (Heb. i. 5.), just as Paul, in his discourse to the Jews in the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia, cited and applied the same passage of Scripture to him. (Acts xiii. 33.) In like manner, the quotation and explanation of Psal. viii. 4. and of Psal. cx. 1., given by Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 25. 27. are found in Heb. ii. 7, 8. So also the explanation of the covenant with Abraham (Heb. vi. 14. 18.) is no where found but in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. (iii. 8, 9. 14. 18.)[1]

(2.) *Instances of agreement in the style and phraseology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the acknowledged Epistles of Paul.*

i. PARTICULAR WORDS, PECULIAR TO PAUL, OR WHICH ARE MOST FREQUENT IN HIS WRITINGS.

Wetstein enumerates eleven instances, to which Schmidt has added forty-eight others; De Groot has considerably enlarged the list, which he refers to certain classes; as also does Professor Stuart, who has given upwards of sixty examples.[2] Our limits will allow a few only to be subjoined.

The word of God, in Paul, is a sword, μαχαιρα. (Eph. vi. 17. Heb. iv. 12.)

Children in religion, that is, those who are comparatively ignorant and uninformed, are termed νηπιοι in 1 Cor. iii. 1. Eph. iv. 14. Rom. ii. 20. Gal. iv. 3. and Heb. v. 13.; and instruction for such persons is termed *milk*, and for strong persons (τελειοι), or those who are well taught, it is βρωμα, *meat*, and στερεα τροφη, or *strong* meat, in 1 Cor. iii. 2. and Heb. v. 14.; and their advanced or mature state of Christian knowledge is called τελειοτης.

Μεσιτης or *Mediator*, to denote Jesus Christ, is exclusively Pauline. (Gal. iii. 19, 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. viii. 6.)

Ἁγιαζειν, to cleanse from sin, that is, to expiate, to liberate from the imputation of sin, to render God propitious, occurs in Eph. v. 26. Heb. ii. 11. x. 10. and xiii. 12.

Σκια, a shadow, that is, a shadowing forth, or adumbration, as opposed to the perfect image or delineation. (Col. ii. 17. Heb. viii. 5. x. 1.)

Ὁμολογια, religion, religious or Christian profession. (2 Cor. ix. 13. Heb. iii. 1. iv. 14. x. 23.)

Οἰκος Θεου, the house of God, that is, the church. (1 Tim. iii. 15. Heb. iii. 6.)

Κληρονομος, Lord or possessor. (Heb. i. 2. Rom. viii. 17.)

Καταργειν, to annul, abolish, or abrogate. (Rom. iii. 3. 31. vi. 6. 1 Cor. i. 28. Gal. v. 11. Heb. ii. 14.

Σπερμα του Αβρααμ, *the seed of Abraham*, or Christians, occurs in Gal. iii. 29. and Heb. ii. 6.

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[1] Macknight's Pref. to Ep. to the Hebrews. Sect. I. § iii. De Groot gives instances not only of the formulæ of quotation, but also of the design with which the apostle introduces his quotations. (pp. 245, 246.) Prof. Stuart principally elucidates the mode of appealing to the Jewish Scriptures, and the apostle's manner of reasoning. Commentary, vol. i. pp. 153—160., or pp. 187—195. of the London edition.

[2] Wetstein, Nov. Test. tom. ii. p. 386. Schmidii Hist. Canonis, pp. 662—664. De Groot, pp. 247—250. Stuart, vol. i. pp. 160—168., or pp. 196—204. of the London edition.

ii. AGONISTIC EXPRESSIONS OR ALLUSIONS TO THE GAMES AND EXERCISES WHICH WERE THEN IN GREAT REPUTE, AND WERE FREQUENTLY SOLEMNISED IN GREECE AND OTHER PARTS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. (1 Cor. ix. 24. Phil. iii. 12—14. 2 Tim. ii. 5. iv. 6—8. compared with Heb. vi. 18. and xii. 1—3, 4. 12.)

(3.) *Coincidences between the exhortations in this Epistle and those in Paul's other letters.*

See Heb. xii. 3. compared with Gal. vi. 9. 2 Thess. iii. 13. and Eph. iii. 13.; Heb. xii. 14. with Rom. xii. 18.; Heb. xiii. 1. 3, 4. with Eph. v. 2—4.; Heb. xiii. 16. with Phil. iv. 18. See also Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 24. and ix. 13.

(4.) *Coincidences between the conclusion of this Epistle and the conclusions of Paul's Epistles, in several respects.*

Compare Heb. xii. 18. with Rom. xv. 30. Eph. vi. 18, 19. Col. iv. 3. 1 Thess. v. 25. and 2 Thess. iii. 1.; Heb. xiii. 20, 21. with Rom. xv. 30—33. Eph. vi. 19—23. 1 Thess. v. 23. and 2 Thess. iii. 16.; Heb. xiii. 24. with Rom. xvi. 21—23. 1 Cor. xvi. 19—21. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Phil. iv. 21, 22.; Heb. xiii. 25. with 2 Thess. iii. 18. Col. iv. 18. Eph. vi. 24. 1 Tim. vi. 21. 2 Tim. iv. 22. and Tit. iii. 15.

[v.] Lastly, *There are several circumstances towards the close of this Epistle, which evidently prove, that it was written by Paul.* Thus,

(1.) Heb. xiii. 23. The departure of Timothy is mentioned; and we know from the commencement of the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon, that he was with Paul during his imprisonment at Rome.

(2.) Heb. xiii. 24. *They of Italy salute you:* the writer, therefore, was then in Italy, whither Paul was sent a prisoner, and where he resided two years (Acts xxviii. 30.); where also he wrote several Epistles which are still extant.

(3.) Heb. x. 34. The apostle makes mention of his bonds, and of the compassion which the Hebrew Christians showed him in his sufferings, and during his imprisonment.

Now it is scarcely credible, that any other person in Italy, where Paul then was, should write to the Hebrew Christians, and therein make mention of his own bonds, and of Timothy being with him, who was a man unknown to them except through Paul, and not once intimate any thing concerning his condition. Besides, the constant sign and token of Paul's Epistles, which himself had publicly signified to be so (2 Thess. iii. 17, 18.), is subjoined to this: — *Grace be with you all.* (Heb. xiii. 25.) That this was originally written with his own hand, there is no ground to question; but rather appears to be so because it was written: for he affirms, that it was his custom to subjoin that salutation with his own hand. Now this was an evidence to the persons to whom the original of the Epistle first came, but not to those who had only transcribed copies of it. The *salutation* itself was their token, being peculiar to Paul; and all these circumstances will yet receive some additional force from the consideration of the *time* when this Epistle was written.[1] (See p. 435. infra.)

Is it possible that all these coincidences (which are comparatively a small selection) can be the effect of mere accident? The arrangement and method of treatment, the topics discussed, and the peculiarity of sentiments, words, and phrases, are all so exclusively Pauline, that no other person could have been its author, except the great apostle of the Gentiles. Yet, notwithstanding this strong chain of proof for the authenticity of this Epistle, doubts have still been entertained, whether it is a genuine production of Saint Paul. These doubts rest principally on the omission of the writer's name, and the superior elegance of the style in which it is written.

1. It is indeed certain that all the acknowledged Epistles of Paul begin with a salutation in his own name, and that most of them were directed from some particular place, and sent by some special messengers; where-

[1] Schmidii Hist. Canonis, p. 665. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 402, 403.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 335. Owen on the Hebrews, part i. exercitation 2.

as the Epistle to the Hebrews is anonymous, and is not directed from any place, nor is the name of the messenger introduced by whom it was sent to Judæa. These omissions, however, can scarcely be considered as conclusive against the positive testimony already adduced. And they are satisfactorily acounted for by Clement of Alexandria, and by Jerome, who intimate, that as Jesus Christ himself was the peculiar *apostle to the Hebrews* (as acknowledged in this Epistle, iii. 1.), Paul declined, through humility, to assume the title of an apostle. To which Theodoret adds, that Paul being peculiarly the apostle of the *uncircumcision*, as the rest were of the *circumcision* (Gal. ii. 9. Rom. xi. 13.), he scrupled to assume any public character when writing to the people of their charge. He did not mention his name, messenger, or the particular persons to whom it was sent, because (as Dr. Lardner judiciously remarks) such a long letter might give umbrage to the ruling powers at this crisis, when the Jews were most turbulent, and might endanger himself, the messenger, and those to whom it was directed. But they might easily know the author by the style, and also from the messenger, without any formal notice or superscription. But the absence of the apostle's name is no proof that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by Paul, or, that it is a treatise or homily[1], as some critics have imagined: for, in our canon of the New Testament, there are Epistles universally acknowledged to be the productions of an inspired apostle, notwithstanding his name is no where inserted in them. The three Epistles of John are here intended, in all of which, that apostle has omitted his name, for some reasons not now known. The first Epistle begins in the same manner as the Epistle to the Hebrews; and in the other two, he calls himself simply the elder or presbyter. That Paul, however, did not mean to conceal himself, we learn from the Epistle itself: "Know ye," says he, "that our *brother Timothy hath been sent abroad*, with whom, if he come shortly, *I will see you.*"[2] (Heb. xiii. 23.) The objection, therefore, from the omission of the apostle's name, necessarily falls to the ground.

2. With regard to the objection, that this Epistle is superior in point of style to Paul's other writings, and therefore is not the production of that apostle, it is to be observed, that "there does not appear to be such a superiority in the style of this Epistle as should lead to the conclusion that it was not written by Paul. Those who have thought differently have mentioned Barnabas, Luke, and Clement, as authors or translators of this Epistle. The opinion of Jerome was, that "the sentiments are the apostle's, but the language and composition of some one else, who committed to writing the apostle's sense, and, as it were, reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master." Dr. Lardner conjectures that Paul dictated the Epistle in Hebrew, and that another, who was a great master of the Greek language, immediately wrote down the apostle's sentiments in his own elegant Greek; but who this assistant of the apostle was, is altogether unknown. But surely the writings of Paul, like those of other authors, may not all have the same precise degree of merit; and, if, upon a careful perusal and comparison, it should be thought that the Epistle to the Hebrews is written with greater elegance than the acknowledged compositions of this apostle, it should also be remembered that the apparent design and contents of this Epistle suggest the idea of more studied composition, and yet that there is nothing in it which amounts

[1] The hypothesis of Berger, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally an homily, is examined and refuted by Prof. Stuart. Commentary, vol. i. pp. 4—7., or pp. 4—9. of the London edition.

[2] Michaelis thinks it highly improbable that Paul would visit Jerusalem again, and expose his life to zealots there. But surely, Dr. Hales remarks, he might revisit Judæa without incurring that danger. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 1130.

to a marked difference of style."[1] Besides the sublime subject of this Epistle, the grand ideas which the apostle developes with equal method and warmth, did not permit him to employ the negligent style of a familiar letter. On the other hand, as we have already seen[2], there are the same construction of sentences, and the same style of expression, in this Epistle, which occur in no part of the Scriptures except in Saint Paul's Epistles.[3]

Upon the whole, we conclude with Braunius, Langius, Carpzov, Pritius, Whitby, Lardner, Macknight, Hales, Rosenmüller, Bengel, Bishop Tomline, Janssens, De Groot, Professor Stuart, and almost every other modern commentator and biblical critic, that the weight of evidence, both external and internal, preponderates so greatly in favour of Paul, that we cannot but consider the Epistle to the Hebrews as written by that apostle; and that, instead of containing "far-fetched analogies and inaccurate reasonings" (as the opponents of our Saviour's divinity and atonement affirm), its composition is more highly wrought, and its language more finished, than any of Paul's other Epistles, and that it affords a finished model of *didactic* writing.

IV. With regard to the time when this Epistle was written, critics and commentators are not agreed, some referring it to A. D. 58, but the greater part placing it between A. D. 61 and 64. If (as we believe) Paul was its author, the time when it was written may easily be determined; for the salutations from the saints in Italy (Heb. xiii. 24.), together with the apostle's promise to see the Hebrews shortly (23.), plainly intimates that his imprisonment was then either terminated, or on the point of being so. It was therefore written from Italy, perhaps from Rome, soon after the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon, and not long before Paul left Italy, viz. at the end of A. D. 62, or early in 63. It is evident from several passages, as Lardner and Macknight have observed, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and probably, Professor Stuart thinks, but a short time before that event; for in Heb. viii. 4. ix. 25. x. 11. and xiii. 10. the temple is mentioned as *then* standing, and the Levitical sacrifices are noticed as being *then* offered. To which we may add, that in x. 32—37. the apostle comforts the believing Hebrews under the persecution which their unbelieving brethren were carrying on against them, by the prospect of Christ's speedy advent to destroy Jerusalem and the whole Mosaic economy.

V. The occasion of writing this Epistle will be sufficiently apparent from an attentive review of its contents. The Jews did every thing in their power to withdraw their brethren who had been converted, from the Christian faith. To persecutions and threats, they added arguments derived from the excellency of the Jewish religion. They observed, we may infer, that the law of Moses was given by the ministration of angels; that Moses was far superior to Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered an ignominious death; that the public

[1] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. pp. 455, 456.

[2] See pp. 430—433. *supra.*

[3] The objections of Bertholdt and others, taken from the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews, are examined in detail, and refuted by Professor Stuart, vol. i. p. 180. et seq.

worship of God, instituted by their great legislator and prophet, was truly splendid, and worthy of Jehovah: while the Christians, on the contrary, had no established priesthood, no temple, no altars, no victims, &c. In opposition to such arguments, the apostle shows, what the learned doctors, scribes, and elders at Jerusalem strongly denied; viz. that Jesus of Nazareth, whom they had lately put to death, was the Messiah, the Son of God, and far superior to the angels, to Moses, to the high priest of the Old Testament, and to all other priests: that from his sufferings and death, which he endured for us, much greater and more lasting benefits have resulted to the whole human race, than the Jews ever derived from their temple service, and from the numerous rites and ordinances of the Levitical laws, which were absolutely inefficacious to procure the pardon of sin. The reality of the sacrifice of himself, which Christ offered for sin, is clearly demonstrated. From these and other arguments, the apostle proves that the religion of Jesus is much more excellent and perfect than that of Moses, and exhorts the Christian converts to constancy in the faith, and to the unwearied pursuit of all godliness and virtue.

The great object of the apostle, therefore, in this Epistle, is to show the deity of Jesus Christ, and the excellency of his Gospel, when compared with the institutions of Moses; to prevent the Hebrews or Jewish converts from relapsing into those rites and ceremonies which were now abolished: and to point out their total insufficiency, as means of reconciliation and atonement. The reasonings are interspersed with numerous solemn and affectionate warnings and exhortations, addressed to different descriptions of persons. At length Saint Paul shows the nature, efficacy, and triumph of faith, by which all the saints in former ages had been accepted by God, and enabled to obey, suffer, and perform exploits, in defence of their holy religion; from which he takes occasion to exhort them to steadfastness and perseverance in the true faith.

The Epistle to the Hebrews consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *demonstrates the Deity of Christ by the explicit Declarations of Scripture.* (ch. i.—x. 18.)

The proposition is, that *Christ is the true God.* (i. 1—3.) The proofs of this are,

SECT. 1. His superiority to angels, by whom he is worshipped as their Creator and Lord. (i. 4—14.)

Inference.—Therefore we ought to give heed to him. (ii. 1—4.)

The superiority of Christ over angels asserted, notwithstanding his temporary humiliation in our nature (ii. 5—9.); without which he could not have accomplished the work of man's redemption (10—15.); and for this purpose he took not upon him the nature of angels, but that of Abraham. (16—18.)

SECT. 2. His superiority to Moses, who was only a servant, whereas Christ is Lord. (iii. 1—6.)

Application of this argument to the believing Hebrews, who are solemnly warned not to copy the example of their unbelieving ancestors who perished in the wilderness. (iii. 7—19. iv. 1—13.)

SECT. 3. His superiority to Aaron and all the other high priests demonstrated. Christ is the true high priest, adumbrated by Mel-

chizedek and Aaron. (iv. 14—16. v.—viii.) In ch. v. 1—14. and ch. vi. the apostle inserts a parenthetical digression, in which he reproves the Hebrew Christians for their ignorance of the Scriptures.

Sect. 4. The typical nature of the tabernacle and its furniture, and of the ordinances there observed. (ix. 1—10.)

Sect. 5. The sacrifice of Christ is that true and only sacrifice by which all the Levitical sacrifices are abolished. (ix. 11—28. x. 1—18.)

Part II. *The Application of the preceding Arguments and Proofs,* (x. 19—39.—xiii. 1—19.) *in which the Hebrews are exhorted,*

Sect. 1. To faith, prayer, and constancy in the Gospel. (x. 19—25.) This exhortation is enforced by representations of the danger of wilfully renouncing Christ, after having received the knowledge of the truth, and is interspersed with warnings, expostulations, and encouragements, showing the nature, excellency, and efficacy of faith, illustrated by examples of the most eminent saints, from Abel to the end of the Old Testament dispensation. (x. 26—39. xi.)

Sect. 2. To patience and diligence in their Christian course, from the testimony of former believers, and by giving particular attention to the example of Christ, and from the paternal design and salutary effect of the Lord's corrections. (xii. 1—13.)

Sect. 3. To peace and holiness, and to a jealous watchfulness over themselves and each other, enforced by the case of Esau. (xii. 14—17.)

Sect. 4. To an obedient reception of the Gospel, and a reverential worship of God, from the superior excellency of the Christian dispensation, and the proportionably greater guilt and danger of neglecting it. (xii. 18—29.)

Sect. 5. To brotherly love, hospitality, and compassion; to charity, contentment, and the love of God. (xiii. 1—3.)

Sect. 6. To recollect the faith and examples of their deceased pastors. (4—8.)

Sect. 7. To watchfulness against false doctrines in regard to the sacrifice of Christ. (9—12.)

Sect. 8. To willingness to bear reproach for him, and thanksgiving to God. (xiii. 13—15.)

Sect. 9. To subjection to their pastors, and prayer for the apostle. (xiii. 16—19.)

Part III. *The Conclusion, containing a Prayer for the Hebrews, and Apostolical Salutations.* (xiii. 20—25.)

The Epistle to the Hebrews, Dr. Hales observes, is a masterly supplement to the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and also a luminous commentary on them; showing that all the legal dispensation was originally designed to be superseded by the new and better covenant of the Christian dispensation, in a connected chain of argument, evincing the profoundest knowledge of both. The internal excellence of this Epistle, as connecting the Old Testament and the New in the most convincing and instructive manner, and elucidating both more fully than any other Epistle, or perhaps than all of them, places its divine inspiration beyond all doubt. We here find the great doctrines, which are set forth in other parts of the New Testament, stated, proved, and applied to practical purposes, in the most impressive manner.[1]

[1] Heidegger, Enchiridion Biblicum, pp. 600—611. Dr. Owen's Exercitations on

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

SECTION I.

ON THE GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY OF THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

I. *Origin of the Appellation Catholic Epistles.* — II. *Its Antiquity.* — *Observations on their Authenticity.* — III. *On the Order in which they are usually placed.*

I. THE Epistles of Paul are followed in the canon of the New Testament by seven Epistles, bearing the names of the apostles James, Peter, Jude, and John. For many centuries, these Epistles have been generally termed *Catholic Epistles*, — an appellation for which several conjectures have been assigned.

1. Salmeron and others have imagined that they were denominated *Catholic* or general *Epistles*, because they were designed to be transcribed and circulated among the Christian churches, that they might be perused by all; for they contain that one catholic or general doctrine, which was delivered to the churches by the apostles of our Saviour, and which might be read with advantage by the universal church of Christ. In like manner they might be called canonical, as containing *canons* or general rules and precepts which concern all Christians. Unquestionably, the doctrines they contain are truly catholic and excellent; and they also contain general rules and directions that concern all Christians, as well as precepts that are binding upon all, so far as their situations and circumstances are similar. But these remarks are equally applicable to the other books of the New Testament, and Paul's Epistles may, for the same reasons, with equal propriety, be termed catholic or canonical Epistles; for the doctrines there delivered are as catholic and excellent as those comprised in the seven Epistles now under consideration. They likewise contain many general precepts that are obligatory upon all Christians; and the particular precepts are binding so far as the cir-

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the Epistle to the Hebrews, pp. 1—44. fol. edit. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 381—415.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 324—341. Macknight's Preface to the Hebrews, vol. iii. pp. 321—341. 4to. edit. or vol. v. pp. 1—27. 8vo. edit. Braunii Comment. in Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. 1—36. Carpzovii Exercitationes in Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. lxii. —cvi. Schmidii Hist. et Vindicatio Canonis, pp. 655—673. Langii Commentatio de Vita et Epistolis Apostoli Pauli, pp. 153—160. J. A. Ernesti Lectiones Academicæ in Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. 1—8. 1173—1185. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1815. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 192 —269. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 1128—1137. Pritii Introd. ad Lectionem Nov. Test. pp. 38—61. 312—318. Rosenmüller, Scholia in Nov. Test. vol. v. pp. 142—148. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos Vet. et Nov. Test. pp. 332—340. Alber, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 244—250. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 488—533. Janssens, Herméneutique Sacrée, tom. ii. pp. 61—68. Whitby's and Scott's Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

cumstances of Christians in later ages are similar to those referred to by the great apostle of the Gentiles.

2. Others are of opinion that they received the appellation of catholic or general Epistles, because they were not written to one person, city, or church, like the Epistles of Paul, but to the *catholic church*, Christians in general, or to Christians of several countries, or at least to all the Jewish Christians wherever they were dispersed over the face of the earth. Œcumenius, Leontius, Whitby, and others, have adopted this opinion, which, however, does not appear to be well founded. The Epistle of James was, indeed, written to the Christians of the twelve tribes of Israel in their several dispersions; but it was not inscribed to the Christians in Judæa, nor to Gentile Christians in any country whatever. The two Epistles of Peter were written to Christians in general, but particularly those who had been converted from Judaism. The first Epistle of John and the Epistle of Jude were probably written to Jewish Christians; and the second and third Epistles of John were unquestionably written to particular persons.

3. A third opinion is that of Dr. Hammond, adopted by Dr. Macknight and others, which we think is the most probable. It is this: The first Epistle of Peter and the first Epistle of John, having from the beginning been received as authentic, obtained the name of *catholic* or universally acknowledged (and therefore canonical) Epistles, in order to distinguish them from the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Epistle of Jude, concerning which doubts were at first entertained, and they were considered by many as not being a rule of faith. But their authenticity being at length acknowledged by the generality of the churches, they also obtained the name of catholic or universally received Epistles, and were esteemed of equal authority with the rest. These Epistles were also termed *canonical* by Cassiodorus in the middle of the sixth century, and by the writer of the prologue to these Epistles, which is erroneously ascribed to Jerome. The propriety of this latter appellation is not satisfactorily ascertained. Du Pin says that some Latin writers have called these Epistles canonical, either confounding the name with catholic, or to denote that they are a part of the canon of the books of the New Testament.

II. The denomination of *Catholic Epistles* is of very considerable antiquity, for Eusebius uses it as a common appellation in the fourth century, and it is probably earlier: for John's first Epistle is repeatedly called a catholic Epistle by Origen, and by Dionysius bishop of Alexandria. Of these Epistles, two only, viz. the first Epistle of Peter and the first Epistle of John, were universally received in the time of Eusebius; though the rest were then well known. And Athanasius, Epiphanius, and later Greek writers, received seven Epistles which they called *catholic*. The same appellation was also given to them by Jerome.

Although the authenticity of the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, and the second and third Epistles of John, was questioned by some antient fathers, as well as by some

modern writers, yet we have every reason to believe that they are the genuine and authentic productions of the inspired writers whose names they bear. The claims to authenticity of these disputed Epistles are discussed in the following sections. We may, however, here remark, that the primitive Christians were extremely cautious in admitting any books into their canon, the genuineness and authenticity of which they had any reason to suspect. They rejected all the writings forged by heretics in the names of the apostles, and, therefore, most assuredly, would not have received any, without previously subjecting them to a severe scrutiny. Now, though these five Epistles were not immediately acknowledged as the writings of the apostles, this only shows that the persons, who doubted, had not received complete and incontestable evidence of their authenticity. But, as they were afterwards universally received, we have every reason to conclude, that, upon a strict examination, they were found to be the genuine productions of the apostles. Indeed, the antient Christians had such good opportunities for examining this subject, they were so careful to guard against imposition, and so well founded was their judgment concerning the books of the New Testament, that, as Dr. Lardner has remarked, no writing which they pronounced genuine has yet been proved spurious; nor have we at this day the least reason to believe any book to be genuine which they rejected.

III. The order, in which these Epistles are placed, varies in antient authors; but it is not very material in what manner they are arranged. Could we fix with certainty the date of each Epistle, the most natural order would be according to the time when they were written. Some have placed the three Epistles of John first, probably because he was the beloved disciple of our Lord. Others have given the priority to the two Epistles of Peter, because they considered him as the prince of the apostles. Some have placed the Epistle of James last, possibly because it was later received into the canon by the Christian church in general. By others, this Epistle has been placed first, either because it was conjectured to have been the first written of the seven Epistles, or because Saint James was supposed to have been the first bishop of Jerusalem, the most antient and venerable, and the first of all the Christian churches; or because the Epistle was written to the Christians of the twelve tribes of Israel, who were the first believers. In the following sections the usual order has been retained.[1]

[1] Benson's Preface to the Catholic Epistles. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 269—271. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 62—65. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 465—468.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 366, 367. Rosenmüller, Scholia, vol. v. pp. 317, 318.

SECTION II.

ON THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JAMES.

I. *Account of the Author of this Epistle.* — II. *Its Genuineness and Authenticity.* — III. *To whom addressed.* — IV. *Its Scope.* — V. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — VI. *Observations on this Epistle.*

I. CONSIDERABLE doubts have existed respecting the author of this Epistle. Two apostles of the name of James are mentioned in the New Testament.

The first was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman upon the lake of Galilee, and the brother of the evangelist John; and, as he is uniformly mentioned by the evangelists before John (except in Luke ix. 28.), he is supposed to have been the elder of the two. As he was put to death by Herod Agrippa, A. D. 44 (Acts xii.), it is evident that he was not the author of the Epistle which bears the name of James, because it contains passages which refer to a later period, viz. v. 1—8., which intimates the then immediately approaching destruction of Jerusalem, and the subversion of the Jewish polity.

The other James was the son of Alpheus or Cleopas; he is called the brother or near relation of our Lord (Gal. i. 18, 19.), and is also generally termed "the Less," partly to distinguish him from the other James, and probably, also, because he was lower in stature. That he was an apostle, is evident from various passages in the New Testament, though it does not appear when his designation to this office took place. He was honoured by Jesus Christ with a separate interview soon after his resurrection. (1 Cor. xv. 7.) He was distinguished as one of the apostles of the circumcision (Acts i. 13.); and soon after the death of Stephen, A. D. 34, he seems to have been appointed president or bishop of the Christian church at Jerusalem, to have dwelt in that city, and to have presided at the council of the apostles, which was convened there A. D. 49. On account of his distinguished piety and sanctity, he was surnamed "the Just." But, notwithstanding the high opinion that was generally entertained of his character, his life was prematurely terminated by martyrdom, according to the account of Hegesippus, an ecclesiastical historian, who flourished towards the close of the second century. Having made a public declaration of his faith in Christ, the Scribes and Pharisees excited a tumult among the Jews, which began at the temple: or at least they availed themselves of a general disturbance, however it might have originated, and demanded of James an explicit and public declaration of his sentiments concerning the character of Christ. The apostle, standing on an eminence or battlement of the temple, whence he could be heard by the assembled multitude, avowed his faith, and maintained his opinion, that Jesus was the Messiah. The Jews were exasperated, and precipitated him from the battlement where he was standing; and, as he was not killed by the fall, they began to cast stones at him.

The holy apostle, kneeling down, prayed to God to forgive his murderers, one of whom at length struck him with a long pole, which terminated his life. According to Hegesippus, this event took place about the time of the passover A. D. 62. At this time the procurator Festus is supposed to have been dead, and his successor Albinus had not arrived; so that the province was left without a governor. Such a season left the Jews at liberty to gratify their licentious and turbulent passions; and, from their known character and sentiments about this time, they were very likely to embrace the opportunity. We may therefore date the apostle's death about the time assigned by Hegesippus, viz. A. D. 62, in which year it is placed by most learned men[1], who are agreed in dating the Epistle of James in the year 61.[2]

II. A considerable diversity of opinion has prevailed respecting the Canonical Authority of this Epistle; but though Michaelis and some other modern critics[3] are undecided on this subject, we apprehend that there is sufficient evidence to prove that it was written in the apostolic age. Clement of Rome has alluded to it twice.[4] Hermas has not fewer than seven allusions to it[5], which Dr. Lardner thinks sufficient to prove the antiquity of this Epistle. It is classed by Eusebius among the Αντιλεγομεναι or writings concerning whose authenticity the antients were not unanimous, though the majority was in favour of them. This Epistle was quoted as genuine by Origen, Jerome, Athanasius, and most of the subsequent ecclesiastical writers; and it is found in all the catalogues of the canonical books of Scripture, which were published by the general and provincial councils. But the most decisive proof of its canonical authority is, that the Epistle of James is inserted in the Syriac version of the New Testament, executed at the close of the first or early in the second century, in which the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Book of Revelation are omitted. This, Dr. Macknight truly remarks, is an argument of great weight; for certainly the Jewish believers, to whom that Epistle was addressed and delivered, were much better judges of its authenticity than the converted Gentiles to whom it was

[1] Hegesippus, cited by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 23. Eusebius also quotes a passage from Josephus, that is no longer extant in his works, in which the Jewish historian considers the miseries which shortly after overwhelmed his countrymen as a judgment for their murder of James, whom he calls a most righteous person. The genuineness of Josephus's testimony has been questioned, so that no reliance can be placed upon it. Origen and Jerome cite it as authentic, and they are followed by Bishop Pearson, who has defended its genuineness. Dr. Doddridge considers the testimony of Josephus as unworthy of credit; and Dr. Benson thinks that both the accounts of Josephus and Hegesippus are extremely dubious.

[2] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 468—502.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 368—384. Dr. Benson's History of Saint James, prefixed to his Paraphrase, pp. 1—13. 2d edit. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 273—292.

[3] It is well known that the venerable Martin Luther, in the earlier part of the Reformation, spoke rather in a slighting manner of this Epistle, which he called *straminea epistola*, a strawy epistle, and excluded it at first from the sacred canon on account of its supposed contradiction of Saint Paul concerning the doctrine of justification by faith; but more mature experience and deeper research induced him subsequently to retract his opinion.

[4] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 44.; 4to. vol. i. p. 301.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 58—60.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 309, 310.

not sent, and who had perhaps no opportunity of being acquainted with it until long after it was written.

III. Commentators and critics are by no means agreed concerning the persons to whom this Epistle was addressed. Beza, Cave, Scott, Fabricius, Bishop Tomline, and others, are of opinion that it was addressed to the believing Jews who were dispersed all over the world. Grotius and Dr. Wall think that it was written to all the people of Israel living out of Judæa. Michaelis considers it certain that James wrote to persons already converted from Judaism to Christianity; but at the same time he believes, as the apostle was highly respected by the Jews in general, that he wished and designed that it should also be read by the unbelieving Jews, and that this design and intention had some influence on the choice of his materials. Dr. Benson is of opinion that this Epistle was addressed to the converted Jews out of Palestine; but Whitby, Lardner, and after them Macknight, think it was written to the whole Jewish nation, both within and without Judæa, whether believers or not. This opinion is grounded on some expressions in the first ten verses of the fourth chapter, and in the first five verses of the fifth chapter, which they suppose to be applicable to unbelievers only. It is true that in the fifth chapter the apostle alludes to the then impending destruction of Jerusalem, and the miseries which soon after befell the unbelieving Jews; but we think, with Bishop Tomline, that in these passages the apostle alludes merely to the great corruptions into which the Hebrew Christians had fallen at that time.

It does not appear probable that James would write part of his Epistle to believers, and part to unbelievers, without any mention or notice of that distinction. It should also be remembered, that this Epistle contains no general arguments for the truth of Christianity, nor any reproof of those who refused to embrace the Gospel; and, therefore, though Bishop Tomline admits that the inscription "to the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad" might comprehend both unbelieving and believing Jews, yet he is of opinion that it was intended for the believing Jews only, and that Saint James did not expressly make the discrimination, because neither he nor any other apostle ever thought of writing to any but Christian converts. "The object of the apostolical Epistles," he further observes, "was to confirm, and not to convert; to correct what was amiss in those who did believe, and not in those who did not believe. The sense of the above inscription seems to be limited to the believing Jews by what follows almost immediately, 'The trial of your faith worketh patience.' (i. 3.) And again, 'My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons.' (ii. 1.) These passages *could not* be addressed to unbelievers." [1]

IV. The design of the apostle James, in writing this Epistle, we may collect, from a consideration of its contents, to be as follows: —

First, to prevent the Jewish Christians from falling into the vices which abounded among the Jews; such as pride in prosperity, im-

[1] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, p. 472.

patience under poverty, or any other affliction; unworthy thoughts of God, and more particularly the looking upon him as the author of moral evil; a valuing themselves on their faith, knowledge, or right opinion, without a virtuous practice; a very criminal partiality for the rich, and a contempt for the poor; an affectation of being doctors or teachers; indulging passion and rash anger, envy and uncharitableness, strife and contention; abusing the noble faculty of speech, and being guilty of the vices of the tongue, such as cursing and swearing, slander and backbiting, and all rash and unguarded speeches whatever. So, likewise, he wrote to caution them against covetousness and sensuality, distrusting the divine goodness, neglecting prayer, or praying with wrong views, and the want of a due sense of their constant and immediate dependence upon God.

Secondly, to set the Jewish Christians right as to the doctrine of *justification by faith.* For as they were not to be justified by the *law*, but by the method proposed in the Gospel, and that method was said to be *by faith without the works of the law;* they, some of them, weakly, and others, perhaps, wilfully, perverted that discovery; and were for understanding, by faith, a bare assent to the truth of the Gospel, without that living, fruitful, and evangelical faith, which "worketh by love," and is required of all that would be saved.

Thirdly, to intimate unto such of them as laboured under sickness or any bodily disorders occasioned by their crimes, that if they were penitent, they might hope for a miraculous cure.

Fourthly, another and a principal reason of Saint James's writing this Epistle to the Jewish Christians at this time was, to prevent their being impatient under their present persecutions or dark prospects; and to support and comfort them, by assuring them that *the coming of the Lord was at hand.* It is evident from the Acts of the Apostles, and many of the Epistles, that most of the persecutions which befell the Christians arose from the unbelieving Jews. Now, as their destruction was approaching swiftly, the evils, which the Christians suffered from them, were as swiftly drawing to an end. And it was highly proper for Saint James to put them in mind of these things: for the prospect of a speedy deliverance is one of the greatest motives to patience under any calamity.

V. Conformably with this design, the Epistle divides itself into three parts, exclusive of the introduction (i. 1.); viz.

PART I. *contains Exhortations,*

1. To joyful patience under trials. (i. 2—4.)
2. To ask wisdom of God, in faith, and with an unwavering mind. (5—8.)
3. To humility. (9—11.)
4. To constancy under temptations, in which part of the Epistle the apostle shows that God is not the author of sin, but the source and giver of every good. (12—18.)
5. To receive the word of God with meekness, and to reduce it to practice. (19—27.)

PART II. *censures and condemns,*

1. Undue respect of persons in their religious assemblies, which is

contrary to the law of love. (ii. 1—9.) It is then shown that the wilful transgression of one commandment violates the whole law of God. (10—12.)

2. Their mistaken notions of justification by faith without works; these mistakes are corrected and illustrated by the examples of Abraham and Rahab. (ii. 13—26.)
3. The affectation of being doctors or teachers of their religion; for as all are offenders, more or less, so vices in such a station would be the more aggravated. (iii. 1, 2.) Hence the apostle takes occasion to show the fatal effects of an unbridled tongue, together with the difficulty and duty of governing it (3—12.); and contrasts in a most beautiful manner the nature and effects of earthly and heavenly wisdom. (13—18.)
4. Those who indulge their lusts and passions. (iv. 1—5.)
5. The proud, who are exhorted to repentance and submission to God. (6—10.)
6. Censoriousness and detraction; annexed are exhortations to immediate and constant dependence upon God, enforced by considerations of the shortness and uncertainty of the present life. (11—17.)
7. Those who placed undue reliance upon their riches. (v. 1—6.)

PART III. *contains Exhortations and Cautions;* viz.

1. An exhortation to patience and meekness under trials, in the hope of a speedy deliverance. (v. 7—11.)
2. A caution against swearing, and an admonition to prayer and praise. (12, 13.)
3. Concerning visiting the sick, and the efficacy of prayer. (14—18.)
4. An encouragement to attempt the conversion of sinners, and the recovery of their offending brethren. (19, 20.)

VI. This Epistle of James is one of the most pathetic and instructive in the New Testament. Its style possesses all that beautiful and elegant simplicity which so eminently characterises the sacred writers. Having been written with the design of refuting particular errors which had been introduced among the Jewish Christians, it is not so replete with the peculiar doctrines of Christianity as the Epistles of Paul, or indeed as the other apostolical Epistles; but it contains an admirable summary of those practical duties which are incumbent on all believers, and which it enforces in a manner equally elegant and affectionate. [1]

SECTION III.

ON THE FIRST GENERAL EPISTLE OF PETER.

I. *Account of the Apostle Peter.* — II. *Genuineness and Canonical Authority of this Epistle.* — III. *To whom written.* — IV. *Of the Place whence it was sent.* — *Date.* — V. *Its Design and Contents.* — VI. *Observations on the Style of Saint Peter's two Epistles.*

I. SIMON, surnamed Cephas or Peter, which appellation signifies a stone or rock, was the son of Jonas or Jonah, and was born at

[1] Benson's Preface to Saint James, pp. 14—20. Macknight's Preface, sect. 2—4. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 292—314. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 67—79. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 216—220. Heidegger, Enchirid. Bibl. pp. 612—617. Janssens, Herméneutique Sacrée, tom. ii. pp. 68—72. See also Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 549—584.

Bethsaida, on the coast of the sea of Galilee. He had a brother, called Andrew, and they jointly pursued the occupation of fishermen on that lake. These two brothers were hearers of John the Baptist; from whose express testimony, and their own personal conversation with Jesus Christ, they were fully convinced that he was the Messiah (John i. 35—42.); and from this time it is probable that they had frequent intercourse with our Saviour, and were witnesses of some of the miracles wrought by him, particularly that performed at Cana in Galilee. (John ii. 1, 2.) Both Peter and Andrew seem to have followed their trade, until Jesus Christ called them to "follow him," and promised to make them both "fishers of men." (Matt. iv. 18, 19. Mark i. 17. Luke v. 10.) From this time they became his companions, and when he completed the number of his apostles, they were included among them. Peter, in particular, was honoured with his master's intimacy, together with James and John. With them Peter was present, when our Lord restored the daughter of Jairus to life (Mark v. 37. Luke viii. 51.); when he was transfigured on the mount (Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28.), and during his agony in the garden (Matt. xxvi. 36—56. Mark xiv. 32—42.): and on various other occasions Peter received peculiar marks of his Master's confidence. At the time when Peter was called to the apostleship, he was married, and seems to have removed, in consequence, from Bethsaida to Capernaum, where his wife's family resided. It appears also that when our Lord left Nazareth and came and dwelt at Capernaum (Matt. iv. 13.), he took up his occasional residence at Peter's house, whither the people resorted to him.[1]

In the evangelical history of this apostle, the distinguishing features of his character are very signally pourtrayed: and it in no small degree enhances the credibility of the sacred historians, that they have blended without disguise several traits of his precipitance and presumption, with the honourable testimony which the narration of facts affords to the sincerity of his attachment to Christ, and the fervour of his zeal in the cause of his blessed Master. His ardour and forwardness are apparent on many occasions. He is the first to reply to all questions proposed by our Lord to the whole collective body of disciples, of which we have a memorable instance in Matt. xvi. 13—16. He hesitates not to rebuke our Lord himself, when he first announced his future sufferings. The ardour of his spirit is strikingly evinced in his venturing to walk on the sea to meet his Master (Matt. xiv. 28—31.); and still more decisively in his conduct towards the high-priest's servant, whom he smote with his sword, and whose right ear he cut off, when the Jewish officers were about to apprehend our Lord.[2] His presumption and self-confidence sufficiently appear in his solemn asseverations that he would never abandon his Master (Matt. xxvi. 33.); and his weakness, in his subsequent denial of Christ: for, though Peter followed him afar off to the high-priest's palace, when all the other

[1] Luke iv. 40. Matt. viii. 16. xvii. 24—27. Mark i. 32. 34.
[2] Matt. xxvi. 51—54. Mark xiv. 46, 47. Luke xxii. 50, 51. John xviii. 10, 11.

disciples forsook him and fled, yet he thrice disowned him, each time under circumstances of peculiar aggravation.[1] It does not appear that Peter followed Christ any further; probably remorse and shame prevented him from attending the crucifixion, as we find Saint John did. On the day of Christ's resurrection, after appearing to Mary Magdalen and some other women, the next person to whom he showed himself was Peter. On another occasion (John xxi.) our Lord afforded him an opportunity of thrice professing his love for him, and charged him to feed the flock of Christ with fidelity and tenderness.

After our Saviour's ascension, Peter took an active part in the affairs of the infant church. It was he who proposed the election of a successor to the traitor Judas (Acts i. 15—26.), and on the ensuing day of Pentecost he preached Christ so effectually, that three thousand souls were added to the church. (Acts ii. 14—41.) We next find him, in company with John, healing a lame man at the gate of the temple, which was followed by an address to the people, many of whom were convinced and embraced the Gospel. (Acts iii.) He was next imprisoned, brought before the sanhedrin, threatened and dismissed. (iv.) After the death of Ananias and Sapphira, whose fraud Peter detected and reprehended (v.), Peter and John preached successively at Samaria (viii.), and performed various miracles. (ix. x.) During his apostolical travels in Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, he converted Cornelius the Roman centurion, the first Gentile convert who was admitted into the church without circumcision, or any injunction to comply with the Mosaic observances (x.); and, on his return to Jerusalem, he satisfied the Jewish Christians that God had granted repentance unto life to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. (xi. 18.) Soon after this, being apprehended by Herod Agrippa, A. D. 44, who designed to put him to death, Peter was miraculously delivered by an angel. (xii.) In the apostolic council held at Jerusalem, A. D. 49, Peter took an active part, declaring his opinion most explicitly, that the yoke of the ceremonial law ought not to be imposed on the Gentiles. (Acts xv. 7—11.) From this time Peter is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, nor have we any certain information respecting his subsequent labours. It appears, however, that he afterwards preached at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11.); and from his inscribing his first Epistle to the Hebrew Christians dispersed in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia (1 Pet. i. 1, 2.), he is supposed to have preached in those countries. At length he arrived at Rome, in the course of the year 63[2], subsequently to Paul's departure from that city, during the reign of the emperor Nero; and, after preaching the Gospel for some time, he was crucified there with his head downwards. Clement of Alex-

[1] Matt. xxvi. 69—75. Mark xiv. 66—72. Luke xxii. 54—62. John xviii. 15—18. 26, 27.

[2] We have seen (p. 344. *supra*,) that Saint Paul quitted Rome in the early part of A. D. 63, at which time it is evident that Saint Peter had not arrived there; for if these two eminent servants of Christ had met in that city, Peter would have been mentioned by Saint Paul in some of the Epistles, which he wrote thence, towards the close of his imprisonment.

andria adds, from an antient tradition current in his time, that Peter's wife suffered martyrdom a short time before him. [1]

II. The genuineness and canonical authority of the first Epistle of Peter have never been disputed. It appears to be twice referred to by Clement of Rome [2]; it is *twelve* times distinctly quoted by Polycarp [3], and is once cited in the Epistle of the churches of Vienna and Lyons. [4] It was received by Theophilus bishop of Antioch, and quoted by Papias, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian; and Eusebius informs us that it was universally acknowledged to be the production of Saint Peter in the fourth century [5], since which time its authenticity has never been questioned.

III. Concerning the persons to whom this Epistle was sent, different opinions have prevailed; Beza, Grotius, Cave, Mill, Tillemont, Dr. Hales, Rosenmüller, Hug, and others, suppose that it was addressed to the Jewish Christians who were scattered through the countries mentioned in the inscription; while Lord Barrington and Dr. Benson think that it was written to proselytes of the gate; and Michaelis is of opinion, that it was directed to the Jews, that is, to those native heathens in Pontus, &c. who were first proselytes to Judaism, and then were converted to Christianity. But Estius, Whitby, Pott, Lardner, Macknight, and Bishop Tomline, think that it was written to Christians in general, whether Jews or Gentiles, residing in the countries above noticed.

In this diversity of opinion, the only rule of determination must be the inscription, together with such other circumstances as may be collected from the apostolical history or the Epistle itself. The inscription runs thus: *Peter an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.* (1 Pet. i. 1.) That the persons here addressed were believing Jews, and not believing Gentiles, we apprehend will appear from the following considerations: —

1. We learn from Acts ii. 5. 9. that there were at the feast of Pentecost, waiting at Jerusalem, *Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven, dwellers in Judæa, Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia.* Whence it is evident that there were Jews *dispersed* in those countries.

2. Peter, by agreement among the apostles, had the *ministry of the circumcision* peculiarly committed to him. (Gal. ii. 8.) It is, therefore, more probable that he wrote to Jews than to Gentiles.

3. The persons to whom the apostle writes are termed *Strangers, scattered,* Παρεπιδημοι; which word properly denotes strangers from another country. Such were the Jews, who, through persecution in Judæa, fled

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[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 509—561.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 388—414. Scaliger, Salmasius, Frederick Spanheim, and others, have denied that Saint Peter was ever at Rome; but the contrary opinion has been advocated by Cave, Bishop Pearson, Le Clerc, Basnage, and particularly by Dr. Lardner, who has clearly shown that Peter never was bishop of Rome. The pretended primacy of Peter, on which the Romanists insist so much, has been unanswerably refuted by Dr. Barrow in his Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy, forming vol. i. of the folio edition of his works.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 44.; 4to. vol. i. p. 302.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 98, 99.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 331, 332.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 152.; 4to. vol. i. p. 362.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 562, 563.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 415.

into foreign countries; whereas believing Gentiles were rather called Proselytes. (Acts ii. 10.)

4. They are said to be *redeemed from their vain conversation received by tradition from their fathers* (1 Pet. i. 18.): in which description the apostle plainly refers to the traditions of the Jewish rabbins and elders.

5. The persons to whom Peter writes are styled *A chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people* (1 Pet. ii. 9.), which are the praises of the Jewish people (Exod. xix. 6.), and are in no respect applicable to the Gentiles.

On these grounds we conclude that this Epistle was addressed to those dispersed Hebrew Christians, afflicted in their dispersion, to whom the apostles James and Paul had respectively addressed their Epistles.

IV. It appears from 1 Pet. v. 12, 13. that this Epistle was written from Babylon, and sent to the Jews by "Silvanus, a faithful brother;" but whether Babylon is to be understood here, literally or mystically, as the city of the same name in Mesopotamia or Egypt, or rather Rome, or Jerusalem, has been long and warmly contested by the learned. Bishop Pearson, Mill, and Le Clerc, are of opinion, that the apostle speaks of Babylon in Egypt. Erasmus, Drusius, Beza, Dr. Lightfoot, Basnage, Beausobre, Dr. Cave, Wetstein, Drs. Benson and A. Clarke, think that Peter intended Babylon in Assyria; Michaelis, that it was Babylon in Mesopotamia, or rather Seleucia on the Tigris. And Grotius, Drs. Whitby, Lardner, Macknight, and Hales, Bishop Tomline, and all the learned of the Romish communion, are of opinion that by Babylon Peter meant, figuratively, *Rome*, which city is called Babylon by the apostle John. (Rev. xvii. xviii.)

From a careful examination of the evidence adduced for the literal meaning of the word Babylon, and of the evidence for its figurative or mystical application to Rome, we think that the *latter* was intended, and for the following reasons: —

1. This opinion is confirmed by the general testimony of antiquity, which, Dr. Lardner remarks, is of no small weight. Eusebius[1] relates, on the authority of Clement of Alexandria and Papias bishop of Jerusalem, that Mark's Gospel was written at the request of Peter's hearers in Rome; and that "Peter makes mention of Mark in his first Epistle, which was written at Rome itself. And that he (Peter) signifies this, calling that city figuratively Babylon, in these words, *the church which is at Babylon, elected jointly with you, saluteth you. And so doth Mark my son.*" This passage of Eusebius is transcribed by Jerome[2], who adds positively, that "Peter mentions this Mark in his first Epistle, figuratively denoting Rome by the name of Babylon; *the church which is at Babylon*," &c. Œcumenius, Bede, and other fathers, also understand Rome by Babylon. It is generally thought that Peter and John gave to Rome the name of Babylon, figuratively to signify that it would resemble Babylon in its idolatry, and in its opposition to and persecution of the church of God; and that, like Babylon, it will be utterly destroyed. But these things the inspired writers did not think fit to say plainly concerning Rome, for a reason which every reader may understand.

2. From the total silence of ecclesiastical history, it is not probable that

[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 15. [2] De Viris Illust. c. 8.

Peter ever visited Babylon in Chaldæa: and Babylon in Egypt was too small and insignificant to be the subject of consideration.

3. Silvanus or Silas, the bearer, was *the faithful brother*, or associate of Paul in most of the churches which he had planted. And though he was not at Rome with the apostle when he wrote his last Epistle to Timothy, he might naturally have come thither soon after; and have been sent by Paul and Peter jointly, to confirm the churches in Asia Minor, &c. which he had assisted in planting. But Silvanus, Paul, and Peter, had no connection with Babylon, which lay beyond their district; and, therefore, they were not likely at any time to build upon another's foundation. The Gospel was preached in Persia or Parthia, by the apostle Thaddeus, or Jude, according to Cosmas; and Abulfaragi reckons, that the antient Syriac version of the New Testament was made in his time, and probably by his authority, for the use of the Oriental churches.[1]

4. The Jews, to whom this Epistle was written, were fond of mystical appellations, especially in their captivities: Edom was a frequent title for their Heathen oppressors; and, as Babylon was the principal scene of their first captivity, it was highly probable that Rome, the principal scene of their second, and which so strongly resembled the former in her "abominations, her idolatries, and persecutions of the saints," should be denominated by the same title. And this argument is corroborated by the similar usage of the Apocalypse, where the mystical application is unquestionable. (Rev. xiv. 8. xvi. 19. xviii. 2, &c.) It is highly probable, indeed, that John borrowed it from Peter; or rather that both derived it by *inspiration*, from the prophecy of Isaiah. (xxi. 9.)

5. The second Epistle is generally agreed to have been written *shortly* before Peter's death; but a journey from Babylon to Rome (where he unquestionably suffered) must have employed a long time, even by the shortest route that could be taken. And Peter must have passed through Pontus, &c. in his way to Rome, and therefore it would have been unnecessary for him to write. Writing from Rome, indeed, the case was different, as he never expected to see them more.

As Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, A. D. 64 or 65, and we have no evidence that he arrived there before the year 63, we are warranted in dating this Epistle in A. D. 64.

V. It appears from the Epistle itself that it was written during a period of general calamity, when the Hebrew Christians were exposed to severe persecutions. The design of this Epistle, therefore, is partly to support them under their afflictions and trials, and also to instruct them how to behave under persecution. It likewise appears from the history of that time, that the Jews were uneasy under the Roman yoke, and that the destruction of their polity was approaching. On this account the Christians are exhorted to honour the emperor (Nero), and the presidents whom he sent into the provinces, and to avoid all grounds of being suspected of sedition or other crimes that would violate the peace and welfare of society. — And, finally, as their character and conduct were liable to be aspersed and misrepresented by their enemies, they are exhorted to lead a holy life, that they might stop the mouths of their enemies, put their calumniators to shame, and win others over to their religion, by their holy and Christian conversation.

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[1] Lardner, 8vo. vol. v. p. 272.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 55. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 30.

The Epistle may be conveniently divided into four sections, exclusive of the introduction and conclusion.

The Introduction. (i. 1, 2.)

SECT. 1. contains an exhortation of the Jewish Christians to persevere steadfastly in the faith with all patience and cheerfulness, and to maintain a holy conversation, notwithstanding all their sufferings and persecutions. This is enforced by the consideration of the peculiar blessings and privileges which were freely bestowed upon them. (i. 3—25. ii. 1—10.)

SECT. 2. comprises an exhortation,

i. To a holy conversation in general. (ii. 11, 12.)
ii. To a particular discharge of their several duties, as
Dutiful subjects to their sovereign. (13—15.)
Servants to their masters. (16—25.)
Husbands to their wives. (iii. 1—13.)

SECT. 3. contains an exhortation to patience, submission, and to holiness of life, enforced,

i. By considering the example of Christ. (iii. 14—18.)
ii. By reminding them how God punished the disobedient in the days of Noah. (19—22.)
iii. By reminding them of the example of Christ, and that by their conversion they became dead to the flesh. (iv. 1—6.)
iv. By showing them the approaching destruction of the Jewish polity. (7—11.)
v. By showing them that, under the Gospel, they should consider afflictions as their portion, and as matter of joy. (12—19.)

SECT. 4. Directions to the ministers of the churches, and the people, how to behave towards each other. (v. 1—11.)

The Conclusion. (v. 12—14.)

VI. As the design of this Epistle is excellent, so its excellence, in the judgment of the best critics, does not fall short of its design. Erasmus pronounces it to be worthy of the prince of the apostles, and adds that it is sparing in words, but full of sense. That great critic, Joseph Scaliger, calls it majestic; and Ostervald[1] says that the first Epistle of Peter is one of the finest books in the New Testament, that the second is written with great strength and majesty, and that both of them evidently show their divine origin. Every part, indeed, of Peter's writings indicates a mind that felt the *power* of the doctrines he delivered, and a soul that glowed with the most ardent zeal for the spread of the Gospel. His style expresses the noble vehemence and fervour of his spirit, his perfect knowledge of the Gospel, and his strong assurance of the truth and certainty of its doctrines. Little solicitous about the choice or harmonious disposition of words, his thoughts and his heart were absorbed with the grand truths which he was divinely commissioned to proclaim, and the indispensable obligation of Christians to adorn their profession by a holy life. Hence, in his first Epistle, he writes with such energy and rapidity of style, that we can scarcely perceive the pauses of his discourse, or the distinction of his periods. And in his second Epistle he exposes with holy indignation and vehemence the abandoned principles and practices of those false teachers and false prophets, who in those early times sprang up in the Christian church,

[1] Nouv. Test. pp. 276. 281. edit. Neufchatel, 1772. folio.

and disseminated their pernicious tenets with so much art and cunning. His prophetic description of the general conflagration, and of the end of all terrestrial things (2 Pet. iii. 8—12.), is very awful. We see the planetary heavens, and this our earth enveloped in the devouring flames: we hear the groans of an expiring world, and the crash of nature tumbling into universal ruin. How solemn and affecting is this practical inference! (2 Pet. iii. 11.) "*Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness.*" The meanest soul and lowest imagination cannot think of that time, and the awful description of it, which we meet with in this place, and in several other passages of Holy Writ, without the greatest emotion and the deepest impressions.[1]

SECTION IV.

ON THE SECOND GENERAL EPISTLE OF PETER.

I. *Its Genuineness and Canonical Authority.* — II. *Date.* — III. *Scope and Synopsis of its Contents.*

I. SOME doubts were entertained by the primitive churches respecting the authenticity of this Epistle, which has been received as the genuine production of Peter ever since the fourth century, except by the Syrian church, in which it is read as an excellent book, though not of canonical authority. We have, however, the most satisfactory evidence of its genuineness and authenticity. Clement of Rome [2] has three allusions to the second chapter, and one to the third chapter of this Epistle; and it is twice referred to by Hermas [3], once by Justin Martyr [4], and also by Athenagoras.[5] Although this Epistle does not appear to be cited by any writer of the third century [6], yet in the fourth and following centuries it was acknowledged by Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, the council of Laodicea, Epiphanius,

[1] Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. pp. 302—304. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 79—89. Macknight's Preface to 1 Peter. Benson's History of Saint Peter and his First Epistle, pp. 137—159. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 562—583.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 414—425. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1144—1147. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 315—346. See also Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 584—599.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 45.; 4to. vol. i. p. 302.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 61.; 4to. vol. i. p. 311.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 126.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 347.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 186.; 4to. vol. i. p. 381.

[6] The second Epistle of Peter was first placed among the disputed writings of the New Testament by Origen. (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 25.) It is natural to suppose, that if, from incidental causes, the second Epistle of Peter did not become known so early as the first, some churches, which had for a length of time been accustomed to read only one Epistle of Peter, might hesitate to receive another. Suspicion might also have arisen against the genuineness of this Epistle, from the fact that it was brought from Asia Minor, the abode of the Montanists, who were accused of a disposition to fabricate new writings. (Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 20.) More especially may this have been the case, as the passage, 2 Pet. ii. 20., could be urged in vindication of the rigour of the Montanistic discipline: or, the departure of the Christians in Asia Minor from the customary mode of celebrating the Easter solemnities, may have produced in the Eastern and Western Christians an indisposition to receive this book. Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. p. 122., where various writers are enumerated who have vindicated the genuineness of this Epistle.

Jerome, Rufinus, Augustine, and all subsequent writers. Eusebius[1] places it among the Αντιλεγομεναι Γραφαι, or books whose canonical authority was doubted by *some*, though mentioned and approved by most of the antients, but he plainly distinguishes it from such as were confessedly spurious. He also relates[2], from the tradition of his predecessors, that, though it was not acknowledged as part of the New Testament, yet, because to many it seemed useful, it was diligently read together with the other Scriptures. On this statement of Eusebius, Le Clerc forcibly remarks, that if it had not been Peter's it would not have seemed useful to any man of tolerable prudence, seeing the writer in many places pretends to be Peter himself: for it would be *noxious* on account of its being a forgery, as well as unpardonable in any man to forge another man's name, or pretend to be the person he is not.[3] After a diligent comparison of the first Epistle with that which is ascribed to Peter as the second, Michaelis pronounces the agreement between them to be such, that, if the second was not written by Peter, as well as the first, the person who forged it not only possessed the power of imitation in a very unusual degree, but understood likewise the design of the first Epistle, with which the antients do not appear to have been acquainted. Now, if this be true, the supposition that the second Epistle was not written by Peter himself involves a contradiction. Nor is it credible, that a pious impostor of the first or second century should have imitated Peter so successfully as to betray no marks of a forgery; for the spurious productions of those ages, which were sent into the world under the name of the apostles, are for the most part very unhappy imitations, and discover evident marks that they were not written by the persons to whom they were ascribed. Other productions of this kind betray their origin by the poverty of their materials, or by the circumstance, that, instead of containing original thoughts, they are nothing more than a rhapsody of sentiments collected from various parts of the Bible, and put together without plan or order. This charge cannot possibly be laid to the second Epistle of Peter, which is so far from containing materials derived from other parts of the Bible, that the third chapter exhibits the discussion of a totally new subject. Its resemblance to the Epistle of Jude will be hardly urged as an argument against it: for there can be no doubt, that the second Epistle of Peter was, in respect to the Epistle of Jude, the original and not the copy. Lastly, it is extremely difficult, even for a man of the greatest talents, to forge a writing in the name of another, without sometimes inserting what the pretended author either would not or could not have said; and to support the imposture in so complete a manner, as not to militate, in a single instance, either against his character, or against the age in which he lived. Now in the second Epistle of Peter, though it has been a subject of examination full seventeen hundred years, nothing has hitherto been discovered which is unsuitable, either to the apostle or to the apostolic age. We have no reason,

[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25. [2] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 3.
[3] Clerici, Hist. Eccl. p. 442. note.

therefore, to believe that the second Epistle of Peter is spurious, especially as it is difficult to comprehend what motive could have induced a Christian, whether orthodox or heretic, to attempt the fabrication of such an Epistle, and then falsely ascribe it to Peter.[1]

Various reasons, indeed, have been assigned, why this Epistle was not earlier acknowledged as the writing of Peter. Jerome informs us that the difference of style between this and the former Epistle was in his day the principal cause of its authenticity being disputed; and the same objection has been adopted by Salmasius and other modern writers. But this remarkable difference in style is confined to the second chapter of the second Epistle. No objection, however, can be drawn from this circumstance: for the subject of that chapter is different from the rest of Peter's writings, and nothing is so well known as that different subjects suggest different styles. Further, when a person expresses his own sentiments, he writes in his own proper style, whatever that may be: but when he translates from another, he naturally follows the genius of the original, and adopts the figures and metaphors of the author before him. Peter, when describing the character of some flagitious impostors, feels an indignation which he cannot suppress: it breaks out, therefore, in the bold and animated figures of some antient Hebrew writer, who had left behind him a description of the false prophets of his own, or, perhaps, of earlier times.[2]

To these considerations we may add, that, being written a short time before the apostle's martyrdom, and not having been so publicly avowed by him, and clearly known to be his, the scrupulous caution of the church hesitated about admitting it into the second canon, until *internal evidence* convinced the most competent judges that it was fully entitled to that high distinction. And since this Epistle, having passed through so severe and accurate a scrutiny, was received as genuine by those who were in those early times most capable of deciding, and who have given sufficient evidence of their care and capacity for judging of its authenticity, — and since it has been transmitted to us in every manuscript and antient version (the Syriac excepted), we have every satisfactory *external* proof that the second Epistle of Peter is the undoubted production of that holy and zealous apostle. Let us now briefly consider the internal evidence for its authenticity.

1. The writer styles himself Symeon Peter (i. 1. Gr.); from which circumstance we conclude that this Epistle was written by the apostle Peter. Should it be objected that the apostle's name was *Simon* not *Simeon*, Dr. Macknight replies, that though his name was commonly written Simon in Greek, yet its Hebrew form was Simeon; and so it is written in the

[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 350.

[2] Such is the opinion of Bishop Sherlock, which has been generally adopted. Bishop Tomline, however, deems this conjecture very improbable, and accounts for the difference of style in the second chapter of this Epistle, by supposing that the apostle's pen was guided by a higher degree of inspiration than when writing in a didactic manner, and that he wrote with the animation and energy of the prophetic style: but he does not think that there is any thing, either in phrase or sentiment, which is inconsistent with the acknowledged writings of Saint Peter. Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 490.

Old Testament history of Jacob's sons, and so Peter is expressly termed in Acts xv. 14. (Gr.) It has further been objected, that in the first Epistle, which is unquestionably genuine, he has styled himself simply *Peter*, and not Simon Peter. But it is worthy of observation, that Saint Luke has called this apostle *Simon Peter*, and that Saint John has given him that name not less than seventeen times in his Gospel, — perhaps (Dr. Macknight thinks) to show that he was the author of the Epistle which begins with *Symeon Peter, a servant and an apostle*, &c. The same eminent critic is further of opinion, that though Peter's surname only is mentioned in the inscription of the first letter, because he was sufficiently known by it, yet he might, for the greater dignity, insert his name complete in the second Epistle; because he intended authoritatively to rebuke the false teachers who had already arisen, or might thereafter arise. Since, therefore, *Symeon Peter* is the same as Simon Peter, no objection can be raised against the authenticity of this Epistle on account of the name; neither does it afford any countenance to the opinion of Grotius, that this Epistle was written by Simeon bishop of Jerusalem, who succeeded James the Lord's brother, — an opinion that is not only destitute of all authority from antiquity, but is also inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Epistle itself.

2. There are several incidental allusions to particular circumstances in this Epistle which answer to no other person but Peter. Thus, the writer of it testifies that he *must shortly put off his tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus had shown him.* (2 Pet. i. 14.) Now Christ foretold or showed this to none of his apostles besides Peter. (John xxi. 19.) Again, the writer of this Epistle was with Christ upon the mount at his transfiguration, beheld his majesty, and heard the voice of the Father, from heaven, when he was with Christ on the holy mount. (2 Pet. i. 16—18.) Now there were only three of Christ's apostles permitted to witness this transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1, 2.), viz. Peter, James, and John. The Epistle in question, therefore, must be written by one of them, and, consequently, must be of apostolical authority; but as it never was ascribed to James or John, nor is there any reason for attributing it to them, it follows that this Epistle is the production of Peter. — Once more, the author of it call this his *second Epistle* (iii. 1.), and intimates that he wrote both his letters to the same persons, viz. the believing Hebrews. Compare 1 Pet. i. 1. and 2 Pet. i. 1. with 2 Pet. iii. 1, 2. Consequently, as the authenticity of the first Epistle was never disputed, the second was unquestionably written by the same person, viz. Peter.

3. Whoever wrote this Epistle calls Paul his beloved brother (iii. 15, 16.), commends him, and approves the authority of his Epistles, which none but an apostle could venture to affirm.

4. A holy and apostolical spirit breathes throughout the whole of this Epistle; in which we find predictions of things to come, and admonitions against false teachers and apostasy, together with exhortations to a godly life, and condemnations of sin, delivered with an earnestness and feeling which show the author to have been incapable of imposing a forged writing upon the world; and that his sole design in this Epistle was to promote the interests of truth and virtue in the world.

5. Lastly, the style is the same in both Epistles. The sentences in the second Epistle are seldom fluent and well rounded, but they have the same extension as those in the first.[1] There are also repetitions of the same words, and allusions to the same events. Thus the word ἀναστροφή,

[1] See the observations on Saint Peter's style, pp. 451, 452. supra.

conversation or behaviour, which is so peculiar to the first Epistle [1], likewise occurs in the second [2], though less frequently than in the former. So, the deluge, which is not a common subject in the apostolical Epistles, is mentioned in 1 Pet. iii. 20., and also in 2 Pet. ii. 5.; and in both places the circumstance is noted, that eight persons only were saved, though in neither place does the subject require that the number should be particularly specified. Michaelis observes, that Peter was not the only apostle who knew how many persons were saved in the ark; but he only, who by habit had acquired a familiarity with the subject, would ascertain the precise number, where his argument did not depend upon it.

The result of all these evidences, both external and internal, is, that the second Epistle of Peter is unquestionably the production of that apostle, and claims to be received and studied with the same devout care and attention as the rest of the inspired writings of the New Testament.

II. That Peter was old and near his death, when he wrote this Epistle, is evident from ch. i. 14.; and that it was written soon after the first Epistle, appears from the apology he makes (i. 13. 15.) for writing this second Epistle to the Hebrew Christians. Dr. Lardner thinks it not unlikely that, soon after the apostle had sent away Silvanus with his first letter to the Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia, some persons came from those countries to Rome (whither there was a frequent and general resort from all parts), who brought him information concerning the state of religion among them. These accounts induced him to write a second time, most probably at the beginning of A. D. 65, in order to establish in the faith the Christians among whom he had laboured.

III. The scope of this Epistle is to confirm the doctrines and instructions delivered in the former; to establish the Hebrew Christians in the truth and profession of the Gospel; to caution them against false teachers, whose tenets and practices he largely describes; and to warn them to disregard those profane scoffers, who made or should make a mock of Christ's coming to judgment; which having asserted and described, he exhorts them to prepare for that event by a holy and unblameable conversation. The Epistle consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1, 2.)

PART II. *Having stated the Blessings to which God had called them, the Apostle,*

SECT. 1. Exhorts the Christians, who had received these precious gifts, to endeavour to improve in the most substantial graces and virtues. (i. 3—11.)

SECT. 2. To this he incites them,

i. From the firmness of true teachers. (i. 12—21.)

ii. From the wickedness of false teachers, whose tenets and practices he exposes, and predicts the divine judgments against them. (ii.)

SECT. 3. He guards them against scoffers and impostors, who, he foretells, would ridicule their expectation of Christ's coming; —

i. By confuting their false assertions. (iii. 1—7.)

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[1] See 1 Pet. i. 15. 18. ii. 12. iii. 1, 2. 16.

[2] 2 Pet. ii. 7. iii. 11.

[ii. By showing the reason why that great day was delayed; and describing its circumstances and consequences, adding suitable exhortations and encouragements to diligence and holiness. (iii. 8—14.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, in which the Apostle,*

SECT. 1. Declares the agreement of his doctrine with that of Saint Paul. (iii. 15, 16.)

SECT. 2. And repeats the sum of the Epistle. (iii. 17, 18.)

On account of the similarity of style and subject between the second chapter of this Epistle and that of Jude, Dr. Benson and Michaelis place the latter immediately after the second Epistle of Peter.[1]

SECTION V.

ON THE FIRST GENERAL EPISTLE OF JOHN.

I. *Genuineness and Canonical Authority.*—II. *Date.*—III. *Of the Persons to whom this Epistle was written.*—IV. *Its Occasion and Scope.*—*Account of the False Teachers whose Principles are refuted by the Apostle.*—V. *Synopsis of its Contents.*—VI. *The Question concerning the Authenticity of the disputed Clause in* 1 *John* v. 7, 8. *considered.*

I. ALTHOUGH no name is prefixed to this book, its authenticity as a genuine production of the apostle John is unquestionable. It was almost universally received as his composition in the Eastern and Western churches, and appears to be alluded to by Hermas.[2] It is distinctly cited by Polycarp[3], and in the Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons[4], and is declared to be genuine by Papias[5], Irenæus[6], Clement of Alexandria[7], Tertullian[8], Origen[9], Cyprian, Eusebius, Athanasius, and all subsequent ecclesiastical writers.[10] A still more decisive testimony is the fact that it is found in the Syriac version of the New Testament, executed at the close of the first or very early in the second century, and which contains only those books of the New Testament, respecting whose authenticity no doubts were ever entertained. But, besides this external proof, we have the strongest internal evidence that this Epistle was written by the apostle John, in the very close analogy of its sentiments and expressions to those of his Gospel.[11] There is also a remarkable peculi-

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[1] Pritii Introd. ad Lect. Nov. Test. pp. 90—99. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Biblicos, pp. 352—355. Heidegger, Enchirid. Bibl. pp. 624—628. Benson on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 321—329. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 562—583.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 414—425. Macknight's Preface to 2 Peter. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 346—363.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 61.; 4to. vol. i. p. 311.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 99.; 4to. vol. i. p. 332.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 152.; 4to. vol. i. p. 362.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 108, 109. 113.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 337. 340.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 168.; 4to. vol. i. p. 370.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 227.; 4to. vol. i. p. 403.

[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 275.; 4to. vol. i. p. 429.

[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 481.; 4to. vol. i. p. 540.

[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 584, 585.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 525, 526.

[11] See several instances of this analogy, *supra*, Vol. I. pp. 105, 106. *notes.*

arity in the style of this apostle, and particularly in this Epistle. His sentences, considered *separately*, are exceedingly clear and intelligible; but, when we search for their connexion, we frequently meet with greater difficulties than we experience even in the Epistles of Paul. Artless simplicity and benevolence, blended with singular modesty and candour, together with a wonderful sublimity of sentiment, are the characteristics of this Epistle; in which John appears to have delivered his conceptions as they arose in his mind, and in the form of aphorisms, in order that they might produce the greater effect. In his Gospel John does not content himself with simply affirming or denying a thing, but denies its contrary to strengthen his affirmation; and in like manner, to strengthen his denial of a thing, he affirms its contrary. See John i. 20. iii. 36. v. 24. vi. 22. The same manner of expressing things strongly occurs in this Epistle. See ii. 4. 27. and iv. 2, 3. In his Gospel also, Saint John frequently uses the pronoun or *οὑτος, αὑτη, τουτο, this*, in order to express things emphatically. See i. 19. iii. 19. vi. 29. 40. 50. and xvii. 3. In the Epistle the same emphatical mode of expression obtains. Compare i. 5. ii. 25. iii. 23. v. 3, 4. 6. and 14.[1]

II. With regard to the date of this Epistle, there is a considerable diversity of opinion. Drs. Benson, Hales, and others, place it in the year 68; Bishop Tomline in 69; Lampe, after the first Jewish war, and before the apostle's exile in Patmos; Dr. Lardner, A. D. 80, or even later; Mill and Le Clerc, in A. D. 91 or 92; Beausobre, L'Enfant, and Du Pin, at the end of the first century; and Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Michaelis, and Macknight, place it before the destruction of Jerusalem, but without specifying the precise year. The most probable of these various opinions is that, which assigns an early date to this Epistle, viz. before the destruction of Jerusalem and the subversion of the Jewish polity. For,

1. *In the first place*, The expression in ii. 18., *It is the last hour*, is more applicable to the last hour or time of the duration of the Jewish state than to any later period, especially as the apostle adds — *And as ye have heard that Antichrist is coming, even so now there have been many Antichrists; whence we know that it is the last hour:* in which passage the apostle evidently alludes to our Lord's prediction concerning the springing up of false Christs, false teachers, and false prophets, before the destruction of Jerusalem. (Matt. xxiv. 5—25.) Some critics, however, contend that the "last time" may allude not to the destruction of that city, but to the close of the apostolic age. But Michaelis confirms the propriety of this argument for the early date of this Epistle, by observing that John's Gospel was opposed to heretics, who maintained the same opinions as are opposed in this Epistle: which tenets he has confuted by argument in his Gospel, whereas in the Epistle he expresses only his disapprobation. Michaelis, therefore, concludes, that the Epistle was written before the Gospel; because if Saint John had already given a complete confutation when he wrote this Epistle, he would have thought it unnecessary to have again declared the falsehood of such opinions.

[1] Lampe, Commentarius in Evangelium Johannis, tom. i. Prolegomena, p. 104. Macknight's Preface to 1 John, sect. 2. Langii, Hermeneutica Sacra, pars ii. De Interpretatione Epistolarum Johannis, pp. 167—175.

2. *Secondly,* The expression (ii. 13, 14.), *Ye have known him from the beginning,* applies better to the disciples, immediately before Jerusalem was destroyed, than to the few who might have been alive at the late date which some critics assign to this Epistle. In the verses just cited, the *fathers* or *elders* are twice distinguished from the "*young men*" and the "*children,*" by this circumstance, that they had seen him during his ministry, or after his resurrection. Thirty-five years after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, when Jerusalem was destroyed, many such persons might have been alive; whereas in 98, or even in 92, there could not have been many persons alive of that description.

To these two arguments for the early date of John's first Epistle Dr. Hales has added the three following, which have not been noticed by any other biblical critic: —

1. As the other apostles, James, Jude, Paul, and Peter, had written Catholic Epistles to the Hebrew Christians especially, it is likely, that one of the principal "*pillars* of the church," the greatest surety of the mother-church, the most highly gifted and illuminated of all the apostles of the circumcision, and the beloved disciple, would not be deficient likewise in this labour of love.

2. Nothing could tend so strongly to establish the faith of the early Jewish converts as the remarkable circumstances of our Lord's crucifixion, exhibiting the accomplishment of the antient types and prophecies of the Old Testament respecting Christ's passion, or sufferings in the flesh. These John alone could record, as he was the only eye-witness of that last solemn scene among the apostles. To these, therefore, he alludes in the exordium as well as to the circumstances of our Lord's appearances after the resurrection; and to these he again recalls their attention in that remarkable reference to "the *water*" at his baptism, to "the *water* and *blood*" at his passion, and to the dismissal of "*his spirit*" when he commended it to His Father, and expired. (v. 5—9.)

3. The parallel testimony in the Gospel (John xix. 35—37.) bears witness also to the priority of the Epistle, in the expression, "He that *saw hath testified*" (μεμαρτυρηκε), intimating that he had delivered this testimony to the world already; for if *now,* for the first time, it should rather be expressed by the present tense, μαρτυρει, "*testifieth.*" And this is strongly confirmed by the apostle's same expression, after giving his evidence in the Epistle, "this is the *testimony of God, which He hath testified* (μεμαρτυρηκε) concerning his Son" (ver. 9.), referring to the past transaction, as fulfilling prophecy. [1]

We conclude, therefore, that Saint John wrote his first Epistle in 68, or at the latest in 69; though it is impossible to ascertain from what place he sent it, whether from Patmos, as Grotius supposes, or from some city in Judæa, as Dr. Macknight supposes, or from Ephesus, as Irenæus and Eusebius relate from antient tradition, which has been generally received.

III. It is still more difficult to decide concerning the persons to whom this Epistle was written. Augustine, Cassiodorus, and the venerable Bede, called it the Epistle of John to the Parthians, because the apostle is reported to have preached the Gospel to that

[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 587—589.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 426—428. Lampe tom. i. p. 106. Pritius, p. 106. Benson's Paraphrase on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 505—510. Macknight's Preface to 1 John, sect. 4. Pritii, Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 99—108.

people; but this opinion is entirely unsupported by the evidence of antiquity. Dr. Benson thinks that the Epistle was addressed to the Jewish Christians in Judæa and Galilee. But the most probable opinion is that of Œcumenius, Lampe, Dupin, Lardner, Michaelis, Macknight, Bishop Tomline, and others, who think it was written for the use of Christians of every denomination and of every country. For, 1. It has always been called a *catholic* or general Epistle; — 2. It does not contain any words of limitation that can restrict it to a particular people; — 3. The admonition in 1 John ii. 15. would be unnecessary to believers in Judæa, A.D. 68, after the war had commenced with the Romans; it is rather suited to people in easy circumstances, and who were in danger of being ensnared by the allurements of prosperity; — 4. Lastly, the concluding exhortation to believers to "keep themselves from idols" is in no respect suitable to believers in Judæa, but is much more likely to be addressed to Christians living in other parts of the world, where idolatry prevailed.

IV. This book is usually intitled *The General Epistle of Saint John.* "But in the composition of it, narrowly inspected, nothing is to be found in the epistolary form. It is not inscribed either to any individual, like Paul's to Timothy and Titus, or the second of the two which follow it, 'To the well-beloved Gaius' — nor to any particular church, like Paul's to the churches of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, and others — nor to the faithful of any particular region, like Peter's first Epistle 'To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia' — nor to any principal branch of the Christian church, like Paul's to the Hebrews — nor to the Christian church in general, like the second of Peter's 'To them that had obtained like precious faith with him,' and like Jude's, 'To them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called.' It bears no such inscription: it begins without salutation, and ends without benediction. It is true, the writer sometimes speaks, but without naming himself, in the first person — and addresses his reader, without naming him, in the second. But this colloquial style is very common in all writings of a plain familiar cast: instances of it occur in John's Gospel; and it is by no means a distinguishing character of epistolary composition. It should seem that this book hath for no other reason acquired the title of an epistle, but that in the first formation of the canon of the New Testament it was put into the same volume with the didactic writings of the apostles, which, with this single exception, are all in the epistolary form. It is, indeed, a didactic discourse upon the principles of Christianity, both in doctrine and practice: and whether we consider the sublimity of its opening with the fundamental topics of God's perfections, man's depravity, and Christ's propitiation — the perspicuity with which it propounds the deepest mysteries of our holy faith, and the evidence of the proof which it brings to confirm them; whether we consider the sanctity of its precepts, and the energy of argument with which they are persuaded and enforced — the dignified simplicity of language in which both doctrine and precept are delivered; whether we regard the importance of the matter, the propriety of the style, or

the general spirit of ardent piety and warm benevolence, united with a fervid zeal, which breathes throughout the whole composition — we shall find it in every respect worthy of the holy author to whom the constant tradition of the church ascribes it, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.'" [1]

The design of this treatise is,

First, To refute, and to guard the Christians to whom he wrote against erroneous and licentious tenets, principles, and practices; such as the denial of the real deity and proper humanity of Christ [2], of the reality and efficacy of his sufferings and death as an atoning sacrifice, and the assertion, that believers being saved by grace, were not required to obey the commandments of God. These principles began to appear in the church of Christ even in the apostolic age, and were afterwards maintained by the Cerinthians, and other heretics who sprang up at the close of the first and in the second century of the Christian æra. [3]

Secondly, To stir up all who profess to know God, to have communion with him, and to believe in him, that they *walk in the light and not in darkness* (i. 5—7.), that is, in holiness and not in sin; that they *walk as Christ walked* (ii. 6.); and that they *keep the commandments*, and especially abound in sincere brotherly love towards each other. (ii. 4. 9—11. iii. 10—24. iv. 20, 21. v. 1—3.) This rational and Christian spirit, the apostle enforces, upon the best principles, and with the strongest arguments, derived from the love of God and of Christ; showing the utter insufficiency of faith, and the mere external profession of religion, without the accompanying evidence of a holy life and conduct.

Thirdly, To help forward and to provoke *real* Christians to communion with God and the Lord Jesus Christ (i. 3, 4.), to constancy in the true faith, against all that seduced them (ii. 24—28.); to purity and holiness of life (ii. 1. iii. 3—13.) [4], and that those who *believe on the name of the Son of God, may know that they have eternal life.* (v. 13.)

V. Heidegger, Van Til, Pritius, Moldenhawer, Langius, and other analysts of Scripture, have each suggested different tabular synopses of this Epistle, with a view to illustrate its divisions and to show the bearings of the apostle's arguments. Extreme prolixity and extreme brevity characterise their respective schemes. The following synopsis, however, it is hoped, will be found to show the leading divisions of the Epistle or treatise with sufficient perspicuity and conciseness. It consists of six sections, besides the conclusion, which is a recapitulation of the whole.

SECT. 1. asserts the true divinity and humanity of Christ, in opposition to the false teachers, and urges the union of faith and holiness of life as

[1] Bishop Horsley's Sermons, pp. 144, 145. 2d edit.

[2] The late Dr. Randolph has admirably illustrated those parts of the present Epistle which assert the deity of Christ, in his Prælectio xiii. vol. ii. pp. 512—523. of his View of our Saviour's Ministry.

[3] For an ample account of the tenets of the Cerinthians, see pp. 319, 320. of the present volume.

[4] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 827.

absolutely necessary to enable Christians to enjoy communion with God. (i. 1—7.)

SECT. 2. shows that all have sinned, and explains the doctrine of Christ's propitiation. (i. 8—10. ii. 1, 2.) Whence the apostle takes occasion to illustrate the marks of true faith; viz. obeying his commandments and sincere love of the brethren; and shows that the love of the world is inconsistent with the love of God. (ii. 3—17.)

SECT. 3. asserts Jesus to be the same person with Christ, in opposition to the false teachers who denied it. (ii. 18—29.)

SECT. 4. On the privileges of true believers, and their consequent happiness and duties, and the marks by which they are known to be "the sons of God." (iii.)

SECT. 5. contains criteria by which to distinguish Antichrist and false Christians, with an exhortation to brotherly love. (iv.)

§ i. A mark to know one sort of Antichrist, — the not confessing that Christ came in the flesh. (iv. 1—3.)

§ ii. Criteria for distinguishing false Christians; viz.
(1.) Love of the world. (4—6.)
(2.) Want of brotherly love. (7—12.)
(3.) Denying Christ to be the true Son of God. (13—15.)

§ iii. A recommendation of brotherly love, from the consideration of the love of God in giving his Son for sinners. (16—21.)

SECT. 6. shows the connection between faith in Christ, regeneration, love to God and his children, obedience to his commandments, and victory over the world; and that Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God, able to save us, and to hear the prayers we make for ourselves and others. (v. 1—16.)

The conclusion, which is a summary of the preceding treatise, shows that a sinful life is inconsistent with true Christianity; asserts the divinity of Christ; and cautions believers against idolatry. (v. 17—21.)

The preceding is an outline of this admirable Epistle; which being designed to promote right principles of doctrine and practical piety in conduct, abounds, more than any book of the New Testament, with criteria by which Christians may soberly *examine themselves whether they be in the faith.* (2 Cor. xiii. 5.)

The Style of this Epistle is pure, clear, and flowing; and an authoritative yet affectionate spirit pervades the whole, except in those passages where the apostle exposes and reprehends hypocrites and false teachers, whose dangerous practices and tenets he exposes in such a faithful, plain, and even authoritative manner, as may serve to illustrate the reason why our Saviour gave him, together with his brother James, the appellation of *Boanerges*, or sons of thunder. (Mark iii. 17.)

VI. Before we conclude this section, it may be proper to notice the controversy respecting the clause in 1 John v. 7, 8. concerning the *Heavenly Witnesses*, which has for nearly four centuries divided the opinions of learned men, and which the majority of biblical critics now abandon as spurious. As the limits assigned to this discussion are necessarily confined, we shall briefly state the evidence for and against its genuineness, and shall refer to those authors who have treated the question at large.

In the *Textus Receptus*, or received Greek Text of the New Testament, the seventh and eighth verses of the fifth chapter of this Epistle are as follows: —

Ὅτι τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες [εν τω ουρανω ὁ Πατηρ, ὁ Λογος, και το ἁγιον Πνευμα· και ουτοι οἱ τρεις ἑν εισι. Και τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες εν τη γη] το πνευμα, και το ὑδωρ, και το αἱμα· και οἱ τρεις εις το ἑν εισι.

In the Vulgate Latin, and our authorised English version, they run thus: —

Quoniam tres sunt qui testimonium dant [*in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra:*] spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres in unum sunt.

For there are three that bear record [*in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,*] the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one.

The disputed passage is included between the brackets.

The decision of the controversy depends partly upon the Greek manuscripts, partly upon the antient versions, and partly upon the quotations which occur in the writings of the antient fathers.

AGAINST THE GENUINENESS OF THE CONTROVERTED PASSAGE, IT IS URGED,

1. *That this clause is not to be found in a single Greek manuscript written before the sixteenth century.*

Of all the manuscripts hitherto discovered and collated [1] which contain this Epistle, amounting to *one hundred and forty-nine* [2], if we deduct several that are either mutilated or imperfect in this place, it will be found that four only have the text, and two of these are absolutely of no authority; viz. 1. The *Codex Guelpherbytanus*, which is evidently a manuscript of the seventeenth century, for it contains the Latin translation of Beza, written by the same hand, and consequently is of no use whatever in sacred criticism. 2. The *Codex Ravianus* or *Berolinensis*, which is obviously a forgery; it is for the most part only a transcript of the Greek text in the Complutensian Polyglott, printed in 1514, with some various readings from Stephens's third edition; and the remainder (from Mark v. 20. to the end of Saint John's Gospel and Rom. i.—vi. and xiii.—xvi.) is a copy of the same edition, with some various readings taken partly from Stephens's margin, and partly from the Complutensian Polyglott. [3]

[1] According to the Catalogue of Professor Beck, in his Monogrammata Hermeneutices Librorum Novi Fœderis (part. i. pp. 42—100.), the manuscripts of the New Testament, *certainly* known to have been collated, amount to three hundred and ninety-four, exclusive of Lectionaria, Euchologia or Prayer-books of the Greek church, and Menologia or Martyrologies. The catalogue of collated manuscripts in Dr. Schulz's third edition of Griesbach's Greek Testament amounts to *three hundred and sixty-four*. (Proleg. tom. i. pp. xcvii. —cxxii.) Bp. Marsh, in his valuable notes to his translation of Michaelis's Introduction (vol. ii. part ii. p. 834.), reckons the total number of those wholly or partially collated at *four hundred and sixty-nine*. The MSS. collated by Prof. Scholz, for his long announced critical edition of the New Testament, cannot be enumerated until that edition shall be published: for though, in his Biblische-Critische-Reise, (Biblico-Critical Travels, Leipzig, 1823,) he has given notices of a great number of MSS., yet it does not appear that they form the *whole* of the manuscripts examined by him, or by others of whose collations he proposes to avail himself.

[2] In this number are now, for the first time, comprised one of the manuscripts collated by Dr. Scholz, and *three* manuscripts in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, numbered 1182, 1183, and 1185, which were brought from the Greek islands by the late Professor Carlyle. (See a notice of them in Vol. II. p. 150.) The information, that the disputed clause does not exist in these MSS. was communicated to the author, with equal promptitude and kindness, by the Rev. Dr. D'Oyly, Manuscript-Librarian to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[3] See this proved in Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, pars i. p. clxxxi., and especially in Pappelbaum's Codicis Manuscripti Raviani Examen, 8vo. Berlin, 1796. Bishop Marsh

3. The *Codex Britannicus*, as it was called by Erasmus, now better known by the appellation of the *Codex Montfortii*, *Montfortianus*, or *Dublinensis*, which is preserved in Trinity College Library, Dublin. A facsimile of it is annexed [1], which, divested of its contractions, runs thus: —

οτι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυ
ρουντ[ες]· εν τω ουρανω, πατηρ, λογος, Και πνευμα αγιον,
Και ουτοι οι τρεις, εις εν εισι· Και τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυ
ρουντ[ες] εν τη γη, πνευμα, υδωρ, και αιμα· ει την
μαρτυριαν ανθρωπων λαμβανομεν, η μαρτυρια του
θεου μειζων εστιν, οτι αυτη εστιν η μαρτυρια του θεου, οτι
μεμαρτυρηκε περι του υιου αυτου.

The Codex Britannicus is described by Erasmus as a latinising manuscript: and that this charge is well founded we have shown in the preceding volume of this work.[2] If any additional evidence were wanting, it is furnished in the passage just given; which is written in such Greek as manifestly betrays a translation from the Latin. It will be observed, that "the article is omitted before the words expressive of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, because there is no article in the Latin, and it occurred not to the translator that the usual Greek was ο πατηρ, ο λογος, το πνευμα. He has also εν τη γη, which is false Greek, for επι της γης, because he found in terra. He has likewise omitted και οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν, which is wanting in many Latin manuscripts; because the Lateran council, held in 1215, had rejected it through polemical motives. The omission of this clause at the end of the eighth verse is a proof, not only that the writer of the Codex Montfortianus copied from the Vulgate, because no antient Greek manuscript omits the clause in that place; but also that he copied even from modern transcripts of the Vulgate, because this final clause is found in all the manuscripts of the Vulgate written before the thirteenth century." [3]

Such are the internal evidences against the authority of the Codex Montfortianus: nor are the external evidences, founded on its date, more weighty. Dr. Adam Clarke indeed assigns it to the fourteenth, or even to the thirteenth century (which latter date is adopted by Bishop Burgess); but as there is reason to believe, that in the thirteenth century the seventh verse was extant in a great majority of the copies of the Latin Vulgate, a Greek manuscript of that age may easily have been interpolated from those copies. Michaelis refers the Codex Montfortianus to the sixteenth century; and Bishop Marsh, after Griesbach, to the fifteenth or sixteenth century, that is, subsequently to the invention

has given a very valuable extract from Pappelbaum's treatise, with remarks, in the Appendix to his Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, pp. 241—252.

[1] Our engraving is copied (by permission) from the fac-simile prefixed to the Rev. Dr. A. Clarke's Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature, 12mo. London, 1807. This fac-simile was traced by the accurate hand of the late Rev. Dr. Barrett, senior fellow of Trinity College; by whom Dr. Clarke's engraving was collated with the original manuscript, so as to represent it with the utmost fidelity.

[2] See Vol. II. pp. 153, 154, *supra*.

[3] Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 286. part ii. p. 762. The late learned Professor Porson objected to the Codex Montfortianus the badness of its Greek, particularly the omission of the articles. In reply to his conclusions, Bishop Burgess adduced several passages from the New Testament, and from some Greek Fathers, in which the article is similarly omitted; whence he deduced an argument for the genuineness of the reading of the Codex Montfortianus. His examples are given at length in his own words, and his reasonings are examined in detail, and (it must candidly be admitted) refuted by a learned member of the University of Cambridge, under the signature of "Crito Cantabrigiensis," in his "Vindication of the Literary Character of the late Professor Porson," pp. 12—29. (Cambridge, 1827.)

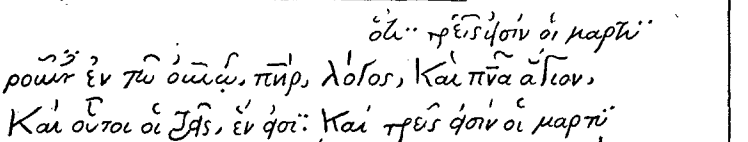
PLATE XIII.
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
BOMBAY

FAC SIMILES,

of 1 John, V. 7. 8. & 9.

from the Codex Montfortii in Trinity College, Dublin.

ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυ-
ροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνᾶ ἅγιον,
καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, ἕν εἰσι· καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυ-
ροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνᾶ, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα, εἰ τὴν
μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνῶν λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ
θῦ μείζων ἐστίν, ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι
μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.



from the Complutensian Polyglott.

(Greek)

[b]ότι [i]Τρείς [k]ει=
σίν/οι [l]μαρτυρουντες [m]εν/Τω [n]ουραμώ,/ο [o]πα=
τήρ [p]και/ο [q]λογος [r]και/Το [s]άγιον [t]πνεύμα, [u]και
/οι [x]Τρεις [y]εις/Το [z]εν [a]εισί. [b]και [c]Τρείς [d]εισίν/οι [e]μαρ
τυρούντες [f]επί/Της [g]γης,/Το [h]πνεύμα [i]και/Το [k]ύ
δωρ [l]και/Το [m]αίμα. [n]ει/Την [o]μαρτυρίαν/Των [p]αν
θρωπων [q]λαμβάνομεν,/η [r]μαρτυρία Του [s]θεού
[t]μείζων [u]εστίν. [x]ότι [y]αύτη [z]εστίν/η [a]μαρτυρία/Του
[b]θεού [c]ην [d]μεμαρτύρηκε [e]περί/Του [f]υιού [g]αυτού.

Latin.

[b]Qm̄ [i]tres [k]sunt ∞∞∞
[l]qui [i]testimonium [l]dant [m]in [n]celo: [o]pater:
[q]verbum: [r]et [s]spiritus [t]sanctus: [u]et hi ∞∞
[x]tres [z]vnum [a]sunt. [b]Et [c]tres [d]sunt [e]qui ∞∞
[e]testimoniu [e]dant [f]in [g]terra: [h]spūs: [k]aqua
[l]et [m]sanguis. [n]Si [o]testimonium [p]hominum
[q]accipimus: [r]testimonium [s]dei ∞∞∞∞∞
[t]maius [u]est. [x]Qm̄ [y]hoc [z]est [a]testimoniu ∞
[b]dei q̄ maius e: [c]qui [d]testificat [e]est [e]de [f]filio
[g]suo.

H. Mutlow sc.

of the art of printing. Other learned men have observed, that the form of the letters is the same with that of our printed Greek Testaments, with accents and spirits: so that it may possibly have been written subsequently to the invention of printing.[1] The close of the fifteenth century, therefore, (as we have already seen [2],) is the most probable date. Conceding, however, every advantage that can be claimed for this manuscript by its most strenuous advocates, it is still *modern:* and the testimony of a witness, of so *exceptionable an internal character*, can be of no value in opposition to all other evidence.

4. The *Codex Ottobonianus* 298. in the Vatican Library, is the only [3] other manuscript, in which the disputed clause is to be found. According to Dr. Scholz it is as follows: οτι τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες απο του ουρανου πατηρ λογος και πνευμα αγιον και οι τρεις εις το εν εισι. Και τρεις εισιν οι μαρτυρουντες απο της γης το πνευμα, &c. &c. It is worthy of remark that this manuscript has απο του ουρανου *from heaven* instead of εν τω ουρανω *in heaven*, and απο της γης *from earth*, instead of εν τη γη *on earth*, which words occur in the Codex Montfortianus; and the absence of the article (as in that manuscript) before the words expressive of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, manifestly indicates the Latin origin of the Codex Ottobonianus; which has further been altered in many places to make it agree with the Latin Vulgate. And as this manuscript is stated to have been written in the fifteenth century, this late date, in addition to the very doubtful internal evidence which it affords, renders its testimony of no force whatever.[4]

It is a remarkable circumstance, which confirms the argument against the genuineness of the clause in question, that in those manuscripts which have it not, there is no erasure in this part, or the slightest indication of any kind of deficiency.

2. *This clause is wanting in the earliest and best critical editions of the Greek Testament.*

It is *not* printed in Erasmus's first edition, published in 1516, nor in his second edition, in 1519; nor in the editions of Aldus, 1518; Gerbelius, 1521; Cephalæus, 1524; and of Colinæus, 1534. Erasmus, it is true, inserted it in his third edition published in 1522, on the faith of the Codex Britannicus or Montfortianus above mentioned, — not from any conviction of its genuineness, but (as he says) "to avoid calumny."[5] It is found indeed in the Greek text, and in the Vulgate Latin version of the Complutensian Polyglott, of which a fac-simile is given in the engraving which faces page 464., and which is accurately copied from the exemplar preserved in the library of Sion College, London. On this fac-simile it is to be observed, 1. That the first five lines, both of the Greek and Latin, are at the top of the opposite page to that on which the other four lines are found; and, 2. That the alphabetical letters, intermingled

[1] Benson on the Epistles, vol. ii. p. 640.

[2] Vol. II. p. 154.

[3] At least, we may presume, that it is the *only* other manuscript which contains the disputed clause: since Prof. Scholz states, that he has examined the MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris, and the Libraries at Florence, Milan, and Rome, also in Greece and Palestine. If he had discovered any other manuscript in which the disputed clause, he would most assuredly have communicated some notice of it to the public.

[4] Scholz, Biblische-Critische Reise, p. 105.

[5] Among modern editions of note, the disputed clause is omitted in Mace's Greek and English edition, 1729; in that of Harwood, 1776, in whose edition the text of the epistles represents the Clermont manuscript; Matthæi, 1782–88; and Griesbach, 1774–5, and the various subsequent editions of his text. In the editions of Bowyer, in 1763, 1772, and 1782, of Knappe, in 1797, of Tittmann, in 1820, and of Vater, in 1824, this clause is included between brackets.

with the Greek text, refer to the corresponding words in the Latin text, which is printed in a parallel column in the Complutensian edition, and marked with the same letters, in order to ascertain more easily the corresponding Greek and Latin words. As the size of our plate does not admit of the Greek and Latin texts being disposed in parallel columns, they are necessarily placed one below the other.

But the Complutensian Polyglott, however rare and valuable in other respects, is in this case of no authority beyond that of any common Greek Testament, any further than it is supported by antient MSS. The editors of the Complutensian Greek Testament, indeed *profess* to have followed the best and most antient manuscripts of the Vatican; but in that age copies, two or three hundred years old, were considered as antient. It is, however, most certain that they did not consult the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, which is reputed to be one of the most antient MSS. if it be not the most antient manuscript extant: (for that manuscript has *not* the disputed clause,) and that they have not only departed from its readings in many places, but have also varied from the order of things in point of time and place. Wetstein, Semler, and Griesbach, are unanimously of opinion that the MSS. used by the Complutensian editors were neither antient nor valuable: for they scarcely ever consent with the most antient copies or fathers, except in conjunction with modern copies, and they almost always agree with the modern copies where these differ from the more antient. Because the Complutensian editors admitted the disputed passage into their text of the New Testament it has been supposed that they found it in their MSS.; but it is more probable, that they inserted it upon the authority of the Latin Vulgate Version. For,

(1.) In the first place, It is not usual — indeed it forms no part of the plan of the Complutensian edition — to insert notes in the margin of the Greek text. Not more than three instances of such notes occur throughout this edition: "and therefore," as Sir Isaac Newton has forcibly argued, "there must be something extraordinary, and that in respect of the *Greek*, because it is in the margin of this text. In 1 Cor. xv. there is noticed in this margin a notable variation in the Greek reading. In Matt. vi. 13., where they, in their edition, recede from the Greek copies and correct it by the Latin, they make a marginal note to justify their doing so. And so here, where the testimony of 'the Three in heaven' is generally wanting in the Greek copies, they make a third marginal note, to secure themselves from being blamed for printing it. Now, in such a case as this, there is no question but they would make the best defence they could; and yet they do not tell of any various lections in the Greek manuscripts, nor produce any one Greek manuscript on their side, but have recourse to the authority of Thomas Aquinas."[1]—"Thomas, say they, in treating of the three which bear witness in heaven, teaches, that the words 'these Three are one,' are subjoined for insinuating the unity of the Essence of the Three Persons. And whereas one Joachim interpreted this unity to be only in *love* and *consent*, it being thus said of

[1] The following is a literal transcript (from the copy in Sion College Library) of the original of the marginal note above alluded to: — "Sanctus Thomas, in expositione secunde decretalis de suma trinitate et fide catholica, tractans istum passum contra abbatem Joachim, ut tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo, pater, verbum, et spiritus sanctus: dicit ad literam, verba sequentia. Et ad insinuandam unitatem trium personarum subditur, et hii tres unum sunt. Quod quidem dicitur propter essentie unitatem. Sed hoc Joachim perverse trahere volens, ad unitatem charitatis et consensus inducebat consequentem auctoritatem: Nam subditur ibidem, et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra s. [i. e. scilicet] spiritus: aqua: et sanguis. Et in quibusdam libris additur; et hii tres unum sunt. Sed hoc in veris exemplaribus non habetur: sed dicitur esse appositum ab hereticis arrianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum auctoritatis premisse de unitate essentie trium personarum. Hec beatus Thomas ubi supra."

the Spirit, Water, and Blood, in some copies, that 'these Three are one:' Thomas replied, that this clause is not extant in the true copies, but was added by the Arians for perverting the sense." Thus far, this annotation. "Now this plainly respects the Latin copies (*for Aquinas understood not Greek*), and therefore part of the design of this annotation is to set right the Latin reading. But this is not the main design. For so the annotation should have been set in the margin of the Latin version. Its being set in the margin of the Greek text shows, that its main design is to justify the Greek by the Latin thus rectified and confirmed. Now to make Thomas thus, in a few words, do all the work, was very artificial: and in Spain, where Thomas is of apostolical authority, it might pass for a very judicious and substantial defence of the printed Greek. But to us, Thomas Aquinas is no apostle. We are seeking for the authority of Greek manuscripts."[1]

(2.) Secondly, We have a further proof that this text was not extant in Greek, but was inserted from the Latin Vulgate (and consequently translated into Greek), in the fact that when Stunica, one of the four editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, on censuring Erasmus for omitting it, was challenged by him to produce his authority for inserting it, he *never appealed* to Greek manuscripts. On the contrary, he affirmed that the Greek copies were corrupt, but that the Latin contained the very truth.[2] Now this declaration is of great importance; as it amounts to a confession that none of the manuscripts procured for that edition by the great influence of Cardinal Ximenes contained the disputed passage.

3. *It is contained in the manuscripts of no other antient version besides the Latin.*[3]

It is wanting in the manuscripts of the *Old Syriac* version, executed at the beginning of the second, if not in the first century[4]; and also in those of the *Philoxenian Syriac*, a version made in the fifth century. It is wanting in the manuscripts of the *Coptic*, a version in the dialect antiently spoken in Lower Egypt, which is referred to the fifth century; and in those of the *Sahidic*, a version in the dialect antiently spoken in Upper Egypt, which is considered as having been made in the second century. It is wanting in the manuscripts of the *Ethiopic* version, executed in the fourth century; and in those of the *Armenian* version, which is referred to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. It is wanting in all the manuscripts of all the known *Arabic* versions; and it is absent from *all* the manuscripts of the *Sclavonic* or Old Russian version, executed in the ninth century.

4. *Not all the manuscripts, even of the Latin version, contain this clause, which is wanting in the most antient manuscripts of that version.*

The Vulgate Latin version is justly valued as an important relic of

[1] Sir Isaac Newton's History of Two Texts. (1 John v. 7, 8. and 1 Tim. iii. 16.) Works, vol. v. pp. 520—522.

[2] Sir Isaac Newton's Works, vol. v. pp. 522, 523.

[3] The expression, "*manuscripts* of all other versions," is here designedly used: for the disputed clause has been inserted in some *printed* editions of the Syriac and Armenian *versions*, in opposition to the Syriac and Armenian *manuscripts*. See Bp. Marsh's Letters to Archdeacon Travis. Preface, notes 8, 9, 10, 11.

[4] We are informed by Dr. Buchanan, that it is not to be found in a Peschito or Syriac manuscript which belonged to the Syrian church in India above a thousand years, nor in any copy of the Syriac Scriptures which he had seen. Christ. Researches in Asia, p. 118. This manuscript is now in the Public Library at Cambridge. Nor is it in any of the antient Syriac MSS. brought from the East by the late Mr. Rich, which are preserved in the British Museum.

Christian antiquity, and, generally speaking, as a good and faithful translation; but (as we have shown in the preceding volume[1]), in its passage from the fifth to the fifteenth century, it has undergone many corruptions and interpolations. The passage does not appear in any manuscripts written *before* the tenth century. It is *wanting* in considerably more than forty of the OLDEST Latin manuscripts[2]; in others it occurs only in the margin; and in others it is interlined by a later hand. "At the *end* of the fourth century, the celebrated Latin Father Augustine, who wrote ten treatises on the first Epistle of Saint John, in all of which we seek in vain for the *seventh* verse of the fifth chapter, was induced in his controversy with Maximin to compose a gloss upon the eighth verse. Augustine gives it professedly as a gloss upon the words of the eighth verse, and shows by his own reasoning that the seventh verse did not then exist.[3] The high character of Augustine in the Latin church soon gave celebrity to his gloss; and in a short time it was generally adopted. It appeared, indeed, under different forms; but it was still the gloss of Augustine, though variously modified. The gloss having once obtained credit in the Latin church, the possessors of Latin manuscripts began to note it in the margin, by the side of the eighth verse. Hence the oldest of those Latin manuscripts, which have the passage in the margin, have it in a different hand from that of the text. In later manuscripts we find margin and text in the same hand; for transcribers did not venture immediately to move it into the *body* of the text, though in some manuscripts it is *interlined*, but interlined by a later hand. After the eighth century the insertion became general. For Latin manuscripts written *after* that period have generally, though not always, the passage in the body of the text. Further, when the seventh verse made its first appearance in the Latin manuscripts, it appeared in as many different forms, as there were forms to the gloss upon the eighth verse.[4] And though it now *precedes* the eighth verse, it *followed* the eighth verse, at its first insertion, as a gloss would naturally follow the text upon which it was made."[5]

Many manuscripts of the Vulgate version, and also the printed text, even that of Pope Clement VIII., have the final clause of the eighth verse, *tres unum sunt*, which is manifestly a corruption from the *homoiotelcuton*[6], ΤΡΕΙΣΕΙΣ: while others omit that final clause. Some add, in *Christo Jesu;* some read *Filius* instead of *Verbum;* some omit *Sanctus;* others transpose *quoniam* and *et;* and the more antient of those, which have the passage, put the *eighth* verse *before* the seventh. This uncertainty and

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[1] See Vol. II. Part I. pp. 71, 72.

[2] Marsh's Letters to Travis, Preface, p. xi. note.

[3] Augustine, in his Treatise Contra Maximinum Arianum, lib. ii. cap. 22. (tom. viii. col. 725. ed. Benedict.) thus quotes the words of the eighth verse: "Tres sunt testes, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et tres unum sunt." He then makes various remarks on the words, spiritus, aqua, sanguis, and proceeds thus: "Si vero ea, quæ his *significata* sunt velimus inquirere, *non absurde occurrit* ipsa Trinitas, quæ unus, solus, verus, summus est Deus, Pater et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, de quibus verissime *dici potuit*, 'Tres sunt testes et tres unum sunt:' ut nomine spiritûs *significatum* accipiamus Deum Patrem — nomine autem sanguinis Filium — et nomine aquæ Spiritum Sanctum." The gloss which Augustine here puts on the eighth verse, very clearly shows, that he knew nothing of the seventh verse, which appears also from the fact that he has never quoted that verse.

[4] The various forms, in which the seventh verse made its first appearance in the Latin MSS. may be seen on consulting the notes of Erasmus, Mill, and Sabatier, to 1 John v. 7. Simon, Hist. des Versions, chap. ix. and Porson's 6th Letter.

[5] Bengelii Appar. Crit. pp. 467. ed. 2da. It is so placed also by Vigilius Tapsensis, who quotes thus: Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in terra, aqua, sanguis, et caro; et tres in nobis sunt: et tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt. Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. pp. 19—22.

[6] That is, the recurrence of the same word at the end of two contiguous clauses.

fluctuation is, itself, a most suspicious mark of interpolation. "It is not, therefore, a matter of mere *conjecture*, that the seventh verse originated in a Latin gloss upon the eighth verse: it is an historical fact, supported by evidence which cannot be resisted."[1]

5. *The clause in question is* NOT ONCE *quoted in the genuine works of any one of the Greek Fathers, or early Ecclesiastical Writers, even in those places where we should most expect it.*

For instance, it does not occur in the Exposition of Faith printed with the works of Justin Martyr, nor in the works of Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus against Noëtus, Dionysius Alexandrinus in the epistle addressed to Paul of Samosata, Athanasius, Didymus, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Cæsarius, Chrysostom, Proclus, Alexander of Alexandria, the author of the Synopsis of Scripture, Andreas Cæsariensis, Joannes Damascenus, Elias Cretensis, Germanus of Constantinople, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, Nicetas, in six different catenæ cited by Simon, and one cited by Matthæi, the Greek Scholia of various manuscripts.[2] But the bare silence of these writers is not all. Many of them wrote professedly on the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; their unity, equality, consubstantiality, &c.: and in order to prove these points, they diligently examined the entire Bible, and, in particular, they have frequently cited the preceding verse, as well as that which immediately follows. "The manuscripts which were used by Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria could not have been written later than the *second* century. The manuscripts used by Origen could not have been written later than the *third* century. The manuscripts used by the Greek fathers, who attended the Nicene council, could not have been written later than the *fourth* century. In this manner we may prove that the Greek manuscripts, in *every* century, were destitute of the passage, until we come to the period when the oldest of our *existing* manuscripts were written."[3] Now, that the Greek fathers should not avail themselves of so strong and apposite a text in their controversies with the Arians and other sectaries, as an additional confirmation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, is utterly inexplicable, on any other supposition than that of its not being in existence. Bishop Burgess, indeed, contends that it is quoted in the second Symbolum Antiochenum, or creed drawn up at the council which was convened at Antioch A. D. 341, and which consisted of ninety-seven bishops, of whom nearly one half were Arians, and who professed in that creed to follow "the evangelical and apostolical tradition." After declaring their belief in one God the Father, in one Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, they add the following sentences:—"The Father being truly a Father, and the Son truly a Son, and the Holy Ghost truly a Holy Ghost,—the names being given not vainly and unmeaningly, but accurately expressing

[1] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 22. Bishop Burgess has endeavoured to obviate the above very forcible arguments by stating that, although the seventh verse is wanting in some of the "more antient" manuscripts, yet it is found in some of the "most antient," for instance, in the Vauxcelles Bible of the eighth century, and in three MSS. containing the Catholic Epistles, which are in the library at Verona, of the same century, in one of which the eighth verse is wanting. (Vindication of 1 John v. 7. p. 54.) But his observations are shown to be inapplicable by "Crito Cantabrigiensis." Vindication of Porson's Literary Character, pp. 138. et seq.

[2] In the sixth volume of the Christian Observer, for 1807, pp. 285—289. there is a neat abstract, with English translations, of the principal passages of the most eminent Greek fathers, who must have quoted the disputed clause, had it been extant in their copies of the New Testament.

[3] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 17.

the subsistence, order, and glory of each of the persons named; so that *they are* THREE *in substance, and* ONE *in consent*, ως ειναι τη μεν υποστασει ΤΡΙΑ, τη δε συμφωνια ΕΝ: or, without the explanatory terms, ως ειναι τρια εν, so *that the three are one.*" These expressions the learned prelate considers as a quotation from St. John: they are not, he admits, precisely the same as the words of 1 John v. 7., but he is of opinion that they may nevertheless be a quotation from it.[1]

It is, however, (we apprehend) questionable whether this can be considered as a strict quotation, or even as an allusion to 1 John v. 7., not only from the total silence of the Greek fathers of that particular period concerning the disputed text, which they must have cited during their keen controversies with the Arians, if it had really been in their copies; but also from the fact, that the *sentiment* of the passage above given from the Antiochian Creed is in unison with the last clause of 1 John v. 8. οι τρεις εις το εν εισιν, *and these three* AGREE *in one* and the same thing; viz. that the Son of God is come. (See Sir Isaac Newton's Paraphrastic Exposition in p. 480. infra.) Further, it will be observed, that the Antiocheian Creed varies from the commonly received text, the *masculine* τρεις being turned into the *neuter* τρια: if a quotation had been intended, the framer of that confession of faith would have used the words οι τρεις εν εισι—these *three are one.* But what most materially neutralises the passage adduced by Bishop Burgess from this creed, is the fact, that the clause was not cited by any Greek writer[2] earlier than Manuel Calecas, who lived in the *fourteenth* century, and whose attachment to the Romish church was so great, that he became a Dominican monk, and adopted the tenets of that church concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, in opposition to those maintained by the Greek church. Calecas is succeeded by Bryennius[3], a writer of the *fifteenth* century, who also was so attached to the Romish church, that he quotes 1 John v. 6. not with το πνευμα εστιν η αληθεια (*the Spirit is truth*), but with ὁ Χριστος εστιν η αληθεια (CHRIST *is truth*), which is the reading of the Latin, and omits the final clause of the eighth verse, in opposition likewise to the Greek manuscripts, and in conformity with only modern transcripts of the Vulgate. The next Greek writer who has cited this clause, is Peter Mogilas, who lived in the seventeenth century, and who is followed by the Greeks in general of the present age. Nor should it be forgotten, that, when the passage first appeared in Greek, it presented itself under as many different shapes as

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1 Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's, pp. 97. 104. 10, 11.

2 The only expression which approximates very nearly to that in the Antiocheian Creed is the following, which occurs in the works of Gregory Nazianzen, who lived and wrote during the middle and latter part of the fourth century: — "For the Godhead is one in three, and *the three are one.*" Ἑν γαρ ἐν τρισιν η θεοτης, και τα τρια εν. (Opp. p. 630. Coloniæ, 1690.) But it has been shown by Crito Cantabrigiensis, that there is nothing in Gregory's manner of introducing this expression which indicates an intention of quoting the sacred writers. (Vindication of Prof. Porson, pp. 53, 54.) It is proper to remark, that Crito adduces another passage from Gregory, which, together with that just produced, was traced by Mr. Porson as being cited from him by Euthymius Zigabenus: this we have omitted, because it has no immediate reference to our present argument. As it is impossible to condense within the limits of a note the facts and arguments of "Crito," to show that the Greek fathers, cited by Porson, did *not* cite the disputed clause, the reader is necessarily referred to his "Vindication," pp. 37—75.

3 "In the Greek Acts of the Lateran Council, *verbum et spiritus sanctus* (the Word and the Holy Spirit) had been badly translated by λογος και πνευμα ἁγιον, without an article, because there is none in the Latin; but Calecas and Bryennius, who were native Greeks, and therefore felt this deficiency, wrote ὁ λογος και το πνευμα το ἁγιον with an article *more* than the Complutensian editors and Erasmus inserted." Bishop Marsh's Letters to Travis, p. xvii. note 21.

when it first made its appearance in the Latin, which would scarcely have happened, if it had been derived from the autograph of St. John.[1]

6. *The disputed clause is* NOT ONCE *quoted by any of the Latin Fathers, even where the subject of which they were treating required it, and where we should expect to see it cited.*

For instance, it is not cited by the author of the treatise on the baptism of heretics among Cyprian's works, nor by Novatian, Hilary bishop of Poictou, Lucifer bishop of Cagliari, Ambrose, Faustinus the Presbyter, Leo the Great, (who transcribes the whole context, but passes over this verse in his celebrated epistle to Flavianus, which was translated into Greek, and read in the council of Chalcedon,) the author of the treatise De Promissis, Jerome, Augustine, Eucherius, the pseudo-Athanasius, the author of the Disputation against Arius, Facundus, Junilius, Cerealis, Rusticus, Bede, Gregory, Boethius, Philastrius Bishop of Brescia, Paschasius, Arnobius junior, and pope Eusebius I. The advocates for the genuineness of the disputed clause, indeed, affirm that it is quoted by Tertullian, Cyprian, and other antient fathers of the Latin church; but this again has been denied by those who maintain that the clause in question is spurious. The supposed testimonies of these fathers are considered in pp. 474—478. infra.

7. *The Protestant Reformers either rejected* 1 John v. 7., *or at least marked it as doubtful: and though the editors of the English New Testament, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., uniformly admitted this verse into the text, yet they generally expressed a doubt of its authenticity.*

Thus it is wanting in the German translation of the illustrious reformer, Dr. Martin Luther, and in all the editions of it published during his lifetime. The last edition printed under Luther's superintendence (and which was not quite finished till after his death) was that of 1546, in the preface to which he requests that no person will make any alterations in it. But this great and good man had not been dead thirty years, when the passage was interpolated in his German translation. The first edition, in which this act of injustice took place, and in which Luther's text at least was corrupted, is that which was printed at Frankfort in 1574. But in the edition of 1583, printed in the same place, and also in several still later Frankfort editions, the passage was again omitted. The oldest Wittenberg edition, which received it, was that of 1596: and in the Wittenberg edition of 1599 it is likewise contained, but is printed in Roman characters. In 1596 it was inserted also in the Low German Bible, printed in that year at Hamburg. In the seventeenth century, if we except the Wittenberg edition of 1607, which remained true to Luther's text, the insertion was general: and since that time it is found in every edition of his German translation of the Scriptures.

Calvin, who retained it, speaks very doubtfully of it. In the Latin version, printed by Stephens in 1544, and ascribed to Leo Juda (who embraced the theological views of Zwingle the reformer of Switzerland), it is dismissed from the text, but retained in the margin: and in Castalio's Latin version, printed at Basil in 1551 and again in 1563, it is included between brackets.

Of the English versions, the earliest is that of William Tindal, printed in 1544, and again in 1546. Coverdale's Bible was printed in folio in 1535. Matthew's in 1537, partly from Tindal and partly from Coverdale, and

[1] Bp. Marsh's Letters to Travis, pp. xvi.—xix.

reprinted in 1549 and 1551. Cranmer's Bible was printed in 1539 and 1541. In 1540 and 1541 two folio editions were published by Taverner. In 1541 a folio Bible was printed under the inspection of Bishops Tonstal and Heath. In 1549 Taverner's was reprinted. In 1550 a New Testament in octavo, in Latin and English, was printed by Gualtier, for Sir John Cheeke. In 1552 a Testament, in quarto, by Hill. In 1553, a Bible in small quarto, by Grafton. In 1556, an English Bible, in folio, was printed at Rouen; and in 1562 a folio Bible was printed in London, by Harrison.

All these editions contain 1 John v. 7. but not without marks of doubt, either including the verse between parentheses, or printing it in diminutive letters. Thus, in Cranmer's Bible, usually called the Great Bible, on account of its size, in the edition of 1539, it appears in the following manner:

"This Jesus Christ is he that came by water and bloud, not by water onely, but by water and bloud. And it is the sprete that beareth wytnes, because the Sprete is trueth.

(For ther are thre which beare recorde in heaven, the father, the worde, and the wholy goost. And these thre are one), and ther are thre which beare recorde (in erth) the sprete," &c. [1]

On the other hand, there are three old editions which insert the disputed passage without any mark of suspicion; viz. one in 1536, believed to be printed by Gough, from Tindal's version: the New Testament, in 1552, translated by command of Edward VI.; and the Geneva Bible, in 1557. The English Testaments, printed in 1538 and 1558, are not included in the preceding notices of translations in our language: both of them were translated from the Vulgate, and consequently have the disputed passage.[2]

FOR THE GENUINENESS OF THE CONTROVERTED CLAUSE, IT IS CONTENDED THAT,

(1. *External evidence.*)

1. *It is found in the antient Latin Version, which was current in Africa before the Vulgate Version was made, and also in most manuscripts of Jerome's, or the Vulgate Latin Version.*

The antient Version current in Africa, and which is preserved in the writings of the African fathers, is not only older by many centuries than the most antient copy of the Vulgate Latin Version of the Catholic Epistles now extant (so that we have in these versions *two distinct authorities* for the verse), but is also much more antient than the oldest Greek manuscripts. But it must be admitted, that although most of the manuscripts of the Vulgate Latin Version contain the disputed clause, yet they are the least antient and most incorrect. It must also be recollected, that no version has been so corrupted as the Latin. The Latin transcribers took the most unwarrantable liberties, inserting in one book of the New Testament passages which they took from another, and frequently transferring into the text what they found written in the margin of the manuscript whence they copied. Under these circumstances, Michaelis concludes, every one must immediately suspect that a passage, which is wanting in

[1] In his prologue, Cranmer explains what is meant by the small letters: "Where as often ye shall finde a small lettre in the texte, it signifyeth, that so moche as is in the small lettre doth abounde, and is more in the common translacyon in Latyne, than is founde, either in the Hebrue or the Greke, which wordes and sentences we have added, not only to manifeste the same unto you, but also to satisfie and content those that herebefore-tyme hath myssed such sentences in the Bybles and New Testaments before set forth."

[2] Christian Observer for 1809, vol. viii. p. 210. In this volume the lover of biblical criticism will find an elaborate and interesting dissertation on the various readings in the principal passages of the New Testament, respecting the doctrine of the Trinity.

all the antient Greek manuscripts, and is likewise wanting in many antient copies even of the Latin version, is an interpolation in those Latin manuscripts which contain it. And, in the present instance, the same cause that has procured so many zealous advocates in favour of 1 John v. 7. was the principal cause of its introduction and general reception; viz. the importance of the doctrine which it contains.

2. *It is found in the Confession of Faith, and also in the Liturgy of the Greek Church.*

The *Confession of Faith of the Greek Church* thus introduces the clause: — GOD, in his nature, is true and eternal, and the Creator of all things, visible and invisible; such also is the SON and the HOLY SPIRIT. They are also of the same essence among themselves, according to the doctrine of John the Evangelist, who says, "*There are three that bear testimony in Heaven,* THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE."

In the *Liturgies of the Greek Church,* among other portions of Scripture, this verse is directed, by the Greek rituals, to be read in its course, in the thirty-fifth week of the year.[1]

3. *It is found in the ORDO ROMANUS, or Primitive Liturgy of the Latin Church,* which recites this verse in the offices for Trinity Sunday, and for the octave of Easter, and also in the office for the administration of baptism.[2]

These two testimonies, Dr. Hales imagines, are decisive in favour of the authenticity of the clause. For, (he argues) when we consider the lasting schism that prevailed between the Greek and Latin churches, from the time of the Arian and Athanasian controversy, about the Homo-ousian and Homoi-ousian doctrine of the Father and of the Son; and about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son; which was maintained from both by the Latin church; but contested respecting the latter by the Greek, inasmuch as the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is not expressly asserted in Scripture, though it may fairly be implied[3]; we may rest assured that the clergy of the Greek church would never have adopted the clause merely upon the authority of the Latin, if they had not sufficient vouchers for it in their own Greek Verity; and even, perhaps, in the autograph and primary copies of St. John's Epistles, which were probably subsisting in the church of Ephesus, till the end of the fourth century, at least.[4] The two testimonies, on which this learned writer thus forcibly argues, would unquestionably be intitled to great weight, if we were certain that the Confession and Liturgies of the Greek church had come down to us uncorrupted. But there is every reason to believe that the clause in question was interpolated therein, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, by some of the Greek clergy, who were devoted partisans of the Romish See, when the majority of the com-

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1 Dr. Smith's Miscellanea, p. 155. London, 1686.

2 Travis's Letters to Gibbon, pp. 61, 62.

3 That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, we learn from the express authority of Christ, who says, "The Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father." (John xv. 26.) In the same verse he says, "I will send the Spirit." And St. Paul tells the Galatians, "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts." (Gal. iv. 6.) Hence we infer, that the Spirit proceeds from the Son also.

4 The author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, in the fourth century, affirms, that the originals of St. John's writings were then preserved at Ephesus. Dr. Hales on the Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 196, 197.

mon people from their ignorance could *not* detect the imposition, consequently this argument falls to the ground.

4. *It is cited by numerous Latin fathers.*

In reply to this argument it is urged that the authority of the Latin fathers is inferior to that of the Greek fathers in determining the readings of the Greek manuscripts: for, in writing to the Latin churches, they usually refer to their own version of the Scriptures, and, like our divines, must be understood to quote the established translation, unless they give notice of the contrary: now, if the Latin fathers were unexceptionable witnesses, and if they had quoted in express terms the whole of the controverted passage, their quotations would prove nothing more than that the passage stood in their manuscripts of the Latin version, and consequently that the Latin version contained it in a very early age; but their evidence, it is *asserted*, is very unsatisfactory.

Among the Latin fathers, whom the advocates for the genuineness of 1 John v. 7. affirm to have quoted this verse, Tertullian in the second, Cyprian in the third, Jerome in the fourth[1], and the African bishops at the close of the fifth century have principally been relied on.

(1.) The evidence of Tertullian, the oldest Latin writer, who has been quoted in favour of 1 John v. 7. is contained in the following passage of his treatise against Praxeas, respecting the Paraclete or Comforter:—

"This comforter" says he (Christ), "*shall take of mine*, as the Son himself had taken of the Father's. Thus, the connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes three coherent Persons, one in the other; which three are *one*" [*in substance, unum*] "not one" [*in number, unus*]; "in the same manner in which it was said, *I and my Father are one*, to denote the unity of substance, not singularity of number."[2]

It is contended that if these words—"*which three are one, qui tres unum sunt*—had not been in Tertullian's copy of the New Testament, most assuredly we should never have seen them in this place. But it has been replied, What can be made of these words of Tertullian, in order to prove the genuineness of this text? It is plain that he has *not* cited the controverted passage, because his quotation begins with *quomodo dictum est*, in the same manner as it is written, *I and my Father are one.* (John x. 30.) That the controverted text was neither known to him, nor cited by him, is highly probable; for he has never quoted it in all his works. Indeed he would have had no occasion to have cited John x. 30. if he had known any thing of a text which had affirmed of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, that *these three are one.* For that would have sounded better, and appeared more like a proof of the unity of the substance of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, than any text which he has alleged in proof of that point.[3]

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[1] The testimony of Vigilius bishop of Thapsus, who wrote in the fifth century, is designedly omitted, as he is a writer of very little credit, who imposed his sentiments upon the world under the names of Athanasius, Idatius, and others; and also because the passage, in which he is supposed to have referred to the disputed clause, is suspected not to be genuine.

[2] Cæterum *de meo sumel*, inquit, sicut ipse de patris. Ita connexus, Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero, qui tres *unum* sunt,—*non unus*; quomodo dictum est, "*Ego et Pater unum sumus*" ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem. Tertullian adv. Praxeam, c. 25.

[3] Benson on the Epistles, vol. ii. p. 632. Michaelis (vol. iv. p. 421.) has considered the above-cited passage of Tertullian, which, he determines, is not a quotation. But the fullest consideration of it will be found in Bishop Kaye's Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from Tertullian (pp. 544—546.); who concludes his observations by expressing his opinion, that "the passage in Tertullian, far from containing an allusion to 1 John v. 7., furnishes most decisive proof that he knew nothing of the verse." (p. 546.)

(2.) From the writings of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, two passages have been cited, to prove that 1 John v. 7. was contained in his manuscript of the Latin version. The first is from his seventy-third Epistle, addressed to Jubaianus, in A. D. 256, the object of which is to invalidate the baptism administered by heretics. In this Epistle, the following passage occurs: —

"*If any one could be baptised by a heretic, and could obtain remission of sins, — if he has obtained remission of sins, and is sanctified, and become the temple of God? I ask, of what God? If of the Creator, he cannot be his temple, who has not believed in Him; if of Christ, neither can he who denies Him to be God, be His temple; if of the Holy Spirit, since the three* are one, *how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an enemy, either of the Father or of the Son?*" [1]

In this passage, Dr. Mill, and other advocates for the genuineness of the disputed clause, contend, that there is plainly an argument founded upon the *unity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.* But how does Cyprian make out or prove that unity? He attempts no proof of such unity, but presupposes it as a point that must be admitted. — "*Since the three,*" he says, "are one, *the Holy Spirit cannot be reconciled to him, who is an enemy either of the Father or of the Son.*" That they *are* one, he supposes every one will know, who has read the New Testament, and therefore he only just alludes to the text as his authority. In opposition to this reasoning, Michaelis observes, that the words — *cum tres unum sunt,* — though inserted in the later editions of Cyprian's works, are *not* contained in that edition which was published by Erasmus; and that even if they were genuine, they will prove nothing more than the same words which are quoted by Tertullian.[2]

The other passage of Cyprian, above alluded to, is to be found in his treatise on the Unity of the Church, written A. D. 251, where he thus expressly cites the disputed clause: —

"The Lord saith, *I and my Father are one;* and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, *And these three are one.*" [3]

This, it is urged by the advocates of the contested clause, is a plain citation of two different texts of Scripture, viz. The first, of what Jesus Christ says of himself, in John x. 30. — "The Lord says, *I and my Father are one;*" and the second (which is expressly accompanied with the antient formula of quotation, *it is written,*) is a citation of what is spoken of them and of the Holy Spirit in some other place. "And again," it is written, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, *And these three are one.* But where is it so written, except in 1 John v. 7.? On the other hand, admitting that the words *Et tres unum sunt* — *And these three are one* — were so quoted from the verse in question, Michaelis asks whether a passage found in no antient Greek manuscript, quoted by no Greek father, and contained in no other antient version but the Latin, is therefore to be pronounced genuine, merely because one single Latin father of the first three centuries, who was bishop of Carthage, where the Latin version only was used, and where Greek was unknown, has quoted it? Under these circumstances, should we conclude, that the passage stood

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[1] Si baptizari quis apud hæreticum potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit, — si peccatorum remissam consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est; quæro cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit, qui in eum non credidit; si Christi, non hujus potest fieri templum, qui negat Deum Christum; si Spiritus Sancti *cum tres unum sunt* quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii inimicus est? Cypriani Opera a Fell. p. 203. folio. Oxon. 1682.

[2] See p. 474.

[3] Dicit Dominus, *Ego et Pater unum sumus:* et iterum de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, *Et tres unum sunt.* De Unitate Ecclesiæ, Op. p. 109.

originally in the Greek autograph of Saint John? Certainly not: for the only inference, which could be deduced from Cyprian's quotation, would be this, that the passage had been introduced into the Latin version so early as the third century. This answer Michaelis thinks sufficient to invalidate Cyprian's authority, in establishing the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. on the supposition that Cyprian really quoted it. But that he did so, it is asserted to be more than any man can prove. The words *Tres unum sunt* are contained not only in the seventh but likewise in the eighth verse, which is a part of the antient and genuine text of John; and therefore it is at least possible, that Cyprian took them, not from the seventh, but from the eighth verse. It is true that he says, These words are written of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whereas *Tres unum sunt* in the eighth verse relate only to the spirit, the water, and the blood. But it must be observed that the Latin fathers interpreted *Spiritus, Aqua,* et *Sanguis,* not literally but mystically, and some of them really understood by these words Pater, Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, taking aqua in the sense of Pater, sanguis in the sense of Filius, and spiritus in the sense of Spiritus sanctus.[1]

(3.) The third Latin father, produced in favour of this disputed passage, is Jerome; who flourished in the latter end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, and resided chiefly at Bethlehem. His profound knowledge of the original Scriptures has caused his biblical labours to be held in the highest esteem. In several editions of the Latin version, there is a preface to the Catholic Epistles, ascribed to him; which pretends that all the Greek copies had the seventh verse, and complains of the Latin translators as unfaithful, for leaving it out.

In this supposed preface of Jerome many advocates of the disputed clause have founded, as they imagine, a powerful argument for its genuineness; while others have candidly admitted that the preface is spurious. In fact, this preface is of no authority whatever; for it is wanting in his catalogue of prefaces, as well as in the best and most antient manuscripts of Jerome's version: it is often found in Latin copies without his name; it makes use of the term "Canonical Epistles," whereas Jerome's title for them was "the Catholic Epistles." Further, this preface is prefixed to some Latin copies of the Catholic Epistles, in which the disputed text is *not* inserted: whence it is evident that the antient MSS. from which such copies were made, had not the disputed text, though the transcribers had the folly to insert that preface. And, finally, what proves that it is utterly destitute of authority, is the fact, that "it insinuates one falsehood, and asserts two other direct and notorious falsehoods. It insinuates that all the Greek copies of the New Testament had this verse; whereas none of them had it, nor" (as we have already seen) "has any of the genuine works of the Greek fathers once mentioned it. And Jerome

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. p. 423. He adduces instances of such mystical interpretation from Augustine, who wrote a century after Cyprian; from Eucherius, who wrote A. D. 434; and from Facundus, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century. (Ibid. p. 424.) Bishop Marsh, after Michaelis, has collected similar instances of mystical interpretation. (Letters to Travis, Pref. p. xii.—xiv. note 15.) Dr. Hales (on the Trinity, vol. iv. pp. 197, 198.) has endeavoured to vindicate the citations of Augustine and Eucherius as real quotations, and not mystical interpretations of the eighth verse; and Bishop Burgess has argued, that neither Cyprian nor any other father before Facundus (who flourished about the middle of the sixth century) did interpret the eighth verse mystically. (Vindication of 1 John v. 7. pp. xvii. et seq. 136—138.) His arguments, however, are ably, and we think, satisfactorily controverted by Crito Cantabrigiensis, who has particularly considered the passages supposed to be cited by Augustine, Eucherius, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, and Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome. (Vindication of Porson, pp. 230—288.) See also on this topic Dr. Benson, on the Epistles, vol. ii. pp. 633, 634.

above all men, who was so conversant in the Greek copies of the New Testament and in the Greek fathers, must needs have known this to have been a direct falschood. Again, the preface asserts that the Latin translators were unfaithful in leaving out the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and that he [Jerome] had restored it."[1]

(4.) But a chief argument arising from the quotations of the Latin fathers is derived from the confession of faith, drawn up by Eugenius bishop of Carthage at the end of the fifth century, and presented by nearly four hundred bishops, to Hunneric king of the Vandals, an Arian and a bitter enemy to those who professed the orthodox faith. In this confession, which is recorded by Victor Vitensis[2], the following passage occurs: —

Ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, Joannis Evangelistæ testimonio comprobatur. Ait namque, TRES SUNT, QUI TESTIMONIUM PERHIBENT IN CŒLO, PATER, VERBUM, ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS, ET HI TRES UNUM SUNT.

In English thus: — "That we may further show it to be clearer than the light, that the divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, we have the testimony of the evangelist John; for he says, — THERE ARE THREE WHICH BEAR RECORD IN HEAVEN, THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE."

In this passage of the confession of the African bishops, 1 John v. 7. is clearly and distinctly quoted: and the circumstances under which it was delivered to sworn enemies of the Catholic faith (for which these bishops suffered very severe persecutions) have been urged as proofs for the genuineness of the disputed clause, the authenticity of which the hostile Arians would not fail to have challenged or denied, had it even been considered of doubtful origin.[3] But the appearance of this verse in the confession of the African bishops, Michaelis remarks, proves nothing in respect of its authenticity; for the only inference which we can deduce is, that the passage was contained in the Latin manuscripts then used in Africa. "We may infer that Eugenius, who drew up the confession, found the passage in his Latin manuscript; but that all the bishops who signed this confession found the quoted passage likewise in their manuscripts is a very unwarrantable inference. For when a formulary of religious articles is composed, however numerous the persons may be who set their names to it, it is in fact the work only of him who drew it up: and a subscription to such a formulary, though it conveys a general assent to the doctrines contained in it, by no means implies that every subscriber has, previous to his subscription, examined every argument adduced, or every quotation that is alleged in it, and obtained a thorough conviction that not one of them is exceptionable. But it is said, the Arians themselves who were present when this confession was delivered made no objection

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[1] Benson on the Epistles, vol. ii. p. 635. Kettner, who reluctantly admits that the preface in question is not the production of Jerome, yet maintains that it is good evidence for the genuineness of the disputed text in the eighth, ninth, and following centuries! (Historia Dicti Joannei, 1 Joh. v. 7. p. 172.) See also the Vindication of Professor Porson by Crito Cantabrigiensis, pp. 182—209.

[2] Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ, p. 29. edit. Ruinart. Mr. Travis has related the history of this transaction in his "Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq." pp. 57—60.; and he has printed the confession at length in his Appendix, No. xxxi. pp. 31. et seq.

[3] See Mr. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. ii. pp. 292—295. 2d. edit. The arguments briefly noticed above, are urged at length under twelve heads with great ingenuity by Mr. Butler; and if the historian, from whose expressions he has deduced them, had been a writer of unimpeachable veracity, they would go far towards deciding the controversy. But, unhappily for the testimony of Victor Vitensis, that historian has not only rendered his credit extremely suspicious by his account of the Vandalic persecution, but he has also excited the sneers of infidelity (see Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. vi. pp. 283—295. 8vo. edit.), by recording some ridiculous miracles, the truth of which, notwithstanding, he solemnly pledged himself to prove.

to the quotation, '*Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo,*' *&c.*; that they acknowledged, therefore, by their very silence, that the passage was not spurious. Now this is a very weak and even absurd argument. For, in the first place, we have no further knowledge of this transaction than what the orthodox themselves have given of it; and, therefore, it is not fair to conclude, that the Arians made no objections, merely from the circumstance that no objections are on record. Secondly, if the conclusion were admissible, nay, were it absolutely certain, that the Arians, who were present at this conference, admitted, '*Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo,*' *&c.* it would follow only that the passage was in their Latin manuscripts, as the quotation of it shows that it was in the Latin manuscript of Eugenius, who drew up the confession. For these Arians were Vandals who had been driven out of Spain into Africa, who read the Bible only in the Latin translation, and were totally unacquainted with Greek. Consequently their silence on the quotation of a passage from the Latin translation, at the end of the fifth century, affords no presumption whatsoever that the passage existed in the Greek original. Lastly, the whole transaction between Hunneric with his Arian Vandals on the one side, and the orthodox bishops of Africa on the other, was of such a nature as was very ill adapted to the decision of a critical question. For these Vandals did not combat by argument, but by force; and they brought their adversaries to silence, not by reasoning with them, but by cutting out their tongues. To argue, therefore, from the silence of such men to the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. is nearly the name as an appeal in its favour to the testimony of a Russian corporal." [1]

Such is the *external* evidence *for* the genuineness of this much litigated clause. It only remains that we briefly notice,

2. *The internal Evidence adduced in its Behalf.*

1. *It is contended that the connection of the disputed clause requires it to be inserted, in order to complete the sense; while those who reject it affirm that its insertion injures the whole passage.*

Various commentators both of the Romish and Protestant churches have given explications, the design of which is to show that the verse, if properly interpreted, instead of disturbing the sense of the verses with which it is joined, rather renders it more connected and complete. But the argument, which they would derive from this supposed necessary connection is denied by the opponents of the genuineness of the disputed clause, who contend that the sense would also be more complete, and the connection more clear without it. That the reader may be enabled duly to estimate the force or weakness of this argument, the exposition of Bishop Horsley, which is drawn up on the assumption that it contains the "genuine words" of the apostle, shall be subjoined, together with the explanation of Sir Isaac Newton, the object of which is to show that the sense is entire *without* the disputed clause.

i. *Bishop Horsley's Paraphrastic Exposition.*

"*There are three in heaven that bear record,*—record to this fact, that Jesus is the Christ, —'*the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.*'

"The *Father* bare witness by his own voice from heaven, twice declaring Jesus his beloved Son; first after his baptism, when he came up out of the river, and again at the

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. pp. 427, 428.

transfiguration. A third time the Father bare witness when he sent his angel to Jesus in agony in the garden.

"The eternal *Word* bare witness by the fulness of the Godhead dwelling in Jesus bodily, — by that plenitude of strength and power with which he was supplied for the performance of his miracles, and the endurance in his frail and mortal body of the fire of the Father's wrath. The Word bare witness, — perhaps more indirectly, — still the Word bare witness, by the preternatural darkness which for three hours obscured the sun, while Jesus hung in torment upon the cross; in the quaking of the earth, the rending of the rocks, and the opening of the graves, to liberate the bodies of the saints which appeared in the holy city after our Lord's resurrection; for these extraordinary convulsions of the material world must be ascribed to that power by which God in the beginning created it, and still directs the course of it, — that is, to the immediate act of the Word; for 'by him all things were made, and he upholdeth all things by the word of his own power.'

"The *Holy Ghost* bare witness, by the acknowledgment of the infant Jesus, made, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, by the mouths of his servants and instruments, Simeon and Anna; and more directly, by his visible descent upon the adult Jesus at his baptism, and upon the apostles of Jesus after the ascension of their Lord.

"Thus the *three in heaven bare witness; and these three*, the apostle adds, *are one*, — one, in the unity of a consentient testimony; for that unity is all that is requisite to the purpose of the apostle's present argument.....He goes on: *And there are three in earth that bear witness, — the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood; and these three agree in one.*

"The *Spirit* is here evidently to be understood of the gifts preternaturally conferred upon believers.

"The *water* and the *blood* mentioned here as witnesses, are the water and the blood which issued from the Redeemer's side, when his body, already dead, was pierced by a soldier with a spear.—

"But how do this water and this blood bear witness that the crucified Jesus was the Christ? Water and blood were the indispensable instruments of cleansing and expiation in all the cleansings and expiations of the law. 'Almost all things,' saith Saint Paul, 'are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood there is no remission.' But the purgation was not by blood only, but by blood and water; for the same apostle says, 'When Moses had spoken every precept to all the people, according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and sprinkled both the book and all the people.' All the cleansings and expiations of the law, by water and animal blood, were typical of the real cleansing of the conscience by the water of baptism, and of the expiation of real guilt by the blood of Christ shed upon the cross, and virtually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper. The flowing, therefore, of this water and this blood immediately upon our Lord's death, from the wound opened in his side, was a notification to the surrounding multitudes, though at the time understood by few, that the real expiation was now complete, and the cleansing fount set open.—

"Thus I have endeavoured to explain how the water and the blood, together with the spirit, are witnesses upon earth, to establish the faith which overcometh the world." [1]

It will, however, be observed, that this argument assumes that εν τη γη, *upon earth*, in the eighth verse, implies that something had preceded with εν τω ουρανω, *in heaven*. "But they who argue in this manner" (Bishop Marsh observes) "forget that εν τη γη is *wanting* in the *Greek* MSS. as well as εν τω ουρανω. Also, in the oldest *Latin* MSS. the 8th verse is equally destitute of *in terra*, which was inserted for the very purpose of having something to correspond with *in cœlo*, and shows how well the several parts of the interpolation have been fitted to each other." [2]

ii. *Sir Isaac Newton's Paraphrastic Exposition.*

"*Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that* JESUS *is the Son of God*, that Son spoken of in the Psalms, where he saith, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' *This is he that*, after the Jews had long expected him; *came*, first in a mortal body, *by* baptism of *water, and* then in an immortal one by shedding his *blood* upon the cross, and rising again from the dead; *not by water only, but by water and blood*; being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead (Acts xiii. 33.), as by his supernatural birth of the Virgin. (Luke i. 35.) *And it is the Spirit* also, *that*, together with the water and blood, *beareth witness* of the truth of his coming; *because the Spirit is truth*, and so a fit and unexceptionable witness. *For there are three that bear record* of his coming; *the Spirit*, which

[1] Bp. Horsley's Sermons, vol. i. pp. 193—201.
[2] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 27. note.

he promised to send, and which was since shed forth upon us in the form of cloven tongues and of various gifts; *the* baptism of *water*, wherein God testified 'this is my beloved Son;' *and the* shedding of his *blood*, accompanied with his resurrection, whereby he became the most faithful martyr or witness of this truth. *And these three*, the Spirit, the baptism, and passion of Christ, *agree in* witnessing *one* and the same thing (namely that the Son of God is come); and therefore their evidence is strong; for the law requires but two consenting witnesses, and here we have three: *and if we receive the witness of men, the* threefold *witness of God*, which he bare of his Son, by declaring at his baptism 'This is my beloved Son,' by raising him from the dead, and by pouring out his Spirit on us, *is greater;* and therefore ought to be more readily received."

"This," Sir Isaac Newton observes, "is the sense plain and natural, and the argument full and strong; but, if you insert the testimony of the three in heaven, you interrupt and spoil it: for the whole design of the apostle being here to prove to men by witness the truth of Christ's coming, I would ask how the testimony of "the three in heaven" makes to this purpose? If their testimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Christ's coming? If it be [given], how is the testimony in heaven distinguished from that on earth? It is the same spirit which witnesses in heaven and in earth. If in both cases it witnesses to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witnessing in heaven and its witnessing in earth? If in the first case it does not witness to men, to whom doth it witness? And to what purpose? And how does its witnessing make to the design of St. John's discourse? Let them make good sense of it who are able. For my part, I can make none. If it be said, that we are not to determine what is Scripture, and what not, by our private judgments, I confess it in places not controverted; but, in disputable places, I love to take what I can best understand." [1]

2. *At the seventh verse, the three that bear record, are manifestly persons, and the words that express two of them are masculine nouns,* ὁ Πατηρ (THE FATHER), *and* ὁ Λογος (THE WORD); *whence we may naturally expect that the adjuncts, or adjectives which allude to them, would all be of the masculine gender likewise: consequently we find the heavenly witnesses to be denoted by the words* τρεις εισιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες (*there are three that bear record*).

Thus far, all is conformable to the rules of plain grammar. Besides, it cannot be difficult to conceive that the sacred writer, when about to express the earthly witnesses in the next verse, might carry on the same expression or adjuncts to that verse; and the correspondence in the number of witnesses, and the similarity of their design in bearing witness to the truth of the religion of Christ, may tend to confirm this sentiment. But if the former verse did not precede, and should be rejected as spurious, it will be difficult to account for the use of the masculine gender; and we should rather be inclined to suspect that the words would have been τρια εισι τα μαρτυρουντα, as all the terms that follow to denote the earthly energies, or attestations, are every one of the neuter gender. It appears, then, that the turn of the language, as well as the nature of the witnesses, would require the use of this gender; and therefore the accuracy of the construction, or the strict rules of grammar, must *favour the present text.* [2]

3. Bishop Middleton has a long and elaborate dissertation, the design of which is to show that the article TO before ἐν εισιν in the eighth verse, must necessarily refer to the word 'EN in the pre-

1 Sir Isaac Newton's Hist. of Two Texts. Works, vol. v. pp. 528, 529.
2 Classical Journal, vol. ii. pp. 869—871. See also Mr. Nolan's Inquiry, pp. 260. 304.

ceding verse, and consequently that *both* verses must be retained, or *both* rejected. [1]

This argument is not of a nature to admit of abridgment; but, in order to be strictly correct, there should be an *identity* in the subject, and not a *similarity* only. A doubt may be reasonably entertained, whether, in the language of St. John, ΤΟ 'ΕΝ is not used as equivalent to ΤΟ ΑΥΤΟ, as it is in Phil. ii. 2.; in which case no reference to any preceding expression would be applied. To this we may add, that if the Vulgate preserves the true reading, the translators must have supposed the ΕΙΣ ΤΟ 'ΕΝ of the 8th verse to be equivalent to the 'ΕΝ of the 7th; for all the manuscripts, which retain the concluding clause of the 8th verse (a very large portion of them omitting it), read *tres unum sunt*, as in the 7th verse. [2]

4. *The mode of thinking and diction is peculiar to St. John. No other evangelist or apostle speaks of the witness of the Father or the Holy Spirit, as he does in his Gospel; and no other evangelist or apostle calls the Son of God the* WORD.

This argument has been strenuously urged by Kettner, Bengel, and other zealous advocates for the disputed clause. [3] But, on the other hand, it is contended that there is no such identical expression in the whole Bible besides: and it is not strictly correct that no other evangelist calls the Son of God the WORD, because, as we have already seen [4], that appellation is expressly applied to Jesus Christ by Saint Luke. (i. 2.)

5. Further, those critics who advocate the genuineness of this text, observe that *omissions* in antient manuscripts, versions, and authors, are neither absolute contradictions, nor direct impeachments of facts. They only supply food for conjecture, and conjectural criticism ought to be sparingly and cautiously applied before it can be admitted as sufficient authority for altering the received text. Besides, the omission in the present case may be satisfactorily accounted for, from various circumstances. Thus,

(1.) *There may have been* TWO *editions of this Epistle, in the first of which the disputed clause was omitted, but is retained in the second or later edition.*

This hypothesis was first announced by the late Mr. Charles Taylor [5], the English editor of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. According to his hypothesis verses 5—9. of 1 John v. stood thus in the two editions.

FIRST EDITION.	SECOND EDITION.
Who is he that overcometh the world, unless it be one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came by water and blood; Jesus the Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood: but the spirit is that which beareth witness. They which bear	Who is he that overcometh the world, unless it be one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came by water and blood; Jesus the Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood: but the spirit is that which beareth witness. They which bear witness then *on earth*, are these three; the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and

[1] See Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 633—653.

[2] Quarterly Review, vol. xxvi. p. 330.

[3] In support of the above argument, Bishop Burgess refers to John v. 31—37. viii. 13. and xv. 26.: and before him, Griesbach (who gives up the disputed passage as spurious) had candidly said, that John here refers to Christ's discourse in John v. 31—39. compared with John viii. 13. 18.; and adds, that what Jesus Christ had there taught, the apostle wished to prove to his readers by the same arguments; which being the case, the seventh verse (it is inferred) could not be wanting. Bp. Burgess's Vindication, p. 115. 2d edit.

[4] See pp. 304, 305. of the present volume.

[5] Calmet's Dictionary, vol. iv. (4th edit.) pp. 281—288. Fragment, no. dccxxi.

FIRST EDITION.	SECOND EDITION.
witness, then, are these three; the spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these are combined in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater; *and* assuredly this is the witness of God, which is witnessed of his Son, &c.	these three are combined in one. *Correspondently, those who bear witness in heaven, are three; the Father, and the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are the* ONE. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater; *and* assuredly this is the witness of God which is witnessed of his Son.

From this hypothesis it is impossible to withhold the praise of ingenuity; but it cannot be admitted as positive evidence in determining the genuineness of the disputed clause, from the total absence of historical or even traditionary testimony to support it.

(2.) *The great havoc and destruction of the antient copies of the Greek Testament, in the Dioclesian persecution especially, which raged throughout the Roman empire, as far as Britain, but was lighter in Africa, probably occasioned a scarcity of antient Greek copies; and left the remnant more open to adulteration, either from the* negligence *of transcribers, or the* fraud *of heretics; especially during the prevalence of the Arian heresy in the Greek church, for forty years, after the death of Constantine the Great (particularly during the reign of Constantius), until the accession of Theodosius the Great.*

That such an adulteration of the sacred text *might* take place, is within the verge of possibility. It is, however, all but morally impossible that it *could* take place without detection: for, how is it possible that the Arians could conspire all the world over, *at once*, in the latter end of Constantius's reign, to get into their possession *all* the copies of the New Testament then in being, and correct them *throughout*, without being perceived? And that they should accomplish this in such a way, as to leave no blot or chasm in such copies, by which the fraud might be suspected or discovered; further, that they should succeed in so utterly effacing the very memory of it, that neither Athanasius nor any other of their contemporaries could afterwards remember that they had ever before seen it in their sacred books; and, finally, that they should erase it out of their own copies, so that when they turned to the consubstantial faith (as they generally did in the western empire soon after the death of Constantius), they could remember no more of it than any other person. [1]

(3.) *The negligence of transcribers may have caused the omission of the disputed clause. The seventh verse begins in the same manner as the eighth; and therefore the transcribers might easily have overlooked the seventh verse, and consequently have omitted it by accident.*

The following illustration will enable the reader who understands no other language but English, readily to apprehend how the words came to be omitted.

The word which in the seventh verse is rendered *bear record*, and in the eighth *bear witness*, is the same in Greek (*οἱ μαρτυροῦντες*); and if it had been translated in both verses alike, as it ought to have been, the two verses would have run thus:

FOR THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS
IN HEAVEN, THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE
HOLY GHOST, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE.
AND THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS
IN EARTH, THE SPIRIT, THE WATER, AND THE
BLOOD, AND THESE THREE AGREE IN ONE.

Now, how easy it is, for one who is transcribing, and perhaps in haste, to slip his eye from the words THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS in the 7th verse, to the same words THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS in the 8th verse, any person may easily conceive who has been accustomed to transcribing himself, or who has ever read and observed the transcripts of others, or has been much employed in correcting the press. Similar omissions frequently occur in Mill's and Griesbach's critical editions of the New Testament. For where the beginning and ending of two sentences, within a line or two, happen to be alike, the copyists so frequently omit the former, that if the text under dispute had been found in all the manuscripts and copies, we should have had a great deal more reason to wonder than we have now, that it appears in so few. Let it be granted, therefore, that an omission of the intermediate words might naturally happen; yet still, the appearing of the omission, both early and wide, proves no more than that the words happened to be early

[1] Hewlett's Commentary, vol. v. p. 508. 8vo. edit.

dropped, and overlooked in some still more early copy. It might be dropped, for any thing we know, out of a copy taken immediately from the original of Saint John himself. And then, most assuredly, all future transcripts, mediately or immediately derived from that copy, must continue, at least, as imperfect and faulty as that first copy itself. And if there should have been but few copies taken from the original in all, (and who will pretend to say how many were really taken?) it is no wonder that while some churches, as those, for instance, in Africa and Europe (whither the perfect copies had been carried), had the true reading, other churches in Asia and the East, from an imperfect copy, should transmit an imperfect reading.

(4.) *The Arians* might *have designedly expunged it, as being inimical to their doctrine.*

The charge of having expunged this passage has been brought against the Arians only in modern times: but it is indignantly repelled by Dr. Mill (an advocate for the disputed clause,) who asks, How should the Arians expunge these words, which were out already, one hundred and fifty years before Arius was born? To which we may add that it is utterly incredible, that the orthodox should have been so careless, as to have allowed the Arians to get possession of all their copies, for the purpose of expunging the words in question.

(5.) *The orthodox themselves* might *have designedly withdrawn it out of regard to the mystery of the Trinity, under the persuasion that such a passage as* 1 *John* v. 7. *ought not to be exposed to every reader.*

Without examining the strength or weakness of this and the two preceding reasons, Michaelis observes, that such causes, though they *might* have produced the omission of the passage in *some* copies, *could not* possibly have occasioned it in *all* the antient Greek manuscripts, and in all the antient versions, except the Latin. Besides they are wholly foreign to the present purpose: they do not tend to show the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. but account merely for its omission, on the previous supposition that it is authentic. But this is the thing to be proved. And it is surely absurd to account for the omission of a passage in Saint John's first Epistle before it has been shown that the Epistle ever contained it. "Suppose," he continues, "I were to cite a man before a court of justice, and demand from him a sum of money, that on being asked by the magistrate, whether I had any bond to produce in support of the demand, I answered, that I had indeed no bond to produce, but that a bond might have been very easily lost during the troubles of the late war. In this case, if the magistrate should admit the validity of the demand, and oblige the accused party to pay the sum required, every man would conclude not so much that he was unjust, as that his mental faculties were deranged. But is not this case similar to the case of those who contend that 1 John v. 7. is genuine, because it might have been lost? In fact, their situation is still worse, since the loss of a single manuscript is much more credible than the loss of one and the same passage in more than eighty manuscripts." [1]

(6.) *Several of the early fathers may have designedly omitted to quote the clause in question, from considering it as a proof of the* unity of the testimony *of the heavenly witnesses to the Messiahship of Christ, and not of the unity of their nature, and consequently not relevant to the controversies in which those writers were engaged.*

(7.) *The silence of several of the earlier Greek fathers is no proof at all that their copies of the Greek Testament wanted the clause in question; since in their controversies they have omitted to quote other texts referring to the doctrine of the Trinity, with which* other *parts of their writings show that they must have been well acquainted. Besides, the silence of several of the fathers is more than compensated by the total silence of all the heretics or false teachers, at least from the days of Praxeas (in the second century), who never charged the orthodox fathers with being guilty of interpolation.*

Let us now briefly recapitulate the evidence on this much litigated question.

I. AGAINST *the genuineness of the disputed clause, it is urged, that*

1. It is not to be found in a single Greek manuscript, written before the sixteenth century.

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. p. 434.

2. It is wanting in the earliest and best critical editions of the Greek Testament.

3. It is contained in the manuscripts of no other antient version besides the Latin; and

4. Not all the manuscripts even of the Latin version contain this clause.

It is *wanting* in upwards of forty of the oldest Latin manuscripts, and in other MSS. it is found only in the margin, *evidently inserted by a later hand;* and even in those manuscripts which do contain it, this passage is variously placed, sometimes before and sometimes after the earthly witnesses.

5. It is not once quoted in the genuine works of any one of the Greek fathers, or early ecclesiastical writers, even in those places where we should most expect it.

6. It is not once quoted by any of the Latin fathers, even where the subject of which they were treating required; and where, consequently, we should expect to see it cited.

7. The Protestant Reformers either rejected it, or at least marked it as doubtful.—On the other hand,

II. *In* BEHALF *of the genuineness of the disputed clause, it is contended, that*

(1. *External Evidence.*)

1. It is found in the Latin version which was current in Africa before the Latin Vulgate version was made, and also in most manuscripts of the Vulgate version.

But the authority of these manuscripts is justly to be suspected, on account of the many alterations and corruptions which the Vulgate version has undergone.

2. It is found in the Confession of Faith, and Liturgy of the Greek Church.

3. It is found in the Primitive Liturgy of the Latin Church.

But it is very probable that the clause in question was interpolated from the Liturgy of the Latin church into that of the Greek church by some of the Greek clergy, who were devoted partisans of the Romish church, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, at which time the majority of the common people, from the ignorance which at that time generally prevailed throughout Europe, were incapable of detecting the imposition.

4. It is cited by numerous Latin fathers.

The contrary is maintained by the antagonists of the disputed clause; and in pp. 474—478. we have shown that the authorities of Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, and the African bishops, which have principally been relied on, are inapplicable to prove the point for which they have been adduced.

(2. *Internal Evidence.*)

1. The connection of the disputed clause requires its insertion, inasmuch as the sense is not perfect without it.

This argument is rebutted by the fact that the context admits of an exposition, which makes the sense complete *without* the disputed clause.

2. The grammatical structure of the original Greek requires the insertion of the seventh verse, and consequently that it should be received as genuine.

Otherwise the latter part of the eighth verse, the authenticity of which was never questioned, (as indeed it cannot be, being found in *every* known manuscript that is extant,) must likewise be rejected.

3. The doctrine of the Greek article, which is found in both verses, is such, that both must be retained, or both must be rejected.

4. The mode of thinking and diction is peculiar to St. John.

To this it is replied, that there is no such identical expression in the whole Bible, besides 1 John v. 7.

5. The omission of this clause may be satisfactorily accounted for. Thus

(1.) There may have been two editions of this epistle, in the first of which the disputed clause was omitted, though it is retained in the second.
(2.) The great scarcity of antient Greek copies, caused by the persecutions of the Christians by the Roman emperors, would leave the rest open to the negligence of copyists or to the frauds of false teachers.
(3.) The negligence of transcribers is a cause of other omissions.
(4.) The Arians might have designedly expunged it, as being inimical to their doctrine.
(5.) The orthodox themselves might have designedly withdrawn it out of regard to the mystery of the Trinity.
(6.) Several of the fathers may have designedly omitted the clause in question.
(7.) The silence of several of the Greek fathers is no proof that their copies of the Greek Testament wanted the clause in question; since, in their controversies respecting the Trinity, they have omitted to quote other texts with which they must have been well acquainted.

Upon a review of all the preceding arguments, the disputed clause (we think) must be abandoned as spurious: nor can any thing less than the positive authority of *unsuspected* manuscripts justify the admission of so important a passage into the sacred canon. Much stress, it is true, has been laid upon some points in the internal evidence, and particularly the supposed grammatical arguments (Nos. 2. and 3.), and the reasons assigned for the omission of this clause. But some of these reasons have been shown to be destitute of the support alleged in their behalf; and the remainder are wholly hypothetical, and unsustained by any satisfactory evidence. "Internal evidence," indeed, (as Bishop Marsh forcibly argues) "may show that a passage is *spurious*, though external evidence is in its favour; for instance, if it contain allusions to things which did not exist in the time of the reputed author. BUT NO INTERNAL EVIDENCE CAN PROVE A PASSAGE TO BE GENUINE, WHEN EXTERNAL EVIDENCE IS DECIDEDLY AGAINST IT. A spurious passage may be fitted to the context as well as a genuine passage. No arguments, therefore, from internal evidence, however ingenious they may appear, can outweigh the mass of external evidence which applies to the case in question." [1]

But, although the disputed clause is confessedly spurious, its absence neither does nor can diminish the weight of IRRESISTIBLE EVIDENCE which other undisputed passages of Holy Writ afford to the doctrine of the Trinity. [2] The proofs of our Lord's true and proper Godhead remain *unshaken* — deduced from the prophetic descriptions of the Messiah's person in the Old Testament — from the ascription to him of the attributes, the works, and the homage, which are peculiar to the Deity — and from those numerous and important relations, which he is affirmed in Scripture to sustain

[1] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 27. Bishop Burgess has argued, at considerable length, in favour of the superiority of internal evidence, even where the external evidence is decidedly against a passage. (Vindication, pp. xxix.—xxxiv.) His arguments are minutely considered, and (it must, we think, be admitted) set aside, by Crito Cantabrigiensis. (Vindication of Mr. Porson's Literary Character, pp. 75—84.)

[2] On this subject the reader is referred to a small volume by the author of this work, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity briefly stated and defended*, &c. (Second edition, 12mo., London, 1826.) In the appendix to that volume he has exhibited the *very strong collateral testimony*, furnished to the scriptural evidence of this doctrine, by the actual profession of faith in, and worship of, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, as well as of God the Father, by the Christian church in every age; together with other documents illustrative of this important truth of divine revelation, derived from ecclesiastical history and the writings of the fathers of the three first centuries of the Christian æra.

towards his holy and universal church, and towards each of its true members. There are, to adopt the deliberate judgment of Griesbach, so many arguments for the true Deity of Christ, that I see not how it can be called in question; the divine authority of Scripture being granted, and just rules of interpretation acknowledged. The exordium of Saint John's Gospel, in particular, is so perspicuous and above all exception, that it NEVER can be overturned by the daring attacks of interpreters and critics, and taken away from the defenders of the truth.[1]

*** The reader, who may be desirous of entering more fully into this controversy, may consult the dissertations of Calmet[2], and Dr. Benson[3], the elaborate note or rather disquisition of Wetstein[4], and particularly the dissertation of Michaelis already cited[5], together with Mr. Archdeacon Travis's Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq. (1794, 3d edit. 8vo.), the late Professor Porson's Letters to Mr. Travis, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1788, 1789, and 1790, which were soon afterwards collected into an octavo volume, and published with additions, and also the Rev. Herbert (now Bishop) Marsh's Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis. (Leipsic and London, 1795, 8vo.) Those who may not have the opportunity of consulting these elaborate works, will find a copious and perspicuous account of the controversy in Dr. Mill's long note at the end of 1 John v. (p. 582. of Kuster's edition); in the *Diatribe* of Griesbach, at the end of the second volume of his edition of the Greek Testament, as well as in the sixth volume of the Christian Observer, for the year 1806; in the Eclectic Review for 1810, vol. vi. part 1. pp. 62—71. 155—164.; Dr. Hales's Treatise on Faith in the Holy Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 131—225. Lond. 1818. 8vo.; Mr. Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate (London, 1815. 8vo.); Alber's Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Scripturæ Sacræ Novi Testamenti, tom. iii. pp. 353—369. (Pestini, 1818); Bishop Burgess's Vindication of 1 John v. 7. from the objections of M. Griesbach, second edition. London, 1823. 8vo. There is likewise a neat and succinct statement of the arguments in Dr. A. Clarke's Succession of Sacred Literature[6], and also in the second volume of Mr. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ.[7] The Dissertation of the late Rev. Dr. Hey, though less extensive than either of the last-mentioned treatises, is richly deserving of a perusal from the candid spirit in which it is drawn up.[8] The disquisitions of Dr. Mill and of several other eminent critics have been collected and published by Bishop Burgess, in one volume, intitled "Adnotationes Millii, Wetstenii, Bengelii, et Sabaterii, ad 1 Joann. v. 7. una cum duabus

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[1] Atque sunt profecto tam multa et luculenta argumenta et Scripturæ loca, quibus vera Deitas Christo vindicatur, ut ego quidem intelligere vix possim, quomodo, concessâ Scripturæ Sacræ divinâ auctoritate et admissis justis interpretandi regulis, dogma hoc in dubium à quoquam vocari posse. In primis locus ille, Joh. i. 1, 2, 3. tam perspicuus est, atque omnibus exceptionibus major, ut *neque interpretum, neque criticorum audacibus conatibus* UNQUAM *everti atque veritatis defensoribus eripi possit.* Nov. Test. tom. ii. Præf. pp. viii. ix. Halæ, 1775.

[2] Comment. Littéral, tome viii. pp. 745—752.

[3] Paraphrase on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 631—646.

[4] Nov. Test. vol. ii. pp. 721—726.

[5] See his Introd. to the New Test. vol. iv. pp. 412—441.

[6] Pp. 85—98. Dr. C. has reprinted his Essay, with important additions, at the end of his Commentary on the First Epistle of Saint John.

[7] Mr. Butler's work is particularly valuable, as he has given the *literary history* of this controversy, which want of room has compelled us to omit.

[8] See his Norrisian Lectures on Divinity, vol. ii. pp. 280—291. All the above-noticed works have been consulted for the preceding observations on the contested clause.

Epistolis Richardi Bentleii et Observationibus Joannis Seldeni, Christophori Matthiæ Pfaffii, Joannis Francisci Buddei, et Christiani Friderici Schmidii, de eodem loco." Mariduni [Caermarthen], 1822. 8vo. And in 1824, the same learned prelate conferred a further benefit on biblical literature, by publishing the first part of "A Selection of Tracts on 1 John v. 7." containing Letters by Bishops Barlow and Smallbroke, two anonymous Letters to Dr. Bentley, with Dr. Bentley's Answer, and Extracts from Martin's Examination of Emlyn's Answer, relative to that Letter; together with the Notes of Hammond and Whitby on the Controverted Verse, and Dr. Adam Clarke's Account of the Montfort Manuscript. As Bishop Burgess has animadverted in his various publications on the Observations of Professor Porson, his strictures have called forth a very able reply in "A Vindication of the Literary Character of the late Professor Porson" by Crito Cantabrigiensis (Cambridge, 1827. 8vo.); who has also vindicated the Professor (in pp. 388—404.) from the strictures of the Rev. Francis Huyshe, in his "Specimen of an intended Publication which was to have been intitled A Vindication of them that have the rule over us, for their not having cut out the disputed Passage, 1 John V. 7, 8. from the authorised Version:" being an examination of the first six pages of Professor Porson's IVth Letter to Archdeacon Travis, on the MSS. used by R. Stephens.

SECTION VI.

ON THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF JOHN.

I. *Genuineness, Authenticity, and Date of these Epistles.*—II. *The Second Epistle, to whom addressed.*—III. *Its Scope.*—IV. *The Third Epistle, to whom addressed.*—V. *Its Scope.*—VI. *Observations on this Epistle.*

I. ALTHOUGH, in the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote his ecclesiastical history, these two Epistles were classed among the Αντιλεγομενα or books which were received by the majority of Christians (though some doubts were entertained by others respecting their authenticity), yet testimonies are not wanting to prove that they were both known and received as genuine productions of the apostle John. The second Epistle is cited by Irenæus, and received by Clement of Alexandria. Origen mentions all three Epistles, though he says that the second and third were not allowed to be genuine by all persons. Dionysius of Alexandria mentions them as being ascribed to St. John. The second Epistle was quoted by Alexander bishop of Alexandria; and all three Epistles were received by Athanasius, by Cyril of Jerusalem, by Epiphanius, Jerome (a few of whose contemporaries doubted the authenticity of these Epistles), Rufinus, and almost every subsequent writer of note.[1] They are not, indeed, received in the Syrian churches; but the thoughts and style are so similar to those of the first Epistle[2], that

[1] See the references to the above-named fathers in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 584—586.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 525, 526.

[2] Dr. Mill, and after him Dr. Lardner, observe, that, of the thirteen verses composing the second Epistle, *eight* are to be found in the first, either in sense or in expression.

almost all critics attribute them to the author of the first Epistle, namely, John; and they were, in all probability, written about the same time as that Epistle, viz. A. D. 68 or 69. Consequently these Epistles could not have been written by John the elder, a member of the Ephesian church, as some of the fathers, and also some modern critics, have imagined. Various reasons have been assigned why these two Epistles were not received earlier into the canon. Michaelis is disposed to think that doubt was excited concerning their genuineness by the address, in which the author neither calls himself John, nor assumes the title of an apostle, but simply names himself the "elder" (ὁ πρεσβυτερος); as Saint Peter (1. ch. v. 1.) styles himself a "fellow elder" (συμπρεσβυτερος), which title, after Peter's death, the apostle John might with great propriety assume, as being the only remaining apostle. It is, however, most probable that, being letters to private persons, they had for a considerable time been kept in the possession of the families to whom they were originally sent, and were not discovered till long after the apostle's decease, and after the death of the persons to whom they had been addressed. When first discovered, all the immediate vouchers for their genuineness were necessarily gone; and the church of Christ, ever on its guard against imposture, particularly in relation to writings professing to be the work of apostles, hesitated to receive them into the number of canonical Scriptures, until it was fully ascertained that they were divinely inspired.

II. Considerable uncertainty prevails respecting the person to whom the second Epistle was addressed, some conjecturing a particular person to be intended, while others understand it figuratively, as of the church. The antient commentators supposed it to be figurative, but most of the modern commentators and critics understand it literally, though they do not agree in their literal interpretation. Archbishop Newcome, Wakefield, Macknight, and the venerable translators of our authorised version, make Εκλεκτη to be an adjective, and render the inscription "To the elect (or excellent, or chosen) Lady;" the Vulgate version, Calmet, and others, consider Εκλεκτη to be a proper name, and translate it "To the Lady Electa;" Schleusner and Rosenmüller take Κυρια to be a proper name, and the Epistle to be addressed to Cyria the Elect, and Michaelis conjectures Κυρια to be an ellipsis of Κυρια Εκκλησια, which, among the antient Greeks, signified an assembly of the people held at a stated time, and was held at Athens three times in every month; and that, since the sacred writers adopted the term Εκκλησια from its civil use among the Greeks, Κυρια Εκκλησια might here mean the stated assembly of the Christians, held every Sunday; and thus τη εκλεκτη κυρια, with εκκλησια understood, would signify, "To the elect church or community which comes together on Sundays." He admits, however, that he knows not of any instance of such ellipsis; and Bishop Middleton does not think that this explanation can be very easily established. Of these various hypotheses, the most probable opinion is that which considers the Epistle as addressed to the *Lady Electa*, who is supposed to have been an eminent Christian

matron: what confirms this opinion is, that the Greek article is absent, which would have been absolutely necessary if the inscription had been "To *the* elect Lady," or to "Kyria *the* Elect."

III. The SECOND EPISTLE of John is an epitome of the first, and touches, in few words, on the same points. The "Lady Electa" is commended for her virtuous and religious education of her children; and is exhorted to abide in the doctrine of Christ, to persevere in the truth, and carefully to avoid the delusions of false teachers. But chiefly the apostle beseeches this Christian matron to practise the great and indispensable commandment of Christian love and charity.

IV. The THIRD EPISTLE of John is addressed to a converted Gentile, a respectable member of some Christian church, called Gaius or Caius; but, who he was, is extremely uncertain, as there are three persons of this name mentioned in the New Testament, viz. 1. Gaius of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14.), whom Paul calls his "host, and the host of the whole church" (Rom. xvi. 23.); 2. Gaius, a native of Macedonia, who accompanied Paul, and spent some time with him at Ephesus (Acts xix. 29.); 3. Gaius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4.), who also was a fellow-traveller of Paul. Michaelis and most modern critics suppose the person to whom this Epistle was addressed to be the Gaius of Corinth, as hospitality was a leading feature in his character. His hospitable temper, particularly towards the ministers of the Gospel, is strongly marked in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of this Epistle.

V. The Scope of this Epistle is to commend his steadfastness in the faith and his general hospitality, especially to the ministers of Christ; to caution him against the ambitious and turbulent practices of Diotrephes, and to recommend Demetrius to his friendship: referring what he further had to say to a personal interview.

VI. Commentators are by no means agreed who this Diotrephes was. Bede, Erasmus, Michaelis, and others, suppose him to have been the author of a new sect, and that, as he delivered false doctrines, he objected to those who propagated the true faith. Grotius, Le Clerc, and Beausobre, imagined that he was a Gentile convert who would not receive Jewish Christians. But it is most probable that he was an ambitious elder or bishop in the church of which Gaius was a member, and that, having been converted from Judaism, he opposed the admission of the Gentiles, and set himself up as the head of a party in opposition to the apostles. If (as we suppose) the Gaius to whom this Epistle was addressed was the generous "host of the church at Corinth," it is possible that this Diotrephes might have been the leading opponent of Saint Paul in that city, whom he forebore to name out of delicacy, though he censured his conduct. See 1 Cor. iii. 3—5. iv. 6, &c.

Demetrius, who is so highly commended by the apostle in this Epistle, is thought to have held some sacred office in the church of which Gaius was a member; but this opinion is rejected by Dr. Benson, because on that supposition Gaius must have known him so well, as to need no information concerning his character from the apostle. He therefore believed him to have been the bearer of this

letter, and one of the brethren who went forth to preach to the Gentiles. With this conjecture Rosenmüller coincides. Calmet supposes that he was a member of the same church as Gaius, whose piety and hospitality he imitated. But whoever Demetrius was, his character and deportment were the reverse of the character and conduct of Diotrephes; for the apostle speaks of the former as having a good testimony from all men, and whose temper and behaviour were in every respect conformable to the precepts of the Gospel, and therefore Saint John recommends him as an example to Gaius, and the other members of the church to which he belonged. [1]

SECTION VII.

ON THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JUDE.

I. *Account of the Author.*—II. *Genuineness and Authenticity.*—III. *Date.*—IV. *Of the Persons to whom this Epistle was addressed.*—V. *Its Occasion and Scope.*—VI. *Observations on its Style.*

I. JUDE or Judas, who was surnamed Thaddeus and Lebbeus, and was also called the brother of our Lord (Matt. xiii. 55.), was the son of Alpheus, brother of James the Less, and one of the twelve apostles. We are not informed when or how he was called to the apostleship; and there is scarcely any mention of him in the New Testament, except in the different catalogues of the twelve apostles. The only particular incident related concerning Jude is to be found in John xiv. 21—23.; where we read that he addressed the following question to his Divine Master—*Lord! how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?* Full of ideas of temporal grandeur and universal monarchy, he could not imagine how our Saviour could establish a kingdom without manifesting it to the world;—a proof how much this apostle was actuated by Jewish prejudices, and what delusive hopes he cherished, in common with all the other apostles, of soon beholding his Master erect a powerful and magnificent empire.

As Jude continued with the rest of the apostles after our Lord's resurrection and ascension (Acts i. 13.), and was with them on the day of Pentecost (ii. 1.), it is not unreasonable to suppose, that, after having received the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, he preached the Gospel for some time in Judæa, and performed miracles in the name of Christ. And as his life seems to have been prolonged, it is probable that he afterwards quitted Judæa, and preached the Gospel to Jews and Gentiles, in other countries. It has been said, that he preached in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, and that he suffered martyrdom in the last-mentioned country.

[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 442—456. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 584—607.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 425—437. Benson on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 663—680. Buddei Ecclesia Apostolica, pp. 314—316. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1150—1152. Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 653—656. (first edition.) Lampe, in Evang. Joannis, tom. i. pp. 111—115. Pritii Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 109, 110.

The Syrians still claim him as their apostle; but we have no account of his travels upon which we can rely, and it may even be questioned whether he was a martyr.[1]

II. In the early ages of Christianity, the Epistle of Jude was rejected by several persons, because the apocryphal books of Enoch, and of the Ascension of Moses, were supposed to be quoted in it; and Michaelis has rejected it as spurious. We have, however, the most satisfactory evidences of the authenticity of this Epistle. It is found in all the antient catalogues of the sacred writings of the New Testament: it is asserted to be genuine by Clement of Alexandria, and is quoted as Jude's production by Tertullian, by Origen, and by the greater part of the antients noticed by Eusebius.[2] Independently of this external evidence, the genuineness of the Epistle of Jude is confirmed by the subjects discussed in it, which are in every respect suitable to the character of an apostle of Jesus Christ: for the writer's design was, to characterise and condemn the false teachers who endeavoured in that age to make proselytes to their erroneous and dangerous tenets, to reprobate the impious doctrines which they taught for the sake of advantage, and to enforce the practice of holiness on all who professed the Gospel. In short, as Dr. Macknight most truly observes, there is no error taught, no evil practice enjoined, for the sake of which any impostor could be induced to impose a forgery of this kind upon the world.

With regard to the objection against the genuineness of this Epistle, which is derived from the quotation by Jude of an apocryphal book of Enoch (which has already been noticed[3]), it is to be observed, that the apostle, by quoting such book, gives it no authority. It was no canonical book of the Jews; and though such a book existed among them, and was apocryphal, yet it might contain some things that were true. Jude's quoting from it the prophecy under consideration would not lessen the authority of his Epistle, any more than Paul's quotations from the heathen poets Aratus (Acts xvii. 28.), Menander (1 Cor. xv. 33.), and Epimenides (Tit. i. 12.), have lessened the authority of the history of the Acts, and of that apostle's letters, where these quotations are found. The reason is (as Macknight most forcibly observes), if the things contained in

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[1] It is more certain that Jude was a married man, and had children: for Eusebius relates, on the authority of the ecclesiastical historian Hegesippus, (a converted Jew, who flourished in the second century,) that the emperor Domitian, in a fit of jealousy, ordered inquiry to be made concerning the posterity of David, on which occasion some of the grandchildren of Jude were brought before him. The emperor, first asking them several questions respecting their profession and manner of life, which was husbandry, next inquired concerning the kingdom of Christ, and when it should appear? To this they replied, that it was a heavenly and spiritual, not a temporal kingdom; and that it would not be manifested till the end of the world. Domitian, thus finding that they were mean persons and perfectly harmless, dismissed them unbound, and by edict appeased the persecution which had been raised against the church. Hegesippus adds, that, on their release, the grandchildren of Jude afterwards presided over churches, both as being martyrs (more correctly confessors), and also as being allied to our Lord. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cc. 19, 20.

[2] See the passages of the above-named writers in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 613—618.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 440—443.

[3] See Vol. II. p. 271. supra.

these quotations were true in themselves, they might be mentioned by an inspired writer without giving authority to the poems from which they were cited. In like manner, if the prophecy ascribed to Enoch, concerning the future judgment and punishment of the wicked, was agreeable to the other declarations of God respecting that event, Jude might cite it, because Enoch (who, like Noah, was a preacher of righteousness) might actually have delivered such a prophecy, though it is not recorded in the Old Testament; and because his quoting it did not establish the authority of the book whence he took it, if he took it from any book extant in his time.

The preceding observations apply with equal force to verse 9. in which the apostle is supposed to cite an apocryphal relation or tradition concerning the archangel Michael's disputing with Satan for the body of Moses. This is by some writers referred to a book called the "Assumption or Ascension of Christ," which in all probability was a forgery much later than the time of Jude; but Dr. Lardner thinks it much more credible that the apostle alludes to the vision in Zech. iii. 1—3.; and this opinion is adopted and elucidated by Dr. Macknight in his note on the verse in question. In further illustration of this verse, we may remark, that it was a Jewish maxim, that "it is not lawful for man to prefer ignominious reproaches, even against wicked spirits." Might not the apostle, then, have used it merely as a popular illustration (without vouching for the fact) of that sober and wholesome doctrine, *not to speak evil of dignities?* from the example of the archangel, who did not venture to rail even at Satan, but meekly said, "*The* LORD *rebuke thee!*" The hypothesis, that Jude copied the prophecy of Enoch from the writings of Zoroaster (which some continental critics have imagined) is too absurd to deserve a serious refutation.[1]

III. The time and place, when and where this Epistle was written, are extremely uncertain. Dr. Mill fixes its date to the year 90, principally because the false teachers, whom Peter describes as *yet to come*, are mentioned by Jude as *already come*. But on a comparison of this Epistle with the second of Peter, there does not appear to be such a remarkable difference in their phraseology, as will be sufficient to prove that Jude wrote his Epistle so long after Peter's second Epistle, as Dr. Mill supposed: though it proves, as most critics agree, that it was written *after* the latter. The very great coincidence in sentiment and style between these two Epistles renders it likely that they were written about the same time; and, since we have seen that the second Epistle of Peter was in all probability written early in A. D. 65, we are induced with Lardner to place it towards the close of the same year, or perhaps in A. D. 66. Bishop Tomline, however, dates it in A. D. 70; Beausobre and L'Enfant, between A. D. 70 and 75; and Dodwell and Dr. Cave, in 71 or 72.

IV. There is much diversity of opinion concerning the persons

[1] The reader will find an interesting account of the different hypotheses which critics have entertained concerning the prophecy of Enoch, mentioned by Jude, in Laurmann's Collectanea, sive Notæ Criticæ et Commentarius in Epistolam Judæ, pp. 137—178. 220—233. 8vo. Groningæ, 1818. See also Calmet's Commentaire Littéral, tom. viii. pp. 1034—1040.

to whom this Epistle was addressed. Estius and Witsius were of opinion that Jude wrote to Christians every where, but especially to the converted Jews. Dr. Hammond thought that the Epistle was directed to Jewish Christians alone, and with the design of guarding them against the errors of the Gnostics. Dr. Benson also thought that it was written to Jewish believers, especially to those of the Western dispersion. Moldenhawer was of opinion, that it was inscribed to the Eastern churches, among whom the apostle had probably laboured. But, from the inscription[1], Drs. Lardner and Macknight, Bishop Tomline and Dr. A. Clarke, concur in thinking that it was written to all, without distinction, who had embraced the Gospel. The only reason, Dr. Macknight remarks, which has induced commentators to suppose that Jude wrote to the Jewish believers alone, is, that he makes use of arguments and examples taken from the sacred books of the Jews. But Paul, we have seen, followed the same course when writing to the Gentiles; and both apostles did so with propriety, not only because all who embraced the Gospel acknowledged the authority of the Jewish Scriptures, but also because it was of the greatest importance to make the Gentiles sensible that the Gospel was in perfect unison with the antient revelation.

V. The design of this Epistle is, to guard believers against the false teachers who had begun to insinuate themselves into the Christian church; and to contend with the utmost earnestness and zeal for the true faith, against the dangerous tenets which they disseminated, resolving the whole of Christianity into a speculative belief and outward profession of the Gospel. And having thus cancelled the obligations of morality and personal holiness, they taught their disciples to live in all manner of licentiousness, and at the same time flattered them with the hope of divine favour, and of obtaining eternal life. The vile characters of these seducers are further shown, and their sentence is denounced; and the Epistle concludes with warnings, admonitions, and counsels to believers, how to persevere in faith and godliness themselves, and to rescue others from the snares of the false teachers.

VI. There is very great similarity between the Epistle of Jude and the second chapter of Peter's second Epistle, in subject, style, vehemence, and holy indignation against impudence and lewdness, and against those who insidiously undermine chastity, purity, and sound principles. The expressions are remarkably strong, the language is animated, and the figures and comparisons are bold, apt, and striking. In the Epistle of Jude, particularly, there is an energy, a force, a grandeur of expression and style—an apparent labour for words and images, expressive enough to give the reader a just and adequate idea of the profligate characters he exposes; and the whole is admirably calculated to show how deeply the holy apostle was grieved at the scandalous immoralities of those who called them-

[1] To them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, *and* called.....Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the COMMON salvation, &c. Jude 1. 3.

selves Christians, and with what fervour and courage he tore off the masks from these hypocrites, that the church and the world might see all the turpitude and deformity that lurked beneath it.[1]

CHAPTER V.

ON THE REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN THE DIVINE.

I. *Title.* — II. *The Genuineness of this Book shown,* 1. *From External Evidence;* 2. *From Internal Characters.* — III. *Its Date.* — IV. *Occasion and Scope.* — V. *Synopsis of its Contents.* — VI. *Observations on this Book.*

I. THE three first verses of the Apocalypse form its TITLE; but as this is inconvenient on account of its length, various shorter inscriptions are given in the Manuscripts and Antient Versions. Thus, in C. or the Codex Ephrem it is termed Αποκαλυψις Ιωαννου, *the Revelation of John;* in the Codex Coislinianus 199. (17. of Griesbach's notation) ..... του θεολογου, of John *the Divine;* in B. a manuscript belonging to the monks of St. Basil at Rome (of the seventh century) ..... και Ευαγγελιστου, of John *the Divine and Evangelist;* in 42. (Codex Pio-Vaticanus 150., of the twelfth century,) Αποκαλυψις Ιωαννου του αποστολου και Ευαγγελιστου, *the Revelation of John the Apostle and Evangelist;* in 30. (Codex Guelpherbytanus XVI. 7. a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century,) Αποκαλυψις του αγιου και ενδοξοτατου αποστολου και ευαγγελιστου, παρθενου ηγαπημενου, επιστηθιου Ιωαννου θεολογου, *the Revelation of the holy and most glorious apostle and evangelist, the beloved virgin who lay in the bosom* [of Jesus Christ], *John the Divine.* In 16. (the Codex Uffenbachianus,) it is the Apocalypse ... ἣν ἐν Πατμω τῃ νησω εθεασατο, *which he beheld in the island Patmos;* and in 26. (the Codex Wakianus 1. a manuscript of the eleventh century, in the library of Christ's College, Oxford,) it is Ιησου Χριστου Αποκαλυψις δοθεισα τω θεολογω Ιωαννῃ, *the Revelation of Jesus Christ given to John the Divine.* In the Syrian Version, in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, it is intitled *the Revelation which was made by God to John the Evangelist in the island* [of] *Patmos, into which he was thrown* [or banished] *by Nero Cæsar;* and in the Arabic Version it is *the Vision of John the Apostle and Evangelist,* namely, *the Apocalypse.* None of these titles are of any authority; nor can any certain reason be assigned for giving the appellation of Θεολογος, or *the Divine,* to the apostle and evangelist John.[2]

II. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the authentictiy of this book was very generally, if not universally, acknowledged during

[1] Benson on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 437—448. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 619—627.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 443—447. Macknight's Preface to Jude. Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. pp. 304, 305. Pritii Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 110—117.

[2] Griesbach, and Dean Woodhouse, on Rev. i. 1. Pritii Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, pp. 127, 128.

the two first centuries, and yet in the third century it began to be questioned. This seems to have been occasioned by *some* absurd notions concerning the Millenium, which a few well-meaning but fanciful expositors grounded on this book; which notions their opponents injudiciously and presumptuously endeavoured to discredit, by denying the authority of the book itself. So little, however, has this portion of Holy Writ suffered from the ordeal of criticism to which it has in consequence been subjected, that (as Sir Isaac Newton has long since remarked) there is no other book of the New Testament so strongly attested, or commented upon so early, as the Apocalypse. And Dr. Priestley (no mean judge of biblical questions where his peculiar creed was not concerned) has declared, that he thinks it impossible for any intelligent and candid person to peruse it without being struck, in the most forcible manner, with the peculiar dignity and sublimity of its composition, superior to that of any other writings whatever; so as to be convinced, that, considering the age in which it appeared, it could only have been written by a person divinely inspired. The numerous marks of genuine piety, that occur through the whole book, will preclude the idea of imposition, in any person acquainted with human nature. It is likewise so suitable a continuation of the prophecies of Daniel, that the New Testament dispensation would have been incomplete without this prophetic book; for it has been the uniform plan of the divine proceedings to give a more distinct view of interesting future events, as the time of their accomplishment approached.[1] Since, however, two eminent critics[2] of later times have suspected this book to be spurious, and as their valuable writings are in the hands of almost every biblical student, it becomes necessary to examine the external and internal evidence for its genuineness.

1. The *External Evidence* for the authenticity and inspiration of the Apocalypse is to be collected from the same sources as the evidence for the other books of the New Testament, viz. from the testimonies of those antient writers, who, living at a period near to its publication, appear by their quotations or allusions to have received it as a part of sacred Scripture. And this evidence is so abundant and explicit, that the only difficulty is how to comprise it within that short compass which the nature of the present work requires.

(1.) *Testimonies of Writers in the apostolic age.*

In the "Shepherd" or "Pastor" of Hermas (A. D. 100), there are several expressions so closely resembling the style and sentiments of the Apocalypse, as to render it more than probable that he had read and imitated this book.[3] The reason why the Apocalypse and other books of the New Testament were not expressly cited by this father, is, that it was not suitable to his design; but the allusions to them sufficiently show the respect in which they were held.[4]

Ignatius (A. D. 107) is supposed by Michaelis to have passed over the Apocalypse in silence; but Dr. Woodhouse has produced three passages from the writings of that father,

[1] Dr. Priestley's Notes on Scripture, vol. iv. p. 574. The argument, briefly noticed by him, is prosecuted at length by Mr. Lowman in his Paraphrase and Commentary on the Revelations, p. x. et seq. 8vo. edit.

[2] Michaelis and Dr. Less.

[3] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 52—65; 4to. vol. i. pp. 311—313.

[4] Dr. Woodhouse thinks the evidence from Hermas not satisfactory. Dissertation on the Apocalypse, p. 35. et seq.

which have escaped the researches of the learned and accurate Dr. Lardner, and in which the verbal resemblance is so decisive, that it is impossible to conceive otherwise than that the Revelation was known to and read by Ignatius.[1]

Polycarp also (A. D. 108) has cited the Apocalypse once in the only Epistle of his that has come down to our times; and the pious and sublime prayer which this holy man uttered at the awful moment when the flames were about to be kindled around him, begins with the identical words of the elders in Rev. xi. 17.[2] There is likewise strong reason to believe that it was received by Papias, A. D. 116.[3] His writings, except a few fragments, are lost; but critics and commentators include him among the decided witnesses in favour of the Apocalypse.

(2.) *Testimonies of Writers in the second century.*

Justin Martyr (A. D. 140) was acquainted with the Apocalypse, and received it as written by the apostle John; and it appears from the testimony of Jerome, that he also interpreted or wrote commentaries on some parts of this mystical book, though no work of this kind has come down to us.[4]

Among the works of Melito, bishop of Sardis (A. D. 177), was a commentary on the Apocalypse.[5] It is also most distinctly quoted in the Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (A. D. 177), concerning the sufferings of their martyrs.[6] Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul (A. D. 178), who in his younger days was acquainted with Polycarp, repeatedly quotes this book as "the Revelation of John the disciple of the Lord." Dr. Lardner remarks, that his testimony is so strong and full, that he seems to put it beyond all question that it is the work of John the apostle and evangelist.[7] To these we may add the undisputed testimonies of Athenagoras[8], Theophilus bishop of Antioch (A. D. 181)[9], Apollonius (A. D. 186 or 187)[10], Clement of Alexandria[11], and especially of Tertullian, who defends the authenticity of this book against the heretic Marcion and his followers, by asserting its external evidence. He appeals to the Asiatic churches, and assures us that "though Marcion rejects his (John's) Revelation, yet the succession of bishops, traced to its origin, will establish John to be its author." It also appears from another part of his writings that this book was much read and generally received in the African churches of the second century.[12]

(3.) *Among the testimonies of Writers in the third century*, those of Hippolytus Portuensis (A. D. 220) and Origen (A. D. 230) are conspicuous.

Hippolytus[13], who was a disciple of Irenæus, received the Apocalypse as the work of Saint John, and wrote two books in its defence; one in opposition to Caius, a writer of the second century, who is said to have ascribed the Revelation to Cerinthus, and the other in opposition to the Alogi, who rejected the Gospel of St. John as spurious. Origen[14], to whose critical labours biblical literature is so deeply indebted, most explicitly acknowledged the Revelation to be the production of St. John, and has cited it repeatedly in his works. More minute evidence than this it is not necessary to adduce, as those who oppose the genuineness of this book do not descend lower than the time of Origen. It may, however, be satisfactory to know that it was subsequently received by Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea[15]; by Cyprian and the African churches; by the presbyters and others of the Western

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1 Woodhouse, pp. 31—34. The testimony of Ignatius is, we think, most satisfactorily vindicated against the exceptions of Michaelis.

2 Ibid. pp. 36—38.

3 Ibid. pp. 38—43. where the evidence of Papias is vindicated against Michaelis. See also Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 113, 114.; 4to. vol. i. p. 340.

4 Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 126. vol. vi. p. 628.; 4to. vol. i. p. 348. vol. iii. p. 417.

5 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 147, 148.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 359, 360.

6 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 152, 153.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 362. Woodhouse, pp. 46—48.

7 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 170.; 4to. vol. i. p. 372. The testimony of Irenæus is vindicated by Dr. Woodhouse, pp. 26—28.

8 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 186.; 4to. vol. i. p. 381.

9 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 200, 201.; 4to. vol. i. p. 389.

10 Apollonius suffered martyrdom at Rome. His writings have perished; but Eusebius relates that he supported the Apocalypse by authorities taken from it. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 18. *fine*, and c. 21.

11 Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 229, 230.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 404, 405.

12 Tertullian adv. Marcion, lib. iv. c. 5. De Monogam. c. 12. See Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 277.; 4to. vol. i. p. 430. Woodhouse, p. 51.

13 Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 412.; 4to. vol. i. p. 502.

14 Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 466, 467. 483.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 532, 533. 541.

15 The testimony of Dionysius of Alexandria (A. D. 247) is here designedly omitted. He allowed the Apocalypse to be written by John, a holy and inspired apostolical man,

church; by various Latin authors whose history is abstracted by Dr. Lardner; by the anonymous author of a work against the Novatians; by the Novatians themselves; by Commodian; by Victorinus, who wrote a commentary upon it; by the author of the poem against the Marcionites; by Methodius, who also commented upon it; by the Manicheans; by the later Arnobius; by the Donatists; by Lactantius; and by the Arians.[1]

(4.) In the time of Eusebius (*the former part of the fourth century*), the Apocalypse was *generally*, though not universally received; and therefore he classes it among the Ἀντιλεγομενα, or contradicted books.[2]

Yet it is worthy of remark, that these doubts originated solely in the *supposed* difference of style and manner from that of Saint John; and that no one, however desirous he may have been to invalidate the authority of the book, appears to have been able to produce any *external* evidence which might suit the purpose.

It was received, after the time of Eusebius, by the Latin churches, almost without exception. Jerome, the most learned and diligent enquirer of that century, pronounced most positively in its favour; and was followed universally by the fathers of the Western churches: and from him we learn the grounds upon which he received the Apocalypse, which he assigns to be "the authority of the antients," that is, *external evidence*; and he tells us, at the same time, that he does not follow "the fashion of his times" — that fashion by which some of the Greek churches were induced to reject the Apocalypse.

"This fashion of the times," Dr. Woodhouse justly remarks, "seems to have consisted in a daring contempt of the testimonies of the antient church, and a ready acquiescence in those arguments which were confidently drawn from internal evidence. Yet, notwithstanding this fashion, which appears to have had considerable prevalence in the Greek church, and perhaps to have influenced those eminent men, Cyril of Jerusalem and John Chrysostom (neither of whom appears to have quoted the Apocalypse), many of great name in the Greek church appear still to have received it; and, in the fourth century, it is supported by testimonies in this church from Athanasius, Basil, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzum."[3]

Upon the whole, though doubts were entertained concerning this book by many individuals of the Greek church after the time of Eusebius, and though we have no satisfactory information how early, or to what extent, it was received by the Syrian churches, yet, from the decisive evidence above adduced, we are authorised to affirm that the Apocalypse has been generally received in all ages. To borrow the eloquent sentiments of Dr. Woodhouse — "We have seen its rise, as of a pure fountain, from the sacred rock of the apostolical church. We have traced it through the first century of its passage, flowing from one fair field to another, identified through them all, and every where the same. As it proceeded lower, we have seen attempts to obscure its sacred origin, to arrest or divert its course, to lose it in the sands of antiquity, or bury it in the rubbish of the dark ages. We have seen these attempts repeated in our own times, and by a dexterous adversary. But it has at length arrived to us, such as it flowed forth at the beginning."[4]

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but not the evangelist John; and he grounded his inference on some supposed differences in style. This subject is considered in p. 501. infra.

[1] Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. p. 629.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 448., where there are references to the former volumes of his works, containing the testimonies of the above-cited fathers and others at length. Woodhouse, pp. 60—77. Lampe, Comment. in Evangelium Joannis, tom. i. pp. 115—124. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. p. 117. et seq.

[2] The Apocalypse is omitted in the catalogues of canonical books formed by Cyril bishop of Jerusalem (A. D. 340), and by the council of Laodicea (A. D. 364), and in one or two other early catalogues of the Scriptures; but this omission was probably not owing to any suspicion concerning its authenticity or genuineness, but because its obscurity and mysteriousness were thought to render it less fit to be read publicly and generally. Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 506.

[3] Woodhouse, pp. 78—84. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 630, 631.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 448, 449.

[4] Woodhouse, p. 87. The external evidence for the genuineness of this book is discussed at length by Hug. Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 630—653.

In short, so far as *external evidence* can enable us to determine concerning this book, we may indubitably pronounce that it IS TO BE RECEIVED as "divine Scripture communicated to the church by John the apostle and evangelist."

2. We now proceed briefly to consider the *Internal Evidence* for the genuineness and divine authority of the Apocalypse. This we may reduce to three points; viz. 1. Its correspondence, in point of doctrine and of imagery, with other books of divine authority: — 2. The sublimity of this book: — and, 3. The coincidence of its style with the uncontested writings of John.

(1.) *The Apocalypse corresponds in doctrine and imagery with other books of divine authority.*

Though the doctrines of Christianity are by no means a *principal* subject of this book, yet, if we advert to the doctrines actually delivered in it, we shall find a perfect congruity with those delivered in the other apostolical writings. Michaelis has said, that "the true and eternal Godhead of Christ is certainly not taught so clearly in the Apocalypse as in Saint John's Gospel." To this Dr. Woodhouse replies — Could he expect so clear an exposition from a prophecy which respects future events, as from a Gospel which the antients have described as written principally with the view of setting forth the divine nature of Christ? But this divine nature *is* also set forth in the Apocalypse, and as clearly as the nature of the book, and as symbols can express it. Compare Rev. i. 11. iii. 21. v. 6—14. xix. 13. and xxii. 8.[1] The description of the Millenium in the twentieth chapter, where the servants of Christ are seen raised from the dead to reign with him a thousand years, has been objected to, as introducing doctrines inconsistent with the purity enjoined in the Gospel. But the representation in question is no *doctrine*; it is a prediction delivered in a figurative style, and yet unfulfilled. The extravagant notions of the Chiliasts cannot with justice be charged upon the Apocalypse. The prophecy can only be explained in general terms; in due time we believe that it will be fulfilled, and in the mean time it must be received as the word of God, though we understand it not. It has also been objected by Dr. Less, that the triumph of the saints, upon the horrid punishment of their enemies (Rev. xix. 1—10. xxii. 8, 9.), is irreconcileable with the charitable spirit of the Gospel. But no such *literal* triumph was designed; the passage in question is the triumph of pure religion over idolatrous superstition and tyranny, represented *allegorically*, at which every true believer must rejoice. Michaelis likewise has objected to other passages of the Apocalypse, as containing doctrines repugnant to those delivered in the other parts of Scripture; but these passages, when fully examined, will be found to contain no doctrines but figurative representations of future events. "We may, therefore, truly assert of the Apocalypse, that, fairly understood, it contains nothing which, either in point of doctrine, or in relation of events, past or to come, will be found to contradict any previous divine revelation. It accords with the divine counsels already revealed. It expands and reveals them more completely. We see the gradual flow of sacred prophecy, (according to the true tenor of it, acknowledged by divines,) first a fountain, then a rill, then, by the union of other divine streams, increasing in its course, till at length, by the accession of the prophetical waters of the New Testament, and, above all, by the acquisition of the apocalyptical succours, it becomes a noble river, enriching and adorning the Christian land."[2]

(2.) *The sublimity of the ideas and imagery is another striking internal evidence of the genuineness and divine origin of the Apocalypse.*

These ideas and this imagery are such as are only to be found in the sacred Scriptures. "In the word of God there is a grandeur and majesty, independent of the accidents of language, consisting in the greatness and sublimity of the things revealed. Men of genius may catch some sparks of this heavenly fire; they may imitate it, and with considerable success. But no one is found so confident in this kind of strength, as to neglect

[1] We may add, also, that the *reality* of Christ's sufferings is explicitly asserted (Rev. i. 5. v. 7.) in conformity with the accounts of the evangelists, and the constant tenor of the New Testament. Whence it is evident that the Apocalypse could not have been written by the heresiarch Cerinthus (as some early writers have asserted), for he maintained that Christ did not suffer, but only Jesus. Michaelis (vol. iv. p. 469.) and Dr. Lardner (Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 638, 639.) have both shown that Cerinthus could not have been the author of the Revelation.

[2] Woodhouse, pp. 89—96. 133.

the arts of composition. Mahomet was a man of superior genius; in writing his pretended revelation, he borrowed much from the sacred Scriptures; he attempted often, in imitation of them, to be simply sublime; but he did not trust to this only, he endeavoured to adorn his work with all the imposing charms of human eloquence and cultivated language; and he appealed to the perfection of his compositions as a proof of their divine original. Such an appeal would have little served his cause in a critical and enlightened age, which would expect far other internal proofs of divinity than those which result from elegant diction. The learned of such an age would reject a prophet appealing to a proof which has never been admitted with respect to former revelations; a prophet, who, both in doctrine, and in the relation of events, past and future, is seen to contradict, or add strange extravagant conceits to, the credible and well-attested revelations of former times.

"There is nothing of this kind in the Apocalypse. Compare it with forged prophecies: many such have been written; some calculated to deceive, others only to amuse. These works, if they amaze us, as appearing to have been fulfilled, are commonly found to have been written *after* the events foretold, and to have a retrospective date which does not belong to them. But no one can show that the Apocalypse contains prophecies which were fulfilled before they were written."[1]

Compare also the Apocalypse with the apocryphal revelations ascribed to the apostles Peter, Paul, Thomas, and Stephen, some fragments of which are still extant.[2] How different are the language, character, and sentiments of these spurious productions! The fathers of the first centuries compared them at length, and rejected them all except this acknowledged work of Saint John; which they guarded with so sedulous a care as to preserve it, in the main, free from interpolations, while the genuine productions of Polycarp, Ignatius, and other apostolical men, are known to have suffered from the contact of profane pens.[3]

(3.) *The style of the Apocalypse coincides with the style of the undisputed writings of Saint John.*

The proof of this depends upon a collation of passages: Wetstein and Dr. Lardner have both collected a great number of evidences, in which the same forms of expression occur in the Apocalypse as are found in his Gospel and first Epistle, and which are peculiar to this apostle.

From their lists we have selected the following; more might easily be added, if we had room for their insertion. — Compare

Rev. i. 1.	with John xii. 33. xviii. 37. xxi. 19.
Rev. i. 5.	1 John i. 7.
Rev. i. 7.	John xix. 37.
Rev. ii. 7.	John vi. 32.
Rev. ii. 10.	John xx. 27.
Rev. ii. 17.	John vi. 32.
Rev. iii. 4.	John vi. 66.
Rev. iii. 7.	John i. 14. xiv. 6. 1 John v. 20.
Rev. iii. 7. 9.	John xv. 20. xvii. 6. 1 John ii. 5.
Rev. iii. 9.	John xi. 27.
Rev. iii. 10.	John xii. 27.
Rev. iii. 21.	1 John ii. 13, 14. iv. 4. v. 5.
Rev. v. 6. 12.	John i. 29. 36.
Rev. vi. 2.	John i. 29.
Rev. ix. 5.	John xviii. 26. iii. 17.
Rev. xii. 9.	John xii. 31.
Rev. xix. 13.	John i. 1.
Rev. xxi. 6.	John vii. 37.
Rev. xxi. 27.	John vi. 36. 1 John i. 4. (Gr.) In all which passages we have instances of neuter adjectives and participles put for masculines.
Rev. xxii. 14.	John i. 12. Εξουσια, *right.*
Rev. xxii. 8. 10.	John viii. 51, 52. 55. xiv. 23, 24.[4]

[1] Woodhouse, p. 99.

[2] In the Codex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti of Fabricius, and Mr. Jeremiah Jones's elaborate work on the New Testament.

[3] Woodhouse, p. 100.

[4] Wetstenii Nov. Test. tom. ii. p. 747. *note.* Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 121—123.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 643, 644. See also Dr. Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Religion, pp. 225, 226. *note.*

In these passages the agreement both in style and expression is so great, that it is impossible to conceive how such striking coincidences could exist in writings so different in their natures as the Gospel and first Epistle of John and the Apocalypse, if they were not all the productions of one and the same author. But it has been objected, that there are differences in the style of this book, which render it uncertain whether it was really written by the apostle. These objections were first started by Dionysius of Alexandria, who contended that the Apocalypse was not the production of Saint John, and conjectured that it was written by John, an elder of the Ephesian church. His objections are six in number, and as some of them have been adopted by Michaelis, we shall briefly state and consider them.

OBJECTION 1. *The evangelist John has not named himself either in his Gospel or in his Catholic Epistles; but the writer of the Revelation names himself more than once.*

ANSWER. It was not the practice of the other evangelists to put their names to their Gospels; nor is any name prefixed to the Epistle to the Hebrews; yet these writings are universally received as genuine and authentic. But though St. John has not named himself in his Gospel, yet he has there so described himself [1], that it is impossible not to know him; and with regard to the Epistles, the persons to whom they were sent could not be ignorant from whom they came.

OBJECTION 2. *Though the writer of the Revelation calls himself John, he has not shown us that he is the apostle of that name.* Michaelis thinks that he ought at least to have made himself known by some such circumlocution as he had used in the Gospel — *the disciple whom Jesus loved.*

ANSWER. "Such addition to the name of John was totally needless. He wrote to the seven churches, and from Patmos, in which island he expresses that 'he is suffering tribulation for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ.' All the churches knew that he was then suffering banishment in that island, and they knew the cause of it, 'for the word of God.' An Epistle containing the history of a heavenly vision, seen by John in the island of Patmos, required no other addition. What John would write John *alone*, without other addition or explanation, excepting the great John, John the apostle and president of all the churches? A private person would have described himself by the addition of his father's name, according to the custom of the antients. A bishop or presbyter would have added the name of his church; but John the apostle needed no such distinguishing mark or appellation. A fabricator of an Epistle, containing a revelation in Saint John's name, would perhaps have added his titles of 'Apostle of Jesus Christ,' &c. or would have introduced some circumlocution in imitation of those in his Gospel; but, from the expression as it now stands, we derive a much stronger evidence that it is the genuine work of Saint John." [2]

OBJECTION 3. *The Revelation does not mention the Catholic Epistle, nor the Catholic Epistle the Revelation.*

ANSWER. It is not the practice of the sacred writers to quote themselves, or refer to their own works, unless they write more than one Epistle to the same churches or persons, in which case they mention such former Epistle. This, Dr. Lardner observes, is natural, and it is done by Saint Paul; but in his Epistle to the Romans he is totally silent concerning any of his former Epistles, though, at the time of writing it, he had written several.

OBJECTION 4. *There is a great resemblance in sentiment, manner, and*

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[1] See John xxi. 24. and other places.

[2] Saint Paul, in the opening of his Epistles, has used generally, not always, the term "Apostle;" but with him it was more necessary than with Saint John, who was confessedly such, having been numbered with the twelve. Saint Paul's right to the apostleship, having been established more privately, had been doubted by some, which leads him to say, "Am not I an apostle?" &c. (1 Cor. ix. 1.); and therefore he generally asserts himself, in his Epistles, to be an apostle. Saint John had no need to use the term: his authority as an apostle was undoubted: he therefore calls himself by an humbler title, "A brother and companion in tribulation:" so Saint James, although an apostle, mentions himself only as "A servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ." (James i. 1.) Woodhouse, p. 114.

expression between the Gospel and the first Epistle of Saint John; but the Revelation is altogether different, without any affinity or resemblance whatever.

Answer. In the first place, if it were true that there was such a difference of style as Dionysius and (after him) Michaelis have asserted, it may be accounted for by the difference of subject. The style of history is not the style of an epistle or a prophecy. The style of history is simple; of an epistle, familiar; and that of prophecy is sublime; and such unquestionably is the style of the Revelation. But, secondly, this objection is contradicted by fact; and the proofs adduced in p. 499. will show that the coincidence between the Apocalypse and the undisputed Gospel and Epistle of Saint John is such, that they must have been written by one and the same author.

Objection 5. *The Gospel and Epistle of John are written in correct and elegant Greek, but the writer of the Revelation discovers no accurate knowledge of that language: on the contrary, the Apocalypse abounds with barbarisms and solecisms.*

Answer. This objection is founded on the mistaken idea that the writers of the New Testament wrote in *Attic Greek*; which, we have already seen [1], is not the case. The same grammatical irregularities which have been objected to in the Apocalypse are also observable in the Septuagint, as well as in the Gospels and other writings of the New Testament. But this difference of language may also be accounted for by the length of time which may have elapsed between the composing of these books, for it is not unlikely that one and the same person writing upon different arguments, and at a great distance of time, especially if he be one who does not frequently exercise his style, or write in the intermediate space, should have a very different manner in his several performances. Now the Gospel of Saint John, we have seen, was written about the year 97 — that is, about sixty years after the events recorded in it. At such a distance of time, Dr. Woodhouse remarks, the mind is enabled to look back with composure, and to represent with serenity transactions which could not be narrated soon after they had happened, without warm and passionate expressions. It seems to be owing partly to this cause, that the evangelist is seen to relate in so cool a style, in the Gospel, those sufferings of his beloved Lord which he had witnessed, and which, if related by him immediately after the events had taken place, could not have been told otherwise than with emotion and indignation. But the Apocalypse was written by its author immediately after he had seen the vision; the impressions on his mind had no time to cool; his expressions kept pace with his feelings, and his style became vivid and glowing. [2] There is no necessity, therefore, for having recourse to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original, and of supposing our Greek text to be a version of it, as some critics have imagined; but which hypothesis is totally unsupported by the evidence of antiquity.

Objection 6. *The book is so obscure as to be unintelligible, and is therefore improperly called a Revelation.*

This trifling objection, for such it is pronounced to be by Dr. Lardner, was first published by Dionysius, who represents it as being entertained by many persons in his time (the middle of the third century). In our time it has been adopted by Michaelis, who has laid much stress upon it; but this objection admits of the following simple and satisfactory

Answer. In the first place, the author might with great propriety call that a revelation, which had been communicated to him in an extraordinary manner; though he had received it, and was to represent it, in a figurative and emblematical style. But, secondly, this revelation is often spoken of as a prophecy. (See Rev. i. 13. and xxii. 7. 10. 18, 19.) Now it is the nature of prophecies to be obscure when delivered, and for some time after [3], even in the case of prophecies fulfilled; "because the language in which they are delivered is symbolical, which, though governed by certain rules, and therefore attainable by the judicious among the learned, is nevertheless very liable to misconstruction in rash and unskilful hands. But prophecies, yet unfulfilled, are necessarily involved in deeper darkness, because the event is wanting to compare with the prediction, which of itself is designedly obscure. This same objection of obscurity will operate as forcibly against many of the prophecies of the Old and of the New Testament, as against those of the Apocalypse; particularly the predictions which appertain to the latter days. The book of Daniel, which has our Saviour's seal to it (Matt. xxiv. 15.), must be rejected with the Apocalypse,

[1] See Vol. II. pp. 18—22. On the Nature of the New Testament Greek.
[2] Woodhouse, p. 122.
[3] See 2 Pet. i. 19. 1 Pet. i. 10—12. and Luke xxiv. 25—27. 32. 44—46.

if it be a sufficient objection to it, that it is yet in many places obscure." [1] — A conclusion this, to which no Christian can or will give his assent.

So far, however, is the obscurity of this prophecy from making against its genuineness, that it is, on the contrary, a strong internal proof of its authenticity and divine original: "for it is a part of this prophecy," Sir Isaac Newton well argues, "that it should not be understood before the last age of the world; and therefore it makes for the credit of the prophecy that it is not yet understood. The folly of interpreters," he justly continues, "has been, to foretell times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosities, by enabling them to foreknow things, but that, after that they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreter's, be then manifested thereby to the world. For the event of things, predicted many ages before, will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by providence. For as the few and obscure prophecies concerning Christ's first coming were for setting up the Christian religion, which all nations have since corrupted; so the many and clear prophecies concerning the things to be done at Christ's second coming, are not only for predicting, but also for effecting a recovery and re-establishment of the long-lost truth, and setting up a kingdom wherein dwells righteousness. The event will prove the Apocalypse; and this prophecy, thus proved and understood, will open the old prophets, and altogether will make known the true religion, and establish it. There is already so much of the prophecy fulfilled, that as many as will take pains in this study, may see sufficient instances of God's providence: but then the signal revolutions predicted by all the holy prophets will at once both turn men's eyes upon considering the predictions, and plainly interpret them. Till then we must content ourselves with interpreting what hath been already fulfilled." [2]

Such are the most material objections that have been brought against the genuineness and divine authority of this portion of the New Testament. In addition to the very satisfactory answers above given, from the writings of pious and learned men, it were no difficult task to add numerous other considerations, all tending to show its divine original; but the preceding testimonies, both external and internal, will, we apprehend, be found abundantly sufficient to prove that the Apocalypse is the unquestionable production of the apostle and evangelist John, and of no other John who is mentioned by ecclesiastical writers. It consequently follows, that this book has an indubitable right to that place in the canon of sacred Scripture, which the antient fathers of the church have assigned to it, and which the reformers in the Protestant churches have with mature deliberation confirmed. [3]

III. The time when this book was written is a subject that has much engaged the attention of the learned; and on this point not fewer than six opinions have been advanced. Four of these are of sufficient importance to be considered in this place.

1. It has been asserted that the Apocalypse was written in the reign of the emperor Claudius. Epiphanius is the only antient father whose testimony has been adduced in behalf of this opinion, and he did not live till *three hundred* years later than St. John. Although this date is sanctioned by Grotius, who supposes that the visions of the book

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[1] Woodhouse, p. 103.

[2] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of Saint John, pp. 251—253.

[3] Lampe, Comment. in Evang. Joannis, tom. i. pp. 125—131. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 110—128.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 627—647. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 461—500. 528—544. Dr. Woodhouse's Dissertation, pp. 89—141. Dr. W. has considered at length, and refuted, several minor objections of Michaelis and Dr. Less, which want of room has compelled us to omit.

were seen at several times, and that they were afterwards joined together in one book; yet there are two very material objections against it. The *first* is, that there was no persecution of the Christians in the reign of Claudius, and consequently John's banishment to Patmos cannot be referred to that period. This emperor did, indeed, issue an edict for banishing the Jews from Rome, but it did not affect the Jews in the provinces, much less the Christians: and the governors had no authority to banish either Jews or Christians out of their provinces without an order from the emperor: besides, it does not appear that Saint John was at Ephesus during the reign of Claudius. The *second* objection to this date is founded on the circumstance, that the seven churches in Asia, to which the Apocalypse is addressed, did not exist so early as the reign of Claudius; for this fact cannot be reconciled with the history given of the first planting of Christianity in Asia Minor related in the Acts of the Apostles.

2. It has been maintained, on the authority of the subscription to the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, that Saint John wrote it in the island of Patmos, in the reign of the emperor Nero, *before the destruction of Jerusalem.* This opinion is adopted by Sir Isaac Newton [1]; but it is untenable, for the Apocalypse was not translated into Syriac until the middle of the *sixth* century, and the anonymous subscription is of no force.

3. Another hypothesis makes this book to have been written before the time of Domitian, and before the Jewish war: but it does not determine whether it was in the reign of Claudius, or in that of Nero.

4. The most probable and generally received opinion is, that John was banished into Patmos towards the end of Domitian's reign, by virtue of his edicts for persecuting the Christians: and that he had the Revelations contained in the Apocalypse during his exile; though the book itself could not have been published until after the apostle's release and return to Ephesus. The unanimous voice of Christian antiquity attests that John was banished by the order of Domitian. Irenæus, Origen, and other early fathers, refer the apostle's exile to the latter part of Domitian's reign, and they concur in saying that he there received the Revelations described in the Apocalypse. Internal evidence likewise supports this conclusion. For, in the three first chapters of the Apocalypse, the seven Asiatic churches are described as being in that advanced and flourishing state of society and discipline, and to have undergone those changes in their faith and morals, which could not have taken place if they had not been planted for a

[1] Sir Isaac Newton endeavoured to support his hypothesis by alleging that the apostolic epistles contain quotations from the Apocalypse; and his hypothesis has recently been adopted by Dr. Tilloch in his "Dissertations" introductory to the study of this book. Dr. T., it must be acknowledged, has conducted his view of the subject with equal ingenuity and skill; but the arguments for the *late* date are decisive to the writer of these pages. The collection of verbally parallel passages, between the Apocalypse and the Epistles, it has been forcibly observed, "appear to prove that the apostles in general were well acquainted with the subjects, concerning which Saint John prophesied, but that they knew them by the influence of the same Holy Spirit, which dictated them to Saint John. The expressions in question, therefore, were common to all the inspired writers of the New Testament." Townsend's New Testament arranged in Chronological Order, vol. ii. p. 653.

considerable time. Thus, the church of Ephesus is censured for having left "her first love." That of Sardis "had a name to live, but was dead." The church of Laodicea had fallen into lukewarmness and indifference. Now the church of Ephesus, for instance, was not founded by Paul until the latter part of Claudian's reign: and when he wrote to them from Rome, A. D. 61, instead of reproving them for any want of love, he commends their love and faith. (Eph. i. 15.) Further, it appears from the Revelation that the Nicolaitans formed a sect, when this book was written, since they are expressly named: whereas they were only foretold in general terms by Saint Peter in his second Epistle, written A. D. 65, and in Saint Jude's Epistle, which was written about A. D. 65 or 66. It is also evident, from various passages of the Revelation, that there had been an open persecution in the provinces. John himself had been banished into Patmos for the testimony of Jesus. The church of Ephesus (or its bishop) is commended for its "labour and *patience*," which seems to imply persecution. This is still more evident in the following address to the church of Smyrna, (Rev. ii. 9.) — "I know thy works and *tribulation*," θλιψιν: which last word always denotes persecution in the New Testament, and is so explained in the following verse.

Lastly, In Rev. ii. 13. mention is made of a martyr named Antipas, who was put to death at Pergamos. Though antient ecclesiastical history gives us no information concerning this Antipas, yet it is certain, according to all the rules of language, that what is here said is to be understood literally, and not mystically, as some expositors have explained it. Since, therefore, the persecution, mentioned in the three first chapters of the Apocalypse, cannot relate to the time of Claudius, who did not persecute the Christians, nor to the time of Nero, whose persecution did not reach the provinces, it must necessarily be referred to Domitian, according to ecclesiastical tradition.[1]

Domitian's death is related to have happened in September, A. D. 96. The Christian exiles were then liberated, and John was permitted to return to Ephesus. As, however, the emperor's decease, and the permission to return, could not be known in Asia immediately, some time must intervene before the apostle could be at liberty either to write the Apocalyse at Ephesus[2], or to send it by messengers from Patmos. We conclude, therefore, with Dr. Mill, Le Clerc, Basnage, Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, Dr. Woodhouse, and other eminent critics, in placing the Apocalypse in the year 96 or 97.[3]

IV. The OCCASION of writing the Apocalypse is sufficiently evident from the book itself. John, being in exile in the island of Patmos, is favoured with the appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ to him, and is repeatedly commanded to commit to writing the visions which he beheld. (See Rev. i. 11. 19. ii. 1. 8. 12. 18. iii. 1. 7. 14. xiv. 13.

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[1] Beausobre et L'Enfant, Préface sur l'Apocalypse de Saint Jean, pp. 613, 614.

[2] From the expression in Rev. i. 9. "*I* WAS *in the Isle of Patmos*," Dr. Woodhouse is of opinion that there seems to be internal evidence that the Revelation was written after Saint John had left Patmos.

[3] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 518—528. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 633—638. 4to. vol. i. pp. 450—453. Dr. Woodhouse's Dissertation, pp. 6—25. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 126—132.

xix. 9. and xxi. 5.) The SCOPE or design of this book is twofold; *first*, generally to make known to the apostle "the things which are" (i. 19.), that is, the then present state of the Christian churches in Asia; and, *secondly*, and principally, to reveal to him "the things which shall be hereafter," or the constitution and fates of the Christian church, through its several periods of propagation, corruption, and amendment, from its beginning to its consummation in glory. "The prophecy of the Revelation," says Daubuz, "was designed as a standing monument to the church, to know what destinies attend it; and that, when men should suffer for the name of Christ, they might here find some consolation both for themselves and for the church:—for themselves, by the prospect and certainty of a reward;—for the church, by the testimony that Christ never forsakes it, but will conquer at last."

V. The Apocalypse, therefore, consists of two principal divisions or parts; viz.

After the title of the book. (i. 1—3.)

PART I. *contains ἃ εἰσι, the "things which are—" that is, the then present state of the church.*

SECT. 1. The Epistle of John to the seven churches, and his account of the appearance of the Lord Jesus with the symbols of his power, together with the commission given by him to the apostle, to write what he beholds. (i. 9—20.)

SECT. 2. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Ephesus. (ii. 1—7.)

SECT. 3. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Smyrna. (ii. 8—11.)

SECT. 4. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Pergamos. (ii. 12—17.)

SECT. 5. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Thyatira. (ii. 18—29.)

SECT. 6. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Sardis. (iii. 1—6.)

SECT. 7. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Philadelphia. (iii. 7—13.)

SECT. 8. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Laodicea. (iii. 14—22.)

The seven churches of the Lydian or Proconsular Asia, to which these Epistles were addressed, are supposed to have been planted by the apostle Paul and his assistants during their ministry. They lie nearly in an amphitheatre, and are addressed according to their geographical positions.[1] Vitringa and other eminent commentators have supposed that the seven Epistles to the apocalyptic churches are prophetical of so many successive periods and states of the church, from the beginning of Christianity to the consummation of all things. But for this opinion, Bishop Newton thinks, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence, and it is in fact contradicted by the book of Revelation itself; for the last state of the church is here described as the most glorious of all, but in the last state of these Epistles, that of Laodicea, the church is represented as "wretched and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." But though these Epistles have rather a literal than a mystical meaning, yet they contain excellent precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promises and threatenings, which are calculated to afford instruction to the universal church of Christ at all times. "Some churches," Dr. Hales remarks, "like those of Sardis, Thyatira, and Laodicea, are lukewarm and greatly corrupted; others in a mixed state, as those of Ephesus and Pergamos; and some still rich, or rather flourishing, and have not denied the faith of Christ, as Smyrna and Philadelphia. And the admonitions addressed to them—1. To repent and reform their ways;—2. To reject false apostles and corrupt doctrines;—3. To retain their patience and steadfastness in the faith;—4. Under the penalty of having their 'lamps removed,' or their established churches extinguished—are equally addressed to all. '*He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches*' in general." (Rev. ii. 29. iii. 22.)[2]

[1] An account of the above-mentioned cities is given in the Historical and Geographical Index, in Vol. III. of the present work.

[2] Dr Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 1294. Bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. ii. p. 167.

PART II. *contains a Prophecy of ἁ μελλει γενεσθαι, "the things which shall be hereafter," or the Future State of the Church through succeeding ages, from the time when the apostle beheld the apocalyptic visions to the Grand Consummation of all things.*

SECT. 1. The representation of the divine glory in heaven. (iv.)

SECT. 2. The sealed book, the Lamb who opens it, and the praises sung by the heavenly choir. (v.)

SECT. 3. The opening of the first six seals. (vi.)

SECT. 4. The sealing of the hundred and forty-four thousand, and the presentation of the palm-bearing multitude before the throne. (vii.)

SECT. 5. The opening of the seventh seal, and the six first trumpets, and the prophetic commission to John.

§ i. The opening of the seventh seal, and the commission to the angel with the seven trumpets. (viii. 1—5.)
§ ii. The *four* first trumpets (viii. 6—12.), and the denunciation of the three woes. (13.)
§ iii. The *fifth* trumpet and the *first* woe. (ix. 1—12.)
§ iv. The *sixth* trumpet and the *second* woe. (ix. 13—21.)
§ v. The first prophetical vision of the open little book, representing the different states of the Christian church to the end of the sixth trumpet, — the measuring of the temple, and the two witnesses. (x. 1—11. xi. 1—14.)

SECT. 6. The sounding of the seventh trumpet — the vision of the women persecuted by the dragon, and of the wild beasts from the sea and from the land. (ix. 15—19. xii. xiii.)

SECT. 7. The vision of the Lamb and the hundred and forty-four thousand elect on Mount Sion, and the proclamations or warnings.

§ i. The Lamb on Mount Sion. (xiv. 1—5.)
§ ii. The *first* angel proclaims. (xiv. 6, 7.)
§ iii. The *second* angel proclaims. (xiv. 8.)
§ iv. The *third* angel proclaims. (xiv. 9—12.)
§ v. The blessedness of those who die in the Lord proclaimed. (xiv. 13.)
§ vi. The vision of the harvest and the vintage. (xiv. 14—20.)

SECT. 8. contains the seven vials and the episode of the harlot of Babylon and her fall.

§ i. The vision preparatory to the seven vials. (xv. xvi. 1.)
§ ii. The pouring out of the seven vials. (xvi. 2—21.)
§ iii. The great harlot, or Babylon. (xvii.)
§ iv. The judgment of Babylon continued. (xviii.)
§ v. Exultation in heaven over the fallen Babylon, and upon the approach of the New Jerusalem. (xix. 1—10.)

SECT. 9. contains the grand conflict, the millenium, the conflict renewed, the judgment, and the new creation.

§ i. The appearance of the Lord with his followers, for battle and victory. (xix. 11—18.)
§ ii. The conflict and victory over the beast and false prophet. (xix. 19—21.)
§ iii. Satan bound, and the millenium. (xx. 1—6.)
§ iv. Satan loosed, deceives the nations, and is cast into the burning lake. (xx. 7—10.)
§ v. The general resurrection and final judgment. (xx. 11—15.)

SECT. 10. Description of the new Jerusalem. (xxi. xxii. 1—5.)
The CONCLUSION. (xxii. 6—21.)

VI. No book has been more commented upon, or has given rise to a greater variety of interpretations, than the Apocalypse, which has ever been accounted the most difficult portion of the New Testament. The figurative language in which the visions are delivered; the variety of symbols under which the events are presignified; the extent of the prophetical information, which appears to pervade all ages of the Christian church, afford little hope of its *perfect* eluci-

dation, till a further process of time shall have ripened more of the events foretold in it, and have given safer scope to investigation.[1]

Referring the reader, therefore, to the works of Mede, Daubuz, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishops Newton and Hurd, Lowman, Faber, Dr. Hales, and others, who have attempted to illustrate these sublime and mysterious prophecies, and especially to the learned and pious labours of Dr. Woodhouse, we shall conclude this article with the following canons of interpretation, which have been proposed by the last-mentioned eminent critic and divine, who has most successfully applied them to the exposition of the Apocalypse: —

1. Compare the language, the symbols, and the predictions of the Apocalypse with those of former revelations; and admit only such interpretation as shall appear to have the sanction of this divine authority.

2. Unless the language and symbols of the Apocalypse should in particular passages direct, or evidently require, another mode of application, the predictions are to be applied to the progressive church of Christ.

3. The kingdom which is the subject of this prophetic book is not a temporal but a spiritual kingdom; — not "a kingdom of this world" (John xviii. 36.), not established by the means and apparatus of worldly pomp, not bearing the external ensigns of royalty; but governing the inward man, by possession of the ruling principles: *the kingdom of God*, says our Lord, *is within you.* (Luke xvii. 21.) The predictions relative to this kingdom, therefore, are to be spiritually interpreted. Wars, conquests, and revolutions, of vast extent and great political import, are not the object of the apocalyptical prophecies; unless they appear to have promoted or retarded in a considerable degree the *real* progress of the religion of Jesus Christ, whose proper reign is in the hearts and consciences of his subjects: "His reign is advanced, when Christian principles, when faith, and righteousness, and charity abound. It is retarded, when ignorance, impurity, idolatrous superstition, and wickedness prevail."

4. We are not to attempt the particular explanation of those prophecies which remain to be fulfilled.[2]

Although many parts of the Apocalypse are necessarily obscure to us, because they contain predictions of events still future, yet enough is sufficiently clear to convey to us the most important religious instruction. This book is to us precisely what the prophecies of the Old Testament were to the Jews, nor is it in any degree more inexplicable. "No prophecies in the Revelation can be more clouded with obscurity, than that a child should be born of a pure virgin — that a mortal should not see corruption — that a person despised and numbered among malefactors should be established for ever on the throne of David. Yet still the *pious Jew* preserved his faith entire amidst all these wonderful, and, in appearance, contradictory intimations. He looked into the holy books in which they were

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[1] Brit. Crit. vol. xxix. p. 191. Rosenmüller (Scholia, vol. v. pp. 614—619.) and Dr. A. Clarke (Preface to the Revelation, pp. i.—x.) have given an abstract of various hypotheses relative to the interpretation of the Apocalypse, some of which are sufficiently *extravagant.* See also Cellérier's Introduction au Nouv. Test. pp. 497—501. and Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 665—667.

[2] Dr. Woodhouse's translation of the Apocalypse, pp. xii.—xix. Many of the observations in Vol. II. pp. 462—468. are applicable to the interpretation of the Apocalypse.

contained, with reverence; and with an eye of patient expectation 'waited for the consolation of Israel.' We, in the same manner, look up to these prophecies of the Apocalypse, for the full consummation of the great scheme of the Gospel; when Christianity shall finally prevail over all the corruptions of the world, and be universally established in its utmost purity." [1]

[1] Gilpin's Exposition of the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 428.

APPENDIX.

ON THE SOURCES OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

I. *Different Hypotheses stated.* — II. *Examination of the Hypothesis, that the Evangelists abridged or copied from each other.* — III. *Examination of the Hypothesis, that the Evangelists derived their Information from a primary Greek or Hebrew Document.* — IV. *Examination of the Hypothesis, that they consulted several Documents.* — V. *And of the Hypothesis, that Oral Tradition was the Source of the First Three Gospels.* — VI. *That the only Document consulted by the Three First Evangelists was the Preaching of our Saviour himself.*

I. THAT the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, should contain so much verbal agreement, and yet that there should exist such striking differences as appear in the parallel accounts of these three Evangelists when they relate the same discourses or transactions, is indeed a most remarkable circumstance. Hence several eminent writers have been induced to discuss this singular fact with great ability and equal ingenuity: and although the testimonies which we have to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels, are so clear and decisive, as to leave no doubt in the minds of private Christians; yet, since various learned men have offered different hypotheses to account for, and explain, these phenomena, the author would deem his labours very imperfect, if he suffered them to pass unnoticed.

Four principal hypotheses have been offered, to account for these verbal similarities and occasional differences between the first three evangelists; viz. 1. That one or two of the Gospels were taken from another; 2. That all three were derived from some original document common to the evangelists; — 3. That they were derived from detached narratives of part of the history of our Saviour, communicated by the apostles to the first converts to Christianity; — and, 4. That they were derived from oral tradition. We shall briefly state the arguments that have been offered for and against these various hypotheses.

II. The FIRST and most commonly received opinion has been, that one or two of the first three evangelists had copied or abridged from the third, or one from the other two. Thus, Vogel endeavoured to show that Mark made use of the Gospel of Luke, and that Matthew drew from Mark and Luke.[1] Grotius, Mill, Simon, Calmet, Wetstein, Wolfius, Drs. Owen and Harwood, and others, after Augustine, have asserted that Mark was an epitomiser of Matthew. Griesbach[2] and Dr. Townson[3]

[1] Vogel, über die Entstehung der drey ersten Evangelien, (on the Origin of the first Three Gospels,) in Gabler's Journal fur auserlesene Theologisch Literatur, Band. 1. Stuck. 1. p. 1. et seq.

[2] Griesbach, in Kuinöel, Ruperti's, and Velthusen's Commentationes Theologicæ, tom. i. pp. 303. et seq. Griesbach's hypothesis was refuted by Koppe, in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, tom. i. pp. 55. et seq. Ammon defended Griesbach's hypothesis, and also contended that Luke made use of the Greek version of St. Matthew's Gospel, which he corrected and enlarged. Dissertatio de Luca emendatore Matthæi. Erlangæ, 1805. 4to.

[3] Discourses on the Four Gospels, Oxford, 1778. 4to.; or vol. i. of Dr. Townson's Works, pp. 1—273.

have maintained that both Mark and Luke had seen and consulted the Gospel of Matthew. Hug has defended the opinion that Mark had before him the Gospel written by Matthew for the Jews dwelling in Palestine[1], and that Luke made use of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.[2] Seiler affirmed that Mark translated into Greek and enlarged the Syro-Chaldaic Gospel of Matthew; that this Syro-Chaldaic Gospel, enlarged in many places, either by Matthew himself, or by other men worthy of credit, was subsequently translated into Greek either by the Evangelist or some other person; and that the Greek translator consulted the Gospel of Mark.[3] Storr endeavoured to prove that the Gospel of Mark was the source whence Matthew and Luke derived materials for their Gospels.[4] Busching was of opinion that Matthew and Mark compiled from Luke.[5] Saunier maintains that the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John are authentic and independent narratives; that Mark made use of those by Matthew and Luke; and that the passages, not to be found in either of these, were supplied by Peter, under whose direction he wrote.[6] And, lastly, Janssens affirms that the agreement and disagreement between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are sufficiently accounted for, by saying, after the antient fathers, that Mark composed his Gospel after that of Matthew and after the preaching of Peter.[7] Not to dwell upon the uncertainty of these various hypotheses, all of which differ as to the point which was the original writer, and which of the evangelists were copyists or abridgers, the opinion which they respectively are designed to advocate is contradicted by the following weighty considerations: —

1. *They could have no motive for copying from each other.*

"For, as each acknowledged the authority and veracity of the others, when their narratives were known, they could not have been so absurd as to repeat, what had been already rightly told. Had they then written successively, with knowledge of each other's writings, it is probable, nay, it is almost certain, that each subsequent author would have set down only, or at least chiefly, what his predecessors had happened to omit. To repeat in substance, but in different words what another had sufficiently told, might have been practised by writers who valued themselves upon their own peculiar style of expression, or their own mode of compilation. But to copy the very words of another, whose account we do not mean to supersede, and to introduce them in the very same manner, is an idle and superfluous task, which no man in his senses would ever undertake.[8] That the two evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not eye-witnesses of the facts, and heard not the discourses of Christ pronounced, relate them nearly in the same words with those who were actually present, appears to me to prove that the narratives of all the witnesses perfectly agreed. That what one wrote others had told, and each precisely in the same manner. The witnesses had all taken such care to remember, with minute exactness, the principal discourses of their Lord, and the occasions on which they were spoken, and were

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[1] Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Dr. Wait, vol. ii. pp. 73—83. 111—134.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 152—185. Dr. Wait's translation having been executed from Hug's *first* edition, the learned translator of Dr. Schleiermacher's Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke has given an abstract of Hug's hypothesis from his second edition published in 1821. Introduction, pp. xcviii.—cxv.

[3] Seiler, Dissertationes II. de tempore et ordine, quibus tria Evangelia priora canonica scripta sunt. Erlangæ. 1805–6. 4to.

[4] Storr, Dissertatio de fonte Evangeliorum Matthæi et Lucæ in Kuinöel's, Ruperti's, and Velthusen's Commentationes Theologicæ, tom. iii. pp. 140. et seq.

[5] Busching, Harmonie der Evangelisten, pp. 99. 108. 118. et seq. Kuinöel's Commentarius in Libros Historicos Novi Testamenti, tom. i. Prolegom. pp. 1—3.

[6] Saunier, Ueber de Quellen des Evangeliums des Marcus. Berlin, 1827. 8vo. The above notice of Saunier's hypothesis is given from the Christian Examiner or Church of Ireland Magazine, vol. iv. p. 389.

[7] Janssens, Hermeneutique Sacrée, tom. ii. p. 11. Paris, 1828. 8vo.

[8] "If I follow another writer, and copy the substance of his account in other words, I make it my own, and become responsible, as a second witness; but if I take his very words, my account is resolvable into his, and it is still but one testimony."

so often called upon to repeat them, in making and confirming converts to the faith, that a precision was obtained in relating these particulars, of which, if no other example occurs in the annals of the world, the reason is, because no other relators of facts and discourses were ever so situated. No other men ever had such words and actions to relate; such frequent occasion to repeat them; or so many powerful reasons to relate them with the strictest accuracy, on every possible occasion. From this cause it naturally arose, that they who wrote as original witnesses, and they who wrote from the testimony of such witnesses, agreed, not only substantially, but almost verbally. The exact and literal truth, without alteration or embellishment, was equally delivered by them; as when several perfect mirrors reflect the same object, the images will be the same in form, at the first or second reflection." [1]

But, further, "the copying of one book from another is usually the resource either of ignorance or indolence. Of ignorance, when the writer has no knowledge of the facts, except what he derives from the author whom he copies: of indolence, when, though previously informed, he takes the statement of another, which he approves, to save himself the thought and trouble, which would be required for forming an original narrative. With respect, then, to the evangelists, above all other writers, we may surely ask, if they knew not of a certainty what they undertook to write, why did they undertake it? But if they knew from their own recollection or enquiries, why should they copy from any other person? If they thought a new narrative was wanted, why should they copy one which was already to be had? If they are supposed to have copied through ignorance, why did they presume to alter even a single word? If they copied through indolence, the very same indolence would doubtless have led them to copy word for word, which is much more easy than to copy with variations, but which it never can be pretended they have done, for many lines together. I know but of one more supposition, which can be made, and that is so dishonourable to the evangelists, that I think no sincere Christian could be induced to make it. It is this. That they copied indeed, through ignorance or indolence, or both, but inserted slight alterations, as they went on, for the purpose of disguising or concealing their thefts. Should an enemy even presume to say this, for surely no other would say it, to him I would boldly reply; that if so, they were very awkward and blundering contrivers: for they altered so very little, that copying has been generally imputed to them: and yet sometimes so indiscreetly, that their differences have been, without reason indeed, but hastily, regarded as contradictions." [2]

2. *It does not appear that any of the learned antient Christian writers had a suspicion, that either of the first three evangelists had seen the other Gospels before he wrote his own.*

They *say*, indeed, "that when the three first-written Gospels had been delivered to all men, they were also brought to Saint John, and that he confirmed the truth of their narration; but said, that there were some things omitted by them which might be profitably related:" or, "that he wrote last, supplying some things which had been omitted by the former evangelists." To mention no others, Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea [3], Epiphanius [4], Theodore of Mopsuestia [5], and Jerome [6], express themselves in this manner. Towards the close of the fourth century, indeed, or early in the fifth, Augustine [7] supposed that the first three evangelists were not totally ignorant of each other's labours, and considered Mark's Gospel as an abridgment of Saint Matthew's: but he was the first of the fathers who advocated that notion, and it does not appear that he was followed by any succeeding writers, until it was revived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by Grotius and others.

3. *It is not suitable to the character of any of the evangelists, that they should abridge or transcribe another historian.*

Matthew was an apostle and an eye-witness, and consequently was able to write from his own knowledge; or, if there were any parts of our Lord's ministry at which he was not present, he might obtain information from his fellow-apostles or other eye-witnesses. And, with respect to things which happened before the calling of the apostles, (as the nativity, infancy, and youth of Christ,) the apostles might ascertain them from our Saviour himself, or from his friends and acquaintance, on whose information they could depend.

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[1] Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists, pp. 33—35. [2] Ibid. pp. 168—170.

[3] See the passages from Eusebius in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 226, 227.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 369.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 314, 315.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 418.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 511, 512.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 529.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. p. 41.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 553.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. p. 93.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 583.

Mark, if not one of Christ's seventy disciples, was (as we have already seen [1]) an early Jewish believer, acquainted with all the apostles, and especially with Saint Peter, as well as with many other eye-witnesses: consequently he was well qualified to write a Gospel; and that he did not *abridge* Matthew, we have shown by an induction of various particulars. [2] Luke, though not one of Christ's seventy disciples, nor an eye-witness of his discourses and actions, was a disciple and companion of the apostles, and especially of Paul: he must therefore have been well qualified to write a Gospel. Besides, as we have shown in a former page [3], it is manifest from his introduction, that he knew not of any authentic history of Jesus Christ that had been then written; and he expressly says, that he had accurately traced all things from the source in succession or order, and he professes to write of them to Theophilus. After such an explicit declaration as this is, to affirm that he transcribed many things from one historian, and still more from another, is no less than a contradiction of the evangelist himself.

4. *It is evident from the nature and design of the first three Gospels, that the evangelists had not seen any authentic written history of Jesus Christ.*

There can be no doubt but that John had seen the other three Gospels; for, as he is said to have lived to a great age, so it appears from his Gospel itself that he carefully avoided the repetition of things related in them, except a few necessary facts. But there is no certain evidence, either that Mark knew that Matthew had written a Gospel before him, or that Luke knew that the two evangelists had written Gospels before him. If Mark had seen the work of Matthew, it is likely that he would have remained satisfied with it as being the work of an apostle of Christ, that is, an eye-witness, which he was not. Nor would Luke, who, from the beginning of his Gospel, appears to have been acquainted with several memoirs of the sayings and actions of Christ, have omitted to say that one or more of them was written by an apostle, as Matthew was. — His silence, therefore, is an additional proof that the first three evangelists were totally unacquainted with any previous authentic written history of Christ.

5. *The seeming contradictions* [4], *which exist in the first three Gospels, (all of which, however, admit of easy solutions,)* are an additional evidence that the evangelists did not write by concert, or after having seen each other's Gospels.

6. *In some of the histories recorded by all these three evangelists, there are small varieties and differences, which plainly show the same thing.*

In illustration of this remark, it will suffice to refer to and compare the accounts of the healing of the demoniac or demoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes (Matt. viii. 28—34. with Mark v. 1—20. and Luke viii. 26—40.); the account of our Lord's transfiguration on the mount (Matt. xvii. 1—13. with Mark ix. 1—13. and Luke ix. 28—36.), and the history of the healing of the young man after our Saviour's descent from the mount. (Matt. xvii. 14—21. with Mark ix. 14—29. and Luke ix. 37—42.) In each of the accounts here cited, the agreeing circumstances which are discoverable in them, clearly prove that it is the same history, but there are also several differences equally evident in them. Whoever, therefore, diligently attends to these circumstances, must be sensible that the evangelical historians did not copy or borrow from each other.

7. *There are some very remarkable things related in Saint Matthew's Gospel, of which neither Saint Mark nor Saint Luke has taken any notice.*

Such are the extraordinary events recorded in Matt. ii. xxvii. 19. xxvii. 51—53. and xxviii. 11—15.: some or all of which would have been noticed by Mark or Luke, had they written with a view of abridging or confirming Matthew's history. It is also very observable, that Luke has no account of the miracle of feeding "four thousand with seven loaves and a few small fishes," which is related in Matt. xv. 32—39. and Mark viii. 1—9. The same remark is applicable to Luke's Gospel, supposing (as Dr. Macknight and others have imagined) it to have been first written, as it contains many remarkable things not to be found in the other Gospels. Now, if Matthew or Mark had written with a view of abridging or confirming Luke's history, they would not have passed by those things without notice.

8. *All the first three evangelists have several things peculiar to themselves; which show that they did not borrow from each other, and that they were all well acquainted with the things of which they undertook to write a history.*

Many such peculiar relations occur in Matthew's Gospel, besides those just cited; and

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[1] See p. 284. of this volume.

[2] See pp. 290—292. of this volume.

[3] See p. 304. supra.

[4] On this subject, see Vol. II. Part II. pp. 497. 546., in which the apparent contradictions between the genealogies recorded by Matthew and Luke are particularly considered.

both Mark [1] and Luke [2], as we have already seen, have many similar things, so that it is needless to adduce any additional instances.

9. Lastly, Dr. Mill has argued that the *similarity of style and composition* is a proof that these evangelists had seen each other's writings.

But this argument in Dr. Lardner's judgment is insufficient. In fact, Mill himself allows [3] that a very close agreement may easily subsist between two authors writing on the same subject in the Greek language. [4]

III. The SECOND hypothesis, by which some distinguished critics have attempted to explain the verbal harmony observable in the first three Gospels, is that which derives them from some COMMON GREEK or HEBREW DOCUMENT or source, which occasioned the evangelists so frequently to adopt the same terms and forms of expression. Le Clerc [5] was the first writer to whom this idea occurred; and after it had lain dormant upwards of sixty years, it was revived and advocated by Koppe [6], and has been modified in various ways by subsequent writers, so that (as it has been severely but not unjustly remarked) "hypothesis has been knocked down by hypothesis, till the Gospels must begin to feel themselves in a very awkward condition." [7]

Of these various modifications the following is a concise outline: —

1. MICHAELIS, in the fourth German edition of his Introduction [8], abandoning his former opinion that Mark copied from Matthew, "attributes the verbal harmony of all three evangelists to the use of the same documents. But, as he assumes that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, he supposes, not that Matthew himself, but his Greek translator, had access to the same Greek document or documents which had been used both by St. Mark and St. Luke; and that hence arose the verbal harmony between the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke." [9]
2. SEMLER [10], in 1783, intimated rather than enuntiated the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Syriac document or documents, whence the three first evangelists derived the principal materials of their Gospels. The hypothesis of Semler was subsequently adopted by Berchtold, who maintained that the verbal conformity in the corresponding passages of our Gospels was produced by the alterations of transcribers. [11]
3. In 1784 LESSING asserted the hypothesis of a common Syriac or Chaldee original, which he supposes to be the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or the Gospel according to the twelve Apostles. From this Gospel he imagines that Matthew (who in his opinion wrote only in Greek), Mark, and Luke derived the principal materials of their Gospels, and accordingly translated it more or less fully, more or less

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[1] See pp. 290, 291. supra, of this volume.

[2] See p. 306. note 2. supra, of this volume.

[3] Millii Proleg. § 108.

[4] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 223—233.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 245—250.

[5] Clerici Eccl. Hist. sæc. i. anno lxiv. § xi. pp. 429, 430.

[6] In his dissertation intitled Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi. See Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge, tom. i. pp. 65—68.

[7] British Critic and Theol. Review, vol. ii. p. 351.

[8] Vol. iii. part 1. ch. 5. sect. 5. of Bp. Marsh's translation.

[9] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 186.

[10] In the notes to his German translation of Dr. Townson's Discourses. (Townson, Abhandlungen über die vier Evangelien, vol. i. pp. 221. 290.) Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 187. Kuinöel, Comment. in Lib. Hist. Nov. Test. tom. i. Prolegom. pp. 3, 4.

[11] An outline of Berchtold's hypothesis will be found in the Introduction to the English translation of Schleiermacher's Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke, pp. xcvi. xcvii.

closely into Greek.[1] Niemeyer[2], Halfeld[3], and Paulus[4], adopted and improved upon Lessing's notion: but their views have been eclipsed,

4. By the late Professor EICHHORN, of whose earlier modifications of the hypothesis of a primary document, Bishop Marsh has given an interesting account.[5] According to Eichhorn's hypothesis, as developed in the second edition of his (German) Introduction to the New Testament[6] there were *four* copies of the Aramaic Original which formed the basis of the three first Gospels; which with their respective translations he thus designates:—

"A. An Aramaic Text of the original doctrine, with some of the great additions now found in St. Matthew. This was early translated.

B. An Aramaic Text, with some of the greater additions now in St. Luke. Not translated independently.

C. An Aramaic Text compounded of A. and B. This forms St. Mark's Gospel, having been either translated by himself, or an early translation of it having been revised by him.

D. An Aramaic Text, with some of the *other* great additions in St. Luke, which was also translated early.

E. St. Matthew's Aramaic Text, composed out of A. and D., except some additions made by St. Matthew himself, who arranged the whole of the original Gospel and the additions chronologically. The translator of this into Greek used the early translations of A. and D.

F. St. Luke's Aramaic Text, composed of B. and D. (except some additions peculiar to St. Luke,) and translated by himself, with the assistance of the existing translation of D. B. is thus common to St. Mark and St. Luke, but they had no common translation of it."[7]

This scheme, it will be seen on comparison, does not materially vary from that proposed by

5. Bishop MARSH, in his elaborate "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of our three first Gospels." After many preparatory steps, assigning reasons for the rejection of other hypotheses, and various forms of this hypothesis, Bishop Marsh proposes his own in the following terms, marking the common Hebrew document, which he supposes the evangelist to have consulted, by the sign ℵ, and certain translations of it with more or less additions by the letters α, β, &c.

"Saint Matthew, Saint Mark, and Saint Luke, all three, used copies of the common Hebrew document ℵ: the materials of which Saint Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew, retained in the language in which he found them, but Saint Mark and Saint Luke translated them into Greek. They had no knowledge of each other's Gospel; but Saint Mark and Saint Luke, besides their copies of the Hebrew document ℵ, used a Greek translation of it, which had been made before any of the additions α, β, &c. had been inserted. Lastly, as the Gospels of

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[1] Lessing's Theologischer Nachlass (Theological Remains), pp. 45—72., cited by Bp. Marsh, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 187, 188.

[2] Niemeyer, Conjecturæ ad illustrandum plurimorum N. T. Scriptorum Silentium de primordiis Jesu Christi. Halæ, 1790. 4to.

[3] Halfeld, Commentatio de Origine quatuor Evangeliorum et de eorum canonica auctoritate. Gottingæ, 1794. 4to.

[4] Paulus, Introductio in N. T. capita selectiora, quibus in originem, scopum, et argumentorum Evangeliorum et Actuum Apostolorum inquiritur. Jenæ, 1799. 8vo.

[5] Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 184—205.

[6] Einleitung in das N. T. vol. i. 1820.

[7] For the preceding abstract of Eichhorn's latest hypothesis, the author is indebted to the learned reviewer of Schleiermacher's Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke in the British Critic and Theol. Review, vol. ii. pp. 346, 347.

Saint Mark and Saint Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials, which were incorporated into Saint Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person who translated Saint Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek frequently derived assistance from the Gospel of Saint Mark, where Saint Mark had matter in common with Saint Matthew: and in those places, but in those places only, where Saint Mark had no matter in common with Matthew, he had frequently recourse to Saint Luke's Gospel." [1]

The hypothesis thus stated and determined, its author conceives, will account for all the phenomena relative to the verbal agreement and disagreement of our first three Gospels, as well as for the other manifold relations which they bear to each other; and he has accommodated it with great attention to particular circumstances, enumerated by him in the former part of his "Dissertation on the Origin of the Three First Gospels," which circumstances, however, we have not room to detail. This document, he thinks, may have been intitled in Greek, ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ περι των πεπληροφορημενων εν ημιν πραγματων, καθως παρεδοσαν ημιν οι απ'αρχης αυτοπται και υπηρεται του λογου, that is, A NARRATIVE *of those things which are most firmly believed among us, even as they, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, delivered them unto us.* Consequently, if this conjecture be well founded, the document in question is actually referred to by Saint Luke. [2] In addition also to this supposed first Hebrew document א and its translations, Bishop Marsh supposes the existence of a supplemental Hebrew document, which he calls ב, and which contained a collection of *precepts*, *parables*, and *discourses*, delivered by our Saviour on various occasions, but not arranged in chronological order. This he terms a Γνωμολογια, and conceives that it was used only by Matthew and Luke, who had copies of it differing from each other.

6. In order to unite the two hypotheses of Eichhorn and Bishop Marsh, Professor GRATZ supposes that there was a Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic original Gospel for the use of the preachers of the Christian faith in Palestine, from which Matthew composed his Hebrew Gospel. When they began to propagate the Christian doctrines in other countries, this original Gospel was translated into Greek, and enriched with several additions. From this version Mark and Luke composed their books, and hence arose the agreement both as to facts and expressions, which is observable in their respective Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew was also translated into Greek, in executing which version the translator made use of the writings of Mark, whence he also sometimes interpolated Matthew; and this circumstance gave rise to a similarity between them as to matter, in places where Luke differs from them. But the agreement between Matthew and Luke, to the exclusion of Mark, was effected by subsequent interpolations, since these passages were transcribed from the

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[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 361.

[2] Ibid. pp. 363. 368. But the absence of the Greek article is fatal to the conjecture of Bishop Marsh, and proves that the supposed document never existed. The force of this objection seems to have struck the mind of that learned writer; for he has candidly left it to others to determine whether his conjecture is not rendered abortive by the want of the article before διηγησιν (*narrative* or *declaration*) in Luke i. 1. On this topic Bishop Middleton is decisively of opinion that it *is* rendered totally abortive. With respect to the Greek article, he remarks, that "the rule is, that the title of a book, as prefixed to the book, should be *anarthrous*" (i. e. without the article); "but that when the book is referred to, the article should be inserted." And he adduces, among other instances, Hesiod's poem, intitled Ασπις Ηρακλεους (*Hercules's Shield*), which Longinus thus cites — ειγε Ησιοδου και ΤΗΝ Ασπιδα φετεον (if indeed THE shield may be ascribed to Hesiod). Bishop Middleton on the Greek article, p. 289. first edition. In the two following pages he has controverted the translation of Luke i. 1—4. proposed by the translator of Michaelis.

Gospel of Matthew into that of Luke: and in those places, where the original Gospel has no additions, they all agree in matter as well as harmonise in words. [1]

The modifications of the hypothesis that there was an original Aramæan Gospel, proposed by Eichhorn and Bishop Marsh, have been adopted by Kuinöel [2], Schoell [3], and some other continental critics; but they have been strenuously opposed, on the Continent, by Professor Hug [4], and in this country by the late Bishops Randolph [5] and Middleton [6], Bishop Gleig [7], the editors of the British Critic [8], and other distinguished writers [9], of whose arguments and reasonings the following is an abstract: —

1. *Supposing such a theory to be necessary, in order to account for the verbal similarities and differences of the first three evangelists, (which necessity, however, is by no means admitted,) the obvious fault of this hypothesis, in all its modifications, is its extreme complexity.*

To omit the earlier modifications which have yielded to the schemes of Eichhorn and Bishop Marsh: — According to the *former* there are an Aramaic original Gospel, which was translated into Greek, and five compilations from it, with various additions. According to the latter there are two Hebrew or Aramaic documents, and several Greek versions, with additions gratuitously supposed, which the algebraical notations, introduced by their author, can scarcely enable the reader to distinguish from each other. To describe the sources of Saint Matthew's Gospel by this method, not fewer than seven marks are employed; viz. ℵ, α, γ, ʌ, Γ¹, ב, and Γ². Besides these, there are the marks peculiar to Saint Luke or Saint Mark, β, ʁ, and $\dot{\aleph}$, — in all, ten different signs standing for so many separate documents or modifications of documents; and all these gratuitously supposed without proof for the existence of one among the number. This hypothesis Bishop Marsh considers as simple; but, with every possible deference to such an authority in all matters respecting biblical literature, it is submitted, that few persons will be found to coincide in his opinion. And although he states with respect to the steps of this hypothesis, that "there is no improbability attending any one of them; they are neither numerous nor complicated:" yet we must observe that, altogether, they are both numerous, and, consequently, by the combinations supposed in their application, they become extremely complicated. Further, though no particular step may be in itself improbable, yet the discovery of *ten* different sources to certain works, by mere analysis, is a circumstance of the highest improbability, and forms such a discovery as was never yet made in the world, and probably never will be made; because, if not absolutely impossible, it approaches so nearly to impossibility, that the mind can scarcely conceive a distinction. [10]

2. But if either of these hypotheses would solve, without difficulty or exception, all the phenomena [11] of every description, which are assumed to exist in the three first Gospels, the TOTAL SILENCE *of ecclesiastical antiquity presents a direct and invincible argument against the existence of any such primary document.*

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[1] Gratz, Neuer Versuch, die Enstehung der drey ersten Evangelien zu erklären, (Tubingen, 1812,) cited in Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 88. There is an abstract of Gratz's scheme, with remarks by the translator of Schleiermacher (Introd. pp. lxxxvi.—xciii.), who considers it "to be not only unwarranted, but contradicted by every memorial we have remaining, of the earliest transactions in Christian history."

[2] Comm. in Hist. Lib. Nov. Test. vol. i. pp. 7—9.

[3] Histoire Abrégée de la Littérature Grècque, tom. ii. pp. 66—82.

[4] Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. pp. 89—101.

[5] Dr. Randolph, in his "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction, 8vo. vols. iii. and iv." London, 1802.

[6] On the Doctrine of the Greek Article, pp. 288—291.

[7] In his valuable edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. pp. 103—112.

[8] Brit. Crit. vol. xxi. (O. S.) p. 178. et seq. Brit. Crit. and Theological Review, vol. ii. pp. 347—350.

[9] Particularly Mr. Veysie, in his "Examination of Mr. Marsh's Hypothesis," 8vo. London, 1808, and Mr. Falconer, in his Bampton Lectures for 1810, p. 105. et seq. See also the Christian Observer for 1808, vol. viii. pp. 623—628., and the late Dr. Milner's Strictures on some of the publications of the Rev. Herbert Marsh, D. D. Lond. 1813. 8vo.

[10] Brit. Crit. vol. xxi. (O. S.) p. 180.

[11] Mr. Veysie has instituted a minute examination of Bishop Marsh's statement of the phenomena observable in the first three Gospels, in which he has shown its incompetency to explain those phenomena. As this investigation is not of a nature to admit of abridgment, we refer the reader to Mr. V.'s "Examination," pp. 12—50.

(1.) To commence with the apostolic age: — is it to be supposed that there ever existed a work of such approved excellence, and such high authority, as to become the basis of the first three Gospels, and yet that nothing, — not even the memory of it, — should survive that age? [1] "Were we indeed as certain, that the apostles, before they separated, had really met for the purpose of drawing up a copious and authentic history of their Divine Master's life and doctrines, as we are that an authentic record was kept at Jerusalem of the reigns of the different kings, the state of religion under each, and the preaching of the prophets, this would be by much the easiest, and, perhaps, the most satisfactory method of accounting as well for the harmony as for the discrepancies which we find among the several abridgments made by the first three evangelists. But, that the apostles met for such a purpose as this, before they left Jerusalem, has never been supposed; and, indeed, the hypothesis, had it even been made and supported by the most unexceptionable testimonies of the earliest uninspired writers of the church, would deserve no regard whatever, unless these writers had each declared, without collusion among themselves, that he had possessed a copy of the original record. Even then, unless a copy of it were still in existence, from which we might, from internal evidence, decide on its claims to an apostolical origin, we should hesitate, after the imposture of the book called the '*Apostolical Constitutions*,' to admit the authenticity of such a record. The apostles, in a state of persecution, had not the same facilities for publicly recording the actions of their Lord, as the ministers of state, called the *Scribe* and the *Recorder*, possessed in the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, for writing registers of the deeds of their respective sovereigns; nor do we ever find the evangelists appealing to any such record, while the writers of the historical books of the Old Testament frequently appeal to the annals or chronicles of the kingdom. [2] A common record, from which all the evangelists selected the materials of their histories, must, therefore, be abandoned as an hypothesis perfectly groundless, notwithstanding all the learning and ingenuity which have been displayed in support of that hypothesis." [3]

(2.) If we consult the writings of the apostolical fathers, who were the immediate disciples of the apostles and evangelists, we shall find that the same silence prevails among them; for, although they did not cite by name the various books of the New Testament (the canon not being completed until the close of the first century), yet in their allusions to the evangelical writings they refer to our four Gospels, and do not so much as intimate the existence of any other document. Ignatius, who flourished in the beginning of the second century (A. D. 107), is supposed to have mentioned the book of the Gospels under the term "Gospel," and the Epistles under that of "Apostles [4]," but as this point has been controverted by learned men, we shall wave any positive evidence which might be offered from his writings, observing only that he no where alludes or refers to any other books of the New Testament, besides those which have been transmitted to us; and that his silence concerning the existence of any other document affords a very strong presumptive argument against its existence. Let us now consider the evidence of the fathers who were either contemporary with Ignatius, or who lived within a few years of his time. The first witness we shall adduce is Papias, who flourished A. D. 116, and had conversed with apostolical men, that is, with those who had been the immediate disciples of the apostles. It is remarkable, that this father refers to no primary document whatever; but, on the contrary, he bears a most express testimony to the number of the Gospels, which were only *four*, in his day. [5] Four-and-twenty years afterwards lived Justin Martyr, whose evidence is still more explicit: — for instead of quoting any such source, under the name of Απομνημονευματα των Αποστολων, or "Memoirs of the Apostles," he expressly declares, that he means the *Gospels*. [6] Tatian, Irenæus, Theophilus Bishop of Antioch, — and, in

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[1] On the subject here necessarily treated with brevity, see Mr. Falconer's Bampton Lectures for 1810, pp. 115—120.

[2] See, among a variety of such appeals, 1 Kings xiv. 19. and 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

[3] Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 103.

[4] On this topic, see Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 81.; 4to. vol. i. p. 322.

[5] See the testimony of Papias in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 107—110.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 337, 338.

[6] In his first apology for the Christians, which was delivered to the Emperor Antoninus Pius (c. 66.), Justin gives the following reason for the celebration of the Lord's Supper among the Christians: — "For the apostles, in the *Memoirs* (απομνημονευμασιν) composed by them, which *are called* GOSPELS (ἁ καλειται ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ), have thus assured us, that Jesus ordered them to do it; that he took bread, gave thanks, and then said, 'This do in remembrance of me; this is my body:' that in like manner he took the cup, and, after he had given thanks, said, 'This is my blood.'" — And in another passage (c. 67.), when giving the emperor an account of the Christian worship, he says, "The *Memoirs of the Apostles* are read, or the Writings of the Prophets, according as time allows; and, when the reader has ended, the president of the community makes a discourse exhorting them to

short, every subsequent ecclesiastical writer of antiquity, is equally explicit as to the number of the Gospels, and equally silent as to the existence of any source whence the evangelists derived the materials of their Gospels. [1]

3. *The incongruities and apparent contradictions, which (as we have seen) form a strong objection against the supposition that the evangelists copied from each other, form an objection no less strong againt the supposition that they all copied from one and the same document.*

For if, as this hypothesis requires, they all adhered to their document, no difference could have arisen between them; but they would all have agreed in relating the same thing in the same manner, as much as they must have done, if they had copied from each other. If, in order to avoid this difficulty, it be supposed that they did not all adhere to their document, but that occasionally some one (or more) of them gave a different representation of some fact, either from his own knowledge, or from information derived from another source (as the supposed document ב, &c.); this appears to sap the very foundation of the edifice; for in this case, what becomes of the authority of the primary document? And, how can all three evangelists be said to have derived from it alone all the matter which they have in common? In whatever light, then, we view the subject, we cannot see how any modification of the general supposition, that the three evangelists, in the composition of their Gospels, used only one document, can satisfactorily explain all the examples of verbal disagreement which occur in the Gospels. We conclude, therefore, that no hypothesis which is built upon this foundation can be the true one. [2]

IV. The THIRD hypothesis, which has been offered, to account for the verbal similarities and disagreements in the three first Gospels, is that of A PLURALITY OF DOCUMENTS. Of this hypothesis there have been two modifications; — one by the late Rev. Mr. Veysie, the other by Professor Schleiermacher.

1. Mr. Veysie gives the following description of his hypothesis: [3] —

"The apostles, both in their public preaching and in their private conversations, were doubtless accustomed frequently to instruct and improve their hearers by the recital of some action or discourse of our blessed Saviour. And many pious Christians, unwilling to trust to memory alone for the preservation of these valuable communications respecting their Redeemer, were induced to commit to writing the preaching of the apostles while it was fresh in their memory. And thus at a very early period, before any of our canonical Gospels were written, believers were in possession of many narratives of detached parts of the history of Jesus; — drawn up, some in the Hebrew language, and others in the Greek. Of the Hebrew narratives, the most important was soon translated into Greek, for the benefit of the Greek Christians, to whom they were unintelligible in the original, and *vice versâ*."

From these detached narratives Mr. Veysie is of opinion, that the three first canonical Gospels were principally compiled. Of the authors of these Gospels, he thinks that as Matthew alone was an eyewitness, he alone could write from personal knowledge of the facts which he recorded; and that even he did not judge it expedient to

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the imitation of such excellent things." — An evident proof this, that, so early as the beginning of the second century, the four Gospels (and *no greater* number) were not only generally known among the Christians, but were revered even as the Scriptures of the Old Testament, that is, as divine books. The late Bishop of London (Dr. Randolph) has satisfactorily vindicated the testimony of Justin against the charge made by the translator of Michaelis, that this father had quoted what does not exist in sense or substance in any of our four Gospels. See his "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction," &c. p. 78. et seq. second edition.

[1] See the references to the individual testimonies of these fathers in the Index to Dr. Lardner's Works, voce *Gospels*. See also the British Critic and Theological Review, vol. ii. pp. 347—350. for some forcible objections against the existence of any primary document.

[2] Veysie's Examination, p. *56*.

[3] Ibid. p. 97.

draw exclusively from his own stores, but blended with these detached narratives such additional facts and discourses as the Holy Spirit brought to his remembrance. Mark, our author further thinks, had no knowledge of Matthew's Gospel; and having collected materials for a Gospel, he added to them numerous explanations that adapted them to the use of the Gentile converts, together with various circumstances, the knowledge of which he probably acquired from Peter. And he is of opinion also, that Luke compiled his Gospel from similar detached narratives, many of which were the same as had been used by the other Evangelists, though some of them had been drawn up by different persons, and perhaps from the preaching of other apostles; and that Luke, being diligent in his inquiries and researches, was enabled to add greatly to the number. Matthew, Mr. V. thinks, wrote in Hebrew, and the other two evangelists in Greek. "But Mark, being a plain unlettered man, and but meanly skilled in the Greek language, was, for the most part, satisfied with the very words of his Greek documents, and with giving a literal version of such as he translated from the Hebrew. Whereas Luke, being a greater master of the Greek language, was more attentive to the diction, and frequently expressed the meaning of his documents in more pure words, and a more elegant form. Only he adhered more closely to the very expression of his documents, when he came to insert quotations from the Old Testament, or to recite discourses and conversations, and especially the discourses of our blessed Saviour. Both Mark and Luke adhered to the arrangement which they found in those documents which contained more facts than one. The documents themselves they arranged in chronological order. All the evangelists connected the documents one with another, each for himself and in his own way."[1] Our author also conjectures that Matthew's Gospel was translated into Greek some time after the two other Gospels were in circulation; that the translator made great use of them, frequently copying their very words where they suited his purpose; that, however, he made most use of Mark's Gospel, having recourse to that of Luke only when he could derive no assistance from the other: and that where he had no doubt, or perceived no difficulty, he frequently translated for himself, without looking for assistance from either Mark or Luke.[2]

Such is the hypothesis proposed by Mr. Veysie in preference to that of Bishop Marsh. That it accounts for all the phenomena, which have, in Germany, been supposed to involve so many difficulties, we have no inclination to controvert; for, as he observes of his Lordship's hypothesis, "being framed by a man of genius and learning, principally with a view to explain the phenomena which the author had observed, it may reasonably be expected to answer, in every point of importance, the purpose for which it was intended." We are even ready to grant, that it answers this purpose more completely than that of the learned translator of Michaelis, of which, therefore, it may be considered as an improvement; but to improve requires not the same effort of genius as to invent. Both, however, are mere hypotheses, or rather complications of various hypotheses, which he who rejects them cannot by argument or testimony be compelled to admit; while both appear to us to detract much from the authority which has hitherto been allowed to the first three Gospels.

To this author's detached narratives the same objections seem to

[1] Examination of Mr. Marsh's Hypothesis, pp. 98, 99. [2] Ibid. pp. 100, 101.

lie which he has so forcibly urged against the very existence of Bishop Marsh's documents, and which have been already stated. Some of these narratives must have been of considerable length; for, some of the examples of verbal agreement, which they have occasioned between Matthew and Mark, are very long and remarkable. They must likewise have been deemed of great importance, since they were translated from Hebrew into Greek, for the benefit of the Greek Christians; and appear, indeed, from this account of them, to have furnished the whole matter of Mark's Gospel, except the explanation of some Jewish customs and names, and some circumstances acquired from Peter. Such narratives as these are exactly Bishop Marsh's documents, and one of them his document א an entire Gospel, of which not even the memory survived the apostolic age.[1]

2. The hypothesis of Professor Schleiermacher, who is one of the most distinguished classical scholars in Germany, is developed in his "Critical Essay on the Gospel of Saint Luke."[2] He supposes that there existed, at a very early period, detached narratives of remarkable incidents in the life of Jesus Christ, of his miracles, and discourses; which were collected by different individuals with various objects. From these minor collections Dr. Schleiermacher conceives that the works now called Gospels might be framed; and he is of opinion that Saint Luke formed his Gospel by the mere juxta-position of these separate narratives, without any alteration whatever on the part of the compiler, except the addition of copulative particles. The result of the examination which he institutes in support of his hypothesis is, that the evangelist "is neither an independent writer, nor has made a compilation from works which extended over the whole life of Jesus;" and that "he is, from beginning to end, no more than a compiler and arranger of what he found in existence, and which he allows to pass unaltered through his hands."[3]

The only difference between this hypothesis and that of Mr. Veysie is, that the latter supposes the first Christians to have made memoranda of what they heard in the public preaching and private conversation of the apostles; while, according to Professor Schleiermacher the memoranda of the Christians were collected by various persons, as chance or inclination directed them. On the Continent, his hypothesis has been attacked by Frisch, Plank, and Gersdorf; and in this country it has been examined and refuted at great length by the learned author of the critique upon his essay in the British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review; of whose observations the following is an abstract: —

1. *This hypothesis is in itself extremely improbable, and not reconcilable with certain facts deducible from a study of the style and language of St. Luke's Gospel.*

(1.) *The hypothesis is in itself extremely improbable.*

"That a person employed in writing an historical work should *use* such existing narratives as he could depend on, is undoubtedly both probable and rational. That he should *make up* his history of such fragmentary materials has this clear objection to it, that the writer, wanting narratives of *every* period, cannot possibly be nice in his selection, but must take such as he can find, and where he can meet with none of high authority must of necessity be satisfied with others of less. That this must be the consequence of so composing an history is, we think, quite clear on mere reasonable grounds; and that it is practically true Professor Schleiermacher, at least, cannot deny, for he himself states that St.

[1] British Critic, vol. xxxiv. (O. S.) p. 114. An hypothesis similar to that of Mr. Veysie was offered by a learned writer in the Eclectic Review (vol. viii. part i. pp. 423, 424.); but as it is liable to the same objections as Mr. V.'s this brief notice of it may suffice.

[2] A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke, by Dr. Frederick Schleiermacher, with an Introduction by the translator, containing an account of the controversy respecting the origin of the three first Gospels since Bishop Marsh's Dissertation. London, 1825. 8vo. The original German work was published at Berlin, in 1817.

[3] Schleiermacher, p. 313. British Critic and Theol. Rev. vol. ii. p. 354.

Luke has introduced incorrect, unfounded, and almost fabulous narratives into his Gospel. But, we would ask, is an author to be supposed totally without perception of this obvious objection; or, in other words, is it to be supposed that he willingly produces a less valuable and authentic history where he could produce one more so? We must be allowed to think that if this is true of a common history, it is still more so of such a history as a Gospel — the history of a new religion and its founder. Whatever may be thought of the knowledge or powers of its historian, thus much all will allow, that he thought Christianity true, that is to say, he thought himself employed in giving an account of a revelation from God, the whole value of which depends on its being *true*."—Now, "a person so employed would assuredly feel a deep responsibility attaching to him, and an earnest desire to obtain the very best and most authentic accounts of the weighty matters of which he was treating. And if the truth of these remarks be admitted, their force can only be evaded by saying either that St. Luke had not the power of obtaining better materials, or had no discrimination, no power of judging which were better and which worse. Now with respect to the first of these alternatives, without at all inquiring whether he was or was not himself a witness to any of our Lord's miracles, it cannot be denied, with any show of argument, that he lived at the time of the transactions of which he treated, nor that he had ready access to those most capable of giving him exact and accurate accounts of all that passed in our Lord's life. We have positive evidence of his having been for a long time the companion of St. Paul, and of his having gone with him to Jerusalem, when that apostle was seized, and his long imprisonment, previous to his voyage to Rome, commenced. At the close of that imprisonment he was at hand, and accompanied St. Paul to Rome. Where he spent the intermediate time, certainly is not positively mentioned, but from his being with St. Paul at the commencement and the close of his imprisonment, and from his having come to Jerusalem as his companion and friend, we think it most probable that he was not far distant during its continuance; at all events, it is especially mentioned that at Jerusalem he went with St. Paul to St. James, when all the elders were present. It is therefore indisputable, that he had every opportunity of acquiring the best information respecting our Lord, from his apostles and other eye-witnesses of his life and actions. What, then, we would ask, could be the temptation to a person under St. Luke's circumstances, to prefer written narratives, circulating with an authenticity at least loosely established, (and, in fact, according to Professor Schleiermacher, often worthless,) to the oral testimony of the most competent witnesses; the dead words of dead writing to the living voices of living men who had been the constant attendants of our Lord, and must daily have given Luke, at least, sufficient testimony that they were led by the Spirit of God? They who adopt this hypothesis are surely bound to give some account of the motives which could induce a person situated like St. Luke, led either by inclination or a sense of duty to become the historian of the faith he had learned and accepted, and influenced by the feelings by which he and every honest Christian undertaking such a work must have been influenced, to prefer imperfect to perfect testimony, and a set of floating narratives of doubtful character to the certain evidence of eye-witnesses. Professor Schleiermacher, who cannot argue that the evangelist would take pains to procure only authenticated narratives (because he has stated his belief that many erroneous ones have found their way into this Gospel), takes the other alternative to which we have alluded, and frequently says that the nicety and exactness which we, 'who are a critical generation,' require, were unknown to former ages, which were easily satisfied with a less rigid scrupulousness as to accuracy, and that St. Luke might, therefore, be contented with materials really imperfect. But to us this appears a poor answer to the difficulty; for there is no question here as to any research, any abstruse reasoning, any difficult inquiry. The question to be considered is simply this—whether an honest and sincere man undertaking to write the history of events of no trivial importance, but concerning the eternal welfare of mankind, and living with those who had been present and personally engaged in the most remarkable of them, would apply to these competent witnesses for information, or would deem it a wiser and a better plan to collect a set of doubtful narratives of these events, written by doubtful authors, till he had obtained some sort of account of all that interested him, and then to string his Collectanea together, (without a word of addition, of correction, or of explanation,) like Martial's Epigrams, some good, some indifferent, and more bad, into a book."[1]

(2.) *This hypothesis is not reconcilable with certain facts deducible from a study of the style and language of St. Luke's Gospel.*

The validity of this objection is supported by the learned reviewer, who has cited very numerous instances of the evangelist's style and language, compared with those occurring in the Acts of the Apostles, for which the reader is necessarily referred to the Journal already cited.[2] It must suffice to state in this place, that the passages adduced clearly show that the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are throughout the production of the same author; peculiar words and phrases, which are rarely or never used by the other evangelists, being used through various parts of the Gospel and Acts; while a large num-

[1] British Critic, vol. ii. pp. 354—356. [2] Ibid. pp. 358—364.

ber of these peculiar words and phrases are derivable from one source, — the Septuagint; and, what is very curious, a large number of words not used by the other writers of the New Testament, are common to St. Luke and to St. Paul, whose companion the evangelist was for many years. "If," therefore, the reviewer forcibly argues, "a peculiar phraseology runs through two works, if much of that peculiar phraseology is constantly referable to one known source, and if much of it is also to be found in the works of a person for many years the constant companion of the reputed author of these works, there is very strong reason for believing the common opinion to be the correct one. Chance can hardly have done so much — can hardly have distinguished the greater part of above forty narratives (according to Professor Schleiermacher) by the use of the same peculiar phraseology — can hardly have produced a striking connection between their style and that of the intimate friend of their compiler." [1] In a note the reviewer states the following to be the result of a pretty laborious examination of the New Testament: "There are in St. Luke as many words peculiar to him as in the three other evangelists together. In the Acts, very far more. In St. Paul as many nearly as in the rest of the New Testament. In inquiring into the words peculiar to one of the Gospels and Acts, we find more than *three* times as many in St. Luke as in either of the others. With respect to words peculiar to one of the Gospels and St. Paul, there are nearly *three* times as many in St. Luke as in St. Matthew, and more than *three* times as many as in St. Mark or St. John. Of such words there are also in the Acts about *five* times as many as in either Matthew, Mark, or John. And there are about as many words common to St. Luke, the Acts, and St. Paul, and peculiar to these books, as there are words *peculiar* to St. Luke and St. Paul alone." [2]

2. Further, *the principles, on which Professor Schleiermacher conducted the examination of St. Luke's Gospel, do not bear him out in the hypothesis which he has framed.*

(1.) For, *in applying the test of probability, Professor Schleiermacher assumes, in an unwarrantable manner, the right of supplying, from his own fancy, all the circumstances and details of every narration which he finds in the Gospel; and then he explains the whole transaction by means of the very details he has furnished.*

Five examples are adduced by the reviewer of Dr. Schleiermacher, in illustration of this remark [3]: one of which will be sufficient to confirm it. "In commenting on the fifth chapter of the Gospel (p. 81.) he tells us, that the narrative (ver. 27—39.) of the calling of Matthew, and our Lord's discourse with the scribes and pharisees, was not written in connection with the narrative (ver. 17—26.) of the cure of the paralytic, which also contains a conversation of the same parties, for the following reasons: According to Professor Schleiermacher, 'the conversation of Christ and the pharisees is evidently the main point of the second narrative.' That is, the call of St. Matthew is not so. That is only mentioned because the conversation would not have been intelligible without the fact that Christ and his disciples had partaken of a repast at the publican's house.

"'But the doctors of the law would scarcely have staid without till the *splendid* repast was at an end, for they were sure enough of finding Christ and his disciples at the usual time of public business the next day, and this conversation could scarcely follow immediately after the *banquet*. Had this history, therefore, been related in a continuous thread with the former, we should have found them connected either in this manner, *Still they were minded, after this, again to question his disciples, for that the day before he had sat at meat with them at the house of a publican, with many other publicans and sinners:* or thus, *And he went hence to a great feast which a publican had made for him, and from this the scribes and pharisees took occasion afresh, &c.* Ours, however, sounds quite like an independent narrative which premises the circumstances necessary to be known, without concerning itself about any further connection. The phrase καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα is much too vague to seek in it a view to any precise reference to the preceding passage.'

"From this specimen our readers will see somewhat of the nature of Professor Schleiermacher's proceedings. He supposes that we are able to judge accurately of the writer's aim in a particular narrative; that we know enough of the circumstances of the event he relates, to judge whether it is probable that the doctors of the law would wait for Christ till he had finished a visit to a given person *presumed* to be objectionable to them; that we can decide whether these habits were so strongly rooted, that even the unusual excitement of a teacher come to oppose their law, would not induce them to any change, but would compel them to wait till the usual hours of business for an interview with him; whether in a small place they could not have met with him instantly on his leaving the house, without derogating from their dignity; and again, that we can pronounce with some certainty as to the method by which the writer would connect the preceding and succeeding parts of his narrative." [4]

(2.) *He gratuitously assumes the existence of the most incredible stupidity and ignorance on the part of the sacred writers, whenever he can get rid of any difficulty by such an hypothesis.*

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[1] British Critic, vol. ii. p. 357.
[2] Ibid. p. 357. note.
[3] Ibid. pp. 365—368.
[4] Ibid. pp. 365, 366.

"For example, he states it (p. 92.) as his belief, that there was no solemn calling of the apostles, and that St. Luke did not mean to state any such calling. But he allows that St. Mark does, in the most decided manner. And how does he reconcile this with his denial of the fact? Simply by supposing that St. Mark saw this passage in St. Luke, and misunderstood it! There are two monstrous improbabilities to be got over in this statement; for we would ask, first, whether it is credible that St. Mark did not know whether there was a solemn calling of the apostles or not? and, secondly, what possible reason there is for supposing that he was more likely to misunderstand St. Luke than ourselves?" [1]

(3.) "*Not only does Professor Schleiermacher allow himself the most extraordinary license in conjuring up feelings, intentions, motives, and circumstances; but in many instances these conjectures are as unhappy, and the motives and circumstances conjectured* [are] *as forced and as improbable, as it is possible to imagine.*

"He forms a theory as to the way in which a particular occurrence took place, and then imagines circumstances to suit it." Thus[2], "Professor Schleiermacher observes, that Luke (viii. 22.) does not tell us the object of our Lord and his disciples in going on the sea; and he wishes to show that they went out without any particular object, and not with the intention of making a journey.

"'The easiest way of conceiving the whole occurrence is to imagine that the disciples had gone out in the boat to *fish*, and that Jesus accompanied them; for why should he *always* have let the time so spent be lost for their instruction and the exertion of his whole influence on them?' &c. He appears to have forgotten that St. Matthew mentions a circumstance rather adverse to Jesus being employed in teaching his disciples on this occasion — namely, that *he was asleep.* (Matt. viii. 24.)" [3]

(4.) *Lastly, the details conjecturally supplied by Professor Schleiermacher are not only improbable but do great injustice to the character of Jesus Christ, considered not as a divine Being, but as a heavenly teacher, and are quite inappropriate to such a character.*

"It may not be very easy to say what would be the exact line of conduct pursued by such a teacher, or how *far* he might enter into the common detail of life; but surely nothing can be less reasonable than to reduce every action and every movement to the ordinary level of ordinary life, and to contend that every thing which cannot be so reduced is improbable. But this is the level to which Professor Schleiermacher seeks to reduce all the transactions of the life of Jesus; this is the test by which he tries them; and these are the grounds on which he passes sentence of improbability on so many of them. Now let any man look at the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and believing (if after such examination he can) that its author was a mere man, yet under that belief let him say whether, in a system so opposed to the spirit of the time in which it was propagated, so abstract from the world, so pure, so holy, so simple it may be, and yet so sublime, he does not find ample reason for concluding that its author must on very many occasions have entirely avoided and renounced all the common routine of life, and dedicated himself to thought, retirement, and prayer. Jesus, we are told, passed the night on the Mount in prayer. Is there any thing in any way improbable in this, if he were a mere man, believing himself sent by God to instruct and reform mankind? It is mockery to put the question if he were really a heavenly teacher. Yet Professor Schleiermacher chooses to account for this by supposing (without a trace of it in the history) that he must have been at a festival; that he was returning to his abode with a caravan, and from the bustle of the inn, which he disliked, was driven out to pass the night in the air! All this, it seems, is easier than the simple fact, that he, who was, or at all events believed himself to be, a heavenly teacher, desired to strengthen himself for his office by solitude and prayer!" [4]

V. The last hypothesis, which remains to be noticed, is that which supposes the three first Gospels to be derived not from any written Gospel, but from ORAL TRADITION FROM THE APOSTLES AND OTHER DISCIPLES OF JESUS CHRIST.

1. This hypothesis was first suggested by HERDER about thirty years since. He agrees with Eichhorn in assuming a common Hebrew or Chaldee Gospel; but he differs from him in most other respects, by supposing this common document to be a mere *verbal gospel*, which consisted only in the preaching (κηρυγμα) of the first teachers of Christianity; and which, he says, had been verbally propagated for thirty years, when the substance of it was committed to writing in three different Gospels.

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[1] British Critic, vol. ii. p. 369. [2] Critical Essay, pp. 131, 132.
[3] Brit. Crit. vol. ii. p. 372.
[4] Ibid. pp. 373, 374. In pp. 374—395. various other examples are adduced, and the erroneous reasonings of Professor Schleiermacher exposed with equal industry and learning.

According to the form of this oral gospel or preaching, the written Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, were regulated. Hence arose their similarity; but it is useless, Herder further asserts, to examine the *words* used in our three first Gospels, for this very reason, that they proceeded not from a written document, but from a mere oral gospel or preaching: and, accordingly, in his opinion, whoever attempts by an analysis of our three first Gospels to discover the contents of a supposed common document, can never succeed in the undertaking.[1]

2. The hypothesis of Herder was adopted by ECKERMANN, who conceived the existence of an oral or traditional gospel, in which the discourses of Jesus were preserved; and he imagined that Matthew wrote the principal parts of it in the Aramæan dialect. Hence he accounted for the similarity in the three first Gospels, by supposing that Mark and Luke collected the materials of their Gospels at Jerusalem; which existing in this oral gospel, could not but exhibit a striking resemblance to that of Matthew.[2] So improbable, however, did this hypothesis appear in itself, at the time it was announced, that it was generally disapproved, and was at length exploded as a mere fiction; and Eckermann himself is stated to have subsequently abandoned it, and to have embraced the antient opinion respecting the three first Gospels.[3]

3. More recently, the hypothesis of Herder has been revived and modified by Dr. J. C. GIESELER[4] in the following manner: —

The evangelical history, previously to being committed to writing, was for a long time transmitted from mouth to mouth with respectful fidelity: thus it became the object of oral tradition, but a pure tradition, and carefully preserved. As the first Christians came out of the Jewish church, and were familiarly acquainted with that tradition, they had neither desire nor occasion for possessing a written history of their Master. But when the Gospel was propagated in distant places, and reckoned among its followers wise men who had been converted from Paganism, their literary habits and their previous ignorance of the history of Christianity caused them to wish for written books; and the first Gospels were accordingly published. In this way, Luke wrote for Theophilus. But the evangelists only transcribed accurately the most important portions of the *oral tradition,* selecting from it such particulars as were best suited to the place, time, and particular design, on account of which they wrote. Drawing from the same source they have frequently said the same things; but, writing under different circumstances, they have often differed from each other. Further, *oral tradition* was held in higher authority by the church than written Gospels, and was also more frequently consulted and cited. By degrees those Gospels, which followed it with great fidelity, became possessed of the same respect, and finally supplanted it. The heretics contributed much to this result. They, indeed, first introduced into the church a spirit of argumentation and dispute, and they were the first persons who devoted their attention in an especial manner to the theoretical part of religion. In no long time, from the love of discussion and the pride of knowledge, they composed gospels for themselves, also derived from oral tradition, but mutilated and altered. The true Christians,

[1] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 203. where Herder's Christliche Schriften (Christian Writings), vol. iii. pp. 303—416. are quoted. Kuinöel, Comment. in Lib. Hist. Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 5.

[2] Dr. Wait's Translation of Hug's Introduction, vol. i. Pref. pp. v. vi.

[3] Pareau, de Mythica Interpretatione, p. 190.

[4] This notice of Gieseler's hypothesis is abridged from Cellérier's Introduction au Nouv. Test. pp. 260—267., who cites Dr. G.'s Historisch-Kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien. (Historico-Critical Essay on the Origin and early Fates of the written Gospels.) Minden, 1818.

who had hitherto been occupied in loving and in doing good, rather than in reasoning upon religion, and who had been accustomed to derive their requisite knowledge from oral tradition, were obliged, in defence of their faith, to have recourse to *their* Gospels, which were the authentic works of the disciples of Jesus. Then they accustomed themselves to read them, to meditate upon them, and also to quote them, in order that they might be armed against the heretics and their falsified histories. Thus, gradually and silently, without any decree or decision of a council, our four Gospels universally displaced oral tradition. In the *middle of the second century*, they were acknowledged by the whole church, and since that time they have constantly and universally possessed canonical authority.

Such are the prominent features of Gieseler's system That it solves all the phenomena and difficulties which its author imagines to exist in the three first Gospels, we may readily concede; because, being framed for the purpose of explaining those phenomena, it may be expected to answer that purpose: but that both this hypothesis and that of Herder are destitute of any real foundation, will (we think) appear from the following considerations:—

1. In the first place, — not to dwell on the total silence of antiquity respecting the *assumed* existence of these verbal gospels, it is utterly incredible that so long a time should elapse, as both Herder and Gieseler suppose, before any Gospel was committed to writing; because every Christian, who had once heard so important a relation must have wished to write down at least the principal materials of it, had it been only to assist his own memory. Besides, a mere oral narrative, after it had gone through so many different mouths, in the course of so many years, must at length have acquired such a variety of forms, that it must have ceased to deserve the title of a common Gospel (as Herder termed it): and therefore the supposition that our three first Gospels were moulded in *one* form, is difficult to reconcile with the opinion of a mere oral gospel, which must necessarily have assumed a variety of forms. [1] Further, the suppositions of these writers respecting the length of time which they imagine must have elapsed before any Gospel was committed to writing, is contradicted by the evidence, both external and internal, for the early date of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, which has already been stated in pp. 261—266. of this volume.

2. Although we should concede to Dr. Gieseler, that the evangelical history was so well known to the first Christians, that they had no occasion for written documents until after the expiration of *many* years; — that the first Christians, more occupied with the cultivation of Christian virtues than with theological science, paid less attention to the words of the Gospels than to the facts and lessons contained in the evangelical history; — that they restricted the appellation of Γραφη or *Scripture* to the Old Testament; — that the books of the New Testament were not yet collected together, and that they designated its precepts and instructions by the formula of ὁ Χριστος, *Christ has said it:* — although these points should be conceded, yet does it necessarily follow that they undervalued or disregarded written documents? that they preferred *oral tradition* to them, and that they did not generally make use of our four Gospels until the middle of the second century? By no means. Such a conclusion appears to us to be contradicted by the nature of things, since the writings of the apostles must have been held in at least equal estimation with that tradition, by which the subjects of their preaching were preserved; since the heathens, who were converted to the Christian faith, could with difficulty have recourse to *oral tradition*, and would eagerly avail themselves of written documents as soon as they could obtain them, that is to say, early in the second century.

3. Much stress has been laid by Dr. Gieseler on the small number of quotations from the Gospels in the writings of the fathers, previously to the middle of the second century. But this paucity of quotations is sufficiently accounted for by the small number of Christian writers whose works have been transmitted to us, by their preference of practical piety to science and theory, and by the persecutions to which the church of Christ was exposed: so that there is no necessity for concluding that the Gospels were at that time but little known. Such of those quotations as refer to the Κηρυγμα or preaching of the apostles, do not necessarily imply a reference to *oral tradition;* and they may equally be understood of written documents.

4. Gieseler has further urged, in behalf of his hypothesis, our total ignorance of the precise time when, and of the occasion on which, our Gospels were admitted as canonical by the whole church. But the profound and universal veneration in which these Gospels were held from and after the middle of the second century, — that is to say, from the very time

[1] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 204.

when there was a greater number of Christian writers and books, — evidently demonstrates that their authority was by no means *new*, but had been of some continuance. The very nature, too, of our Gospels leads to the same result. In every one of them there is so evidently discernible a special design with reference to the circumstances under which they were written, and to the churches which became the depositaries of them, that we cannot imagine that they could have been addressed to a few individuals only, and that they should have been forgotten by the mass of believers for nearly half a century.

5. Lastly, although the hypothesis of an oral traditionary document should be necessary, in order to solve all the difficulties which are alleged to exist, respecting the sources of the three first Gospels, yet we must take into consideration the real difficulties which it substitutes in place of those pretended difficulties. We must conceive how such *oral tradition*, which was diffused from Rome to Babylon, continued without the slightest alteration, amidst the great number of new converts, who were daily occupied in studying them, and in transmitting them to others. — We must imagine in what manner such tradition continued sufficiently *uniform*; so that persons, who committed some fragments of it to writing, — one, for instance, at Jerusalem, and another at Rome, — should in the *same narrative* frequently make use of the *same phrases* and even the *same words*. And, finally, we must reconcile the hypothesis with the authenticity of our Gospels (which has been both historically and critically proved); and prevent the followers of this system from deducing thence the evidently false conclusion, which some German neologians have not been slow in forming, viz. that our Gospels were supposititious productions posterior to the time of the evangelists.

VI. Since, then, the four hypotheses, with their several modifications, above discussed, are insufficient to account for the harmony, both of words and of thought, which appear in the first three Gospels, should it be asked how are we to account for such coincidences? We reply that they may be sufficiently explained without having recourse to either of these hypotheses, and in a manner that cannot but satisfy every serious and inquiring reader.

" It is admitted on all hands," says Bishop Gleig, " that the most remarkable coincidences of both language and thought, that occur in the three first Gospels, are found in those places in which the several writers record our Lord's doctrines and miracles; and it will likewise be admitted, that of a variety of things seen or heard by any man at the same instant of time, those which made the deepest impression are distinctly remembered long after all traces of the others have been effaced from the memory. It will also be allowed, that of a number of people witnessing the same remarkable event, some will be most forcibly impressed by one circumstance, and others by a circumstance which, though equally connected with the principal event, is considered by itself perfectly different. The *miracles* of our blessed Lord were events so astonishing, that they must have made, on the minds of all who witnessed them, impressions too deep to be ever effaced; though the circumstances attending each miracle must have affected the different spectators very differently, so as to have made impressions, some of them equally indelible with the miracle itself, on the mind of one man; whilst by another, whose mind was completely occupied by the principal event itself, these very circumstances may have been hardly observed at all, and of course been soon forgotten.

" That this is a matter of fact which occurs daily, every man may convince himself by trying to recollect all the particulars of an event which powerfully arrested his attention many years ago. He will find that his recollection of the event itself, and of many of the circumstances which attended it, is as vivid and distinct at this day as it was a month after the event occurred; whilst of many other circumstances, which he is satisfied must have accompanied it, he has but a very confused and indistinct recollection, and of some, no recollection at all. If the same man take the trouble to inquire of any friend who was present with him when he witnessed the event in question, he will probably find that his

friend's recollection of the principal event is as vivid and distinct as his own; that his friend recollects likewise many of the accompanying circumstances which were either not observed by himself, or have now wholly escaped from his memory; and that of the minuter circumstances, of which he has the most distinct recollection, his friend remembers hardly one. That such is the nature of that intellectual power by which we retain the remembrance of past events I know from experience; and if there be any man who has never yet made such experiments on himself, let him make them immediately, and I am under no apprehension, that, if they be fairly made, the result will not be as I have always found it. Let it be remembered, too, as a universal fact, or a law of human nature, as certainly as gravitation is a law of corporeal nature, that in proportion as the impression made on the mind by the *principal object* in any interesting scene is strong, those produced by the *less important circumstances* are weak, and therefore liable to be soon effaced, or if retained at all, retained faintly and confusedly; and that when the impression made by the principal object is exceedingly strong, so as to fill the mind completely, the unimportant circumstances make no impression whatever, as has been a hundred times proved by the hackneyed instance of a man absorbed in thought not hearing the sound of a clock when striking the hour beside him. If these facts be admitted (and I cannot suppose that any reflecting man will call them in question), it will not be necessary to have recourse to *hypotheses*, to account either for that degree of harmony which prevails among the three first evangelists, when recording the *miracles* of our blessed Lord, or for the discrepancy which is found in what they say of the *order* in which those miracles were performed, or of the *less important circumstances* accompanying the performance. In every one of them the *principal object* was our Lord himself, whose powerful voice the winds and waves, and even the devils, obeyed. The power displayed by him on such occasions must have made so deep an impression on the minds of all the spectators as never to be effaced: but whether *one* or *two* demoniacs were restored to a sound mind in the land of the Gadarenes; whether *one* or *two* blind men miraculously received their sight in the neighbourhood of Jericho; and whether that miracle was performed at *one* end of the town or at the *other*, are circumstances which, when compared with the miracles themselves, are of so little importance, as may easily be supposed to have made but a slight impression on the minds of even some of the most attentive observers, whose whole attention had been directed to the principal object, and by whom these circumstances would be soon forgotten, or, if remembered at all, remembered confusedly. To the order of time in which the miracles were performed, the evangelists appear to have paid very little regard, but to have recorded them, as Boswell records many of the sayings of Johnson, without marking their dates; or as Xenophon has recorded the memorabilia of Socrates in a work which has been, in this respect, compared to the Gospels."[1]

With respect to the *doctrines* of our Lord, it should be recollected that the sacred historians are labouring to report with accuracy the speeches and discourses of another; in which case even common historians would endeavour to preserve the exact sense, and, as far as their memory would serve them, the same words. "In seeking to do this," says the late eminently learned Bishop of London (Dr. Randolph), "it is not to be wondered at, that two or three writers should often fall upon verbal agreement: nor, on the contrary, if they write independently, that they should often miss of it, because their memory would often fail them.

[1] Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 104.

With regard to the sacred writers, *it is natural to suppose them studious of this very circumstance; and we have also reason to think, that they had assistance from above to the same effect:* and yet it is not necessary to suppose that either their natural faculty, or the extraordinary assistance vouchsafed them, or both, should have brought them to a perfect identity throughout; because it was not necessary for the purposes of Providence, and because it would have affected their character of original independent witnesses. Let me add, that these discourses, before they were committed to writing by the evangelists, must have been often repeated amongst the apostles in teaching others, and in calling them to remembrance among themselves. Matthew had probably often heard and known how his fellow-labourers recollected the same discourses which he had selected for his own preaching and writing. We know not how much intercourse they had with each other, but probably a great deal before they finally dispersed themselves. Mark and Luke had the same opportunities, even if they were not original eye-witnesses.[1] *I admit, then, of a common document; but that document was no other than the* PREACHING OF OUR BLESSED LORD HIMSELF. *He was the great Prototype. In looking up to him, the Author of their faith and mission, and to the very words in which he was wont to dictate to them, (which not only yet sounded in their ears, but were also recalled by the aid of his Holy Spirit promised*[2] *for that very purpose,) they have given us three Gospels, often agreeing in words, though not without much diversification, and always in sense."*[3]

To this powerful reasoning we can add nothing: protracted as this discussion has unavoidably been, the importance of its subjects must be the author's apology for the length at which the preceding questions have been treated; because the admission of either the copying, documentary,

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[1] "As no two human minds ever proceed with an exact parallelism of ideas, or suggest an unvaried flow of the same words, so in reporting these things, with all their care, the evangelists, like other men, made some minute variations. Substantially, their accounts are the same, and bespeak the same origin; namely, truth, reality, and correct representation. Inspiration was doubtless a further guarantee for this substantial agreement, though it went not to the length of suggesting words. In little matters, therefore, they vary, so that one reports the same fact rather more fully, another more concisely; one preserves more of our Lord's words, another fewer; one subjoins a reason or an explanation, which another did not feel to be necessary: and thus, we may be assured, would three of the most correct observers, and scrupulously exact reporters in the world do always, if they separately related what they had seen or heard the very day before. Probably each would do so if he twice related, in conversation only, the very same transactions or discourses. Our daily experience may prove this to us. Narrations of the same facts, or of the same discourses, always differ from each other; generally, indeed, more than they ought to differ; from carelessness, inaccuracy, or the love of embellishment. But setting these causes aside, they still must differ. One person will relate rather more, another rather less of the facts or words; one will try to explain as he goes, another to illustrate; and the expressions used will always savour, more or less, of the habitual mode of discourse peculiar to the individual. But in reporting speeches, the more care is taken to preserve the very words of the speaker, the less there will be, in that part, of the usual difference of expressions. Still, something there will always remain, because, however careful a man may be to describe or imitate another, he is never able to put off himself. This, then, is the correct view, and I hesitate not to say, the only correct view, of the resemblances and differences in the Gospels. They agree as narratives will agree, whose common model is the truth. They differ as distinct narratives will always differ, while men are men; but they neither agree nor differ as copied narratives would, for the reasons already assigned." Mr. Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists demonstrated, pp. 171—174. In pp. 175, 176. 297—301. the coincidence and difference of the evangelists are appositely illustrated by harmonised tables of the parable of the sower, and of St. Paul's two narratives of his own conversion, and the historical narrative of St. Luke.

[2] John xiv. 26.

[3] "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament," p. 32. *et seq.* See also Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse, vol. iii. pp. 105—112.

or traditionary hypotheses is not only detrimental to the character of the sacred writers, but also diminishes the value and importance of their testimony. "They seem to think more justly," said that eminent critic Le Clerc, "who say that the three first evangelists were unacquainted with each other's design: thus greater weight accrues to their testimony. When witnesses agree, who have previously concerted together, they are suspected: but those witnesses are justly credited who testify the same thing separately, and without knowing what others have said."[1]

[1] Multo rectiùs sentire videntur, qui evangelistas tres priores scripsisse suas historias censent, cùm neuter aliorum consilii conscius esset, unde etiam eorum testimonio majus accedit pondus. Cum enim consentiunt testes, qui inter se capita contulerunt, suspecti potiùs habentur: sed testes, qui idem testantur seorsim, nescii aliorum testimonii, meritò verum dicere videntur. — Joannis Phereponi [i.e. Le Clerc] Animadversiones in Augustini Librum de Consensu Evangeliorum. Appendix Augustiniana, p. 532. Antverpiæ, 1703. folio.

INDEXES.

I. INDEX OF THE SYMBOLICAL LANGUAGE OF SCRIPTURE.

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I.

INDEX

OF THE

SYMBOLICAL LANGUAGE OF THE SCRIPTURES.

[Referred to in Vol. II. p. 462. and also to facilitate the perusal of the Prophetic Books, analysed in this Volume.][1]

ABOMINATIONS.

1. Sin in general. — Isa. lxvi. 3. *Their soul delighteth in* abominations. — Ezek. xvi. 50. *They . . . committed* abomination *before me.* See also ver. 51.
2. An Idol. — Isa. xliv. 19. *Shall I make the residue thereof an* abomination? See also 2 Kings xxiii. 13.
3. The rites and ceremonies of the idolatrous and corrupt church of Rome. — Rev. xvii. 4. *Having a golden cup in her hand, full of* abominations.
4. *Abomination of Desolation.* — The Roman army, so called on account of its ensigns and images which the soldiers worshipped, and which were abominable to the Jews. — Matt. xxiv. 15. *When ye shall see the* abomination of desolation *spoken of by Daniel the Prophet.*

ACCURSED.

1. Devoted to destruction. Josh. vi. 17.
2. Accursed from Christ. Excluded from intercourse, fellowship, and alliance with Christ. — Rom. ix. 3.

ADULTERESS, or Harlot. — An apostate church or city; particularly the daughter of Jerusalem or the Jewish church and people. — Isa. i. 21. *How is the faithful city become a* harlot! See Jer. iii. 6. 8, 9. Ezek. xvi. 22. xxiii. 7. In Rev. xvii. 5. *Babylon the Great, the* Mother of Harlots, means the idolatrous Latin church.

ADULTEROUS Generation (Matt. xii. 39. xvi. 4. Mark viii. 38.); a faithless and impious generation.

ADULTERY. — Idolatry and apostasy from the worship of the true God. — Jer. iii. 8, 9. *When backsliding Israel committed* adultery . . . *with stones and with stocks.* See also Ezek. xvi. 32. xxiii. 37. Rev. ii. 22.

AIR, Wind, Breath. — *The Holy Spirit.* — John iii. 8. *The* wind *bloweth where it listeth; and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth;* so is every one *that is born of the* Spirit. — John xx. 22. *He* breathed *on them, and saith unto them,* "*Receive ye the* Holy Ghost."—Acts ii. 2. 4. *Suddenly there came a sound from Heaven as of a rushing mighty* wind . . . *And they were all filled with the* Holy Ghost. — See PRINCE.

ALPHA and OMEGA, an appellation which Jesus Christ appropriates to himself; to denote that, as he is the Creator, so he will be the final judge of all things. — Rev. i. 8. *I am* Alpha and Omega, *the beginning and the ending.*

AMEN.

1. Truth and faithfulness; a title of Christ. — Rev. iii. 14. *Thus saith the Amen;* Truth, i. e. *He who is true says,* &c.
2. So be it: a form of wishing, approving, or praying at the end of a sentence. Rom. i. 25. Gal. i. 5. Eph. iii. 21. Phil. iv. 20. 1 Tim. i. 17. It was customary among the Jews, when the priests or other persons offered up prayers or praises to God in public, for the whole assembly to respond Amen. Numb. v. 22. This custom was adopted by Christians; and in allusion to it Amen occurs in 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[1] Besides the authorities cited for particular words, this Index of the Prophetic or Symbolical Language of the Scriptures, has been drawn up, after a careful perusal of the remarks on this subject by Sir Isaac Newton, Bishops Lowth and Hurd, the Commentary of William Lowth on the Prophets, the Rev. William Jones's Key to the Language of Prophecy, Dr. Lancaster's admirable Symbolical Alphabetical Dictionary prefixed to his Abridgment of Daubuz's Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation of St. John, Robinson's Greek Lexicon to the New Testament, and Dr. Woodhouse's Notes to his Translation of the Apocalypse. Those symbols, and interpretations of symbols, which have been the subject of controversy among some late writers on prophecy, are *designedly* omitted.

ANGELS.

1. Angel of the LORD. — Jesus Christ. — Zech. i. 12. *The* angel of the LORD *answered and said* . . . See Lowth's Commentary, in loc.

2. Those intellectual and immaterial Beings, whom the Almighty employs, as the ministers of his providence or of his judgments. — Rev. xv. 8. xvi. 1. *Seven* Angels. — xxii. 8. *I fell down to worship before the feet of the* angel, *who showed me these things.*

3. The presiding ministers or bishops of the church. — Rev. ii. 1. *The* angel *of the church of Ephesus.* See also ii. 8. 12. 18. iii. 1. 7. 14.

4. Fallen Spirits. — Matt. xxv. 41. *Everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his* Angels.

ARM.

1. The infinite power of God in creating the world. — Jer. xxvii. 5. *I have made the earth . . . by my great power, and by my outstretched* arm. See also Jer. xxxii. 17.

2. The power, strength, and miracles of Christ. — Isa. liii. 1. John xii. 38. *To whom is the* arm of the Lord *revealed?*

3. When Jehovah is said to *make bare his holy arm*, it means that he hath displayed his great power, which for a long time seemed to be hidden and unemployed. — Isa. lii. 10. *The Lord hath* made bare his holy arm.

ARMOUR. — Such graces and spiritual weapons, as are for the defence of the soul, and by which we may be enabled to combat with our spiritual enemies. — Rom. xiii. 12. *Let us put on the* armour *of* light. — Eph. vi. 11. *Put on the* whole armour *of God.*

ARROWS.

1. Calamities, or judgments of God. — Job vi. 4. *The* arrows *of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof drinketh up my spirit.* — 2 Sam. xxii. 14, 15. compare Psal. xxxviii. 2, 3. and Ezek. v. 16. That calamities are represented among the eastern writers as the arrows of the Almighty, we have abundant proofs: one single instance, from the fine saying ascribed to Ali (or Aaly) the son-in-law of the impostor of Arabia, will illustrate this remark. "It was once demanded of the fourth Khalif (Ali), on whom be the mercy of the Creator, if the canopy of heaven were a bow; and if the earth were the cord thereof; and if calamities were arrows: if mankind were the mark for those arrows: and if Almighty God, the tremendous and the glorious, were the unerring archer, to whom could the sons of Adam flee for protection? The Khalif answered, saying, 'The sons of Adam must flee unto the Lord.' This fine image Job keeps in view, (vi. 8, 9.) wishing that the unerring marksman may let fly these arrows, let loose his hand, to destroy and cut him off." Dr. A. Clarke on Job vi. 4.

2. *Abusive or slanderous words.* — Psal. lxiv. 3. *Who bend* their bows to shoot *their arrows*, even *bitter words.*

3. *Children.* — Psal. cxxvii. 4, 5. *As arrows* are *in the hand of a mighty man; so* are *children of the youth. Happy* is *the man that hath his quiver full of them.* "The orientals are accustomed to call brave and valiant sons the *arrows* and *darts* of their parents, because they are able to defend them. To *sharpen arrows*, to *make sharp arrows*, is, among them, to get brave and valiant sons." [Burder's Oriental Literature, vol. ii. p. 53.]

ASHES. See DUST *and* ASHES.

BABES.

1. Foolish and inexperienced princes. — Isa. iii. 4. *I will give children* to be *their princes*, and babes (or infants) *shall rule over them.* This minatory prediction was fully accomplished in the succession of weak and wicked princes who reigned over the kingdom of Judah from the death of Josiah to the destruction of the city and temple, and the taking of Zedekiah, the last of them, captive by Nebuchadnezzar.

2. Those who are weak in the Christian faith and knowledge, being ignorant and inconstant, like infants. — 1 Cor. iii. 1. *And I, brethren, could not speak unto you . . . but as . . . unto* babes *in Christ.* — Heb. v. 13. *For he is a* babe.

BABYLON. — Papal Rome with all her idolatrous rites. — Rev. xiv. 8. Babylon *is fallen.* See also Rev. xvii. xviii.

BALAAM, Doctrine, error, or way of. — A defection from true religion united with immoral and lascivious practices. — Rev. ii. 14. *Thou hast them that hold the* doctrine of Balaam. — Jude 11. *They have . . . . run greedily after the* error of Balaam. — 2 Pet. ii. 15. *Following the* way of Balaam.

BALANCE.

1. The known symbol of a strict observation of justice and fair dealing. — Prov. xi. 1. *A false* balance is *abomination unto the Lord.* — Prov. xvi. 11. *A just weight and* balance *are the Lord's.* See also Job xxxi. 6.

2. Joined with symbols, denoting the sale of corn and fruits by weight, it becomes the symbol of scarcity. — Lev. xxvi. 26. *When I have broken the staff of your bread, ten women shall bake your bread in one oven; and they shall deliver you* bread again by weight, and *ye shall* eat and not be satisfied. — Ezek. iv. 16. *They shall eat bread* by weight and with care.

BALDNESS — Destruction. — Jer. xlvii. 5. Baldness *is come upon Gaza.*

BASHAN. See KINE, OAKS.

BEAST.

1. A heathen kingdom or power of the earth. — Dan. vii. 17. *These great* beasts, *which are four, are four kings.* See pp. 217—219. of this volume.

2. The Papal antichrist. — Rev. xiii. 2. 12.

BED. — Great tribulation and anguish. — Rev. ii. 22. *I will cast her into a* bed. To

be tormented in bed, where men seek rest, is peculiarly grievous. See Psal. vi. 6. xli. 3. Isa. xxviii. 20.

Bird of Prey. — A hostile army coming to prey upon a country. — Isa. xlvi. 11. *Calling a ravenous* bird *from the east;* Cyrus and his army. Compare Jer. xii. 9. Ezek. xxxii. 4. and xxxix. 17.

Bitter. — Bitterness. — Affliction, misery, and servitude. — Exod. i. 14. *They made their lives* bitter *with hard bondage.* See Jer. ix. 15. — *Gall of* bitterness. (Acts viii. 23.) A state offensive to God.

Black. — Blackness. — Afflictions, disasters, and anguish. — Jer. xiv. 2. *Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are* black *unto the ground.* — Joel ii. 6. *All faces shall gather* blackness. — Rev. vi. 5. *Behold a* black horse. The black colour of the horse in this place indicates that the publication of the Gospel, at the time alluded to, will, by way of punishment upon the heathens, for refusing to hear it, be attended with great affliction. [Daubuz and Woodhouse, in loc.]

Blessing (Cup of). See Cup, 2.

Blindness. — Want of understanding in divine wisdom. — Isa. xxix. 18. *In that day . . . . the eyes of the* blind *shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness.*

Blood.

1. Slaughter and mortality. — Isa. xxxiv. 3. *The mountains shall be melted with* blood. See Ezek. xxxii. 6.

2. Our natural descent from one common family. — *And hath made of one* blood *all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth.* (Acts xvii. 26.) *Flesh and blood* is an expression, which signifies the present natural state of man, unaided by divine grace. When Paul was converted, he did not consult with *flesh and blood.* (Gal. i. 16.) When Peter declared his belief, that his Master was Christ, the Son of the living God, *Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjonah; for* flesh *and* blood *hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* (Matt. xvi. 17.) We are assured that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.

3. Death. — To *resist unto blood,* is to contend unto *death.* (Heb. xii. 4.) *When I passed by thee, and saw thee polluted in thine own* blood, *I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy* blood, *Live.* (Ezek. xvi. 6.) To shed blood is to murder: hence a cruel murderer is called a bloody man. To give the wicked blood to drink, is to put into their hand the cup of death. The metaphorical term is sometimes employed in personification. *What hast thou done?* said God to Cain. *The voice of thy brother's* blood *crieth unto me from the ground.* (Gen. iv. 10.) *Ye are come to the* blood *of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel.* (Heb. xii. 24.)

4. The sufferings and death of Christ, considered as an atonement for the souls of sinners. *Being justified by his* blood, *we shall be saved from wrath, through him.* (Rom. v. 9.) The following expressions in the New Testament are allusions to the typical blood, which was so plentifully shed under the Old. Christians are taught to reason; *that if the blood of bulls, and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the* blood of Christ, *who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your consciences from dead works to serve the living God?* (Heb. ix. 13, 14.) God hath set forth Jesus Christ to be a propitiation, that we may have faith in his *blood;* that is, that we may believe in the efficacy of his atonement. *We have redemption through his* blood; *even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace.* (Eph. i. 7.) *We were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious* blood of Christ, *as of a lamb without blemish, and without spot.* (1 Pet. i. 18, 19.) In the Scriptures, the blood of Christ is sometimes represented as the procuring cause of our justification. *Much more being justified by his* blood, *we shall be saved from wrath through him.* (Rom. v. 9.) The term blood, when used in this sense, means the *merits of Christ's atonement.* But in other passages, our sanctification is imputed to the blood of Christ. *How much more shall the* blood *of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?* (Heb. ix. 14.) The saints are represented as walking in white; because they had washed their robes in the blood *of the Lamb.* (Rev. vii. 14.) The term blood, when used in this figurative sense, evidently signifies the doctrines of the cross; which are the great mean of purifying the believer's heart. *Now ye are clean,* said Christ to his disciples, *through the word, which I have spoken unto you.* (John xv. 3.)

5. *Blood of the covenant.* — (Matt. xxvi. 28.) The blood of Christ, who died in consequence of a covenant to redeem sinners.

Body. — A society; the church, with its different members. — 1 Cor. xii. 20—27.

Book of Life. — Rev. iii. 5. *I will not blot out his name out of the* Book of Life. "As, in states and cities, those who obtained freedom and fellowship, were enrolled in the public register, which enrolment was their title to the privileges of citizens, so the King of heaven, of the New Jerusalem, engages to preserve in his register and enrolment, in the book of life, the names of those who, like the good Sardians, in a corrupted and supine society, shall preserve allegiance and a faithful discharge of their Christian duties. He will own them as

his fellow-citizens, before men and angels. Matt. ix. 32. Luke xii. 8. See also Psal. lxix. 28. Ezek. xiii. 9. Exod. xxxii. 33. Dan. xii. 1. Mal. iii. 16. Luke x. 20." [Dean Woodhouse on Rev. iii. 5.]

BOTTLES. — The inhabitants of Jerusalem, whom God threatened to fill with the wine of terror. — Jer. xiii. 12. *Every* bottle shall *be filled with wine.*

BOW.

1. Strength. — Job xxix. 20. *My* bow was *renewed in my hand.*
2. Victory. — Rev. vi. 2. *He that sat on him had a* bow; where it signifies the progress of the Gospel, which was assisted by sudden and unexpected and miraculous aid and deliverance.

BOWELS. — Pity, compassion. — Luke i. 78. *Through the tender mercy* (literally *bowels of mercy*) of our God.

BRANCH. See TREES, 3.

BRASS. — Strength. — Psal. cvii. 16. *He hath broken the gates of* brass; that is, the strong gates. See Isa. xlv. 2. In Jer. i. 18. and xv. 20. *brazen walls* signify a strong and lasting adversary and opposer.

BREAD or FOOD.

1. The word of God. — Deut. viii. 3. Matt. iv. 4. *Man doth not* (or *shall not*) *live by* bread *only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth* of God.
2. *One* bread. (1 Cor. x. 17.) The union of real Christians.

BREATH. See AIR.

BRETHREN. — Christians united by their profession. — Rom. xii. 1. *I beseech you,* brethren. See Acts xxi. 7. 1 Cor. xv. 6.

BRIARS. — Mischievous and hurtful persons. — Isa. lv. 13. *Instead of the* briar shall *come up the myrtle-tree.* See THORNS, 2.

BRIDE. — The heavenly Jerusalem. — Rev. xxi. 9. *The* bride, *the Lamb's wife.*

BRIDEGROOM. — Christ, as the spouse of the church. — Rev. xxi. 9. See also VOICE, 1.

BRIMSTONE.

1. Perpetual torment and destruction. — Job xviii. 15. Brimstone *shall be scattered upon his habitation;* that is, his house or family shall be destroyed for ever by an inextinguishable fire. Compare Isa. xxxiv. 9, 10. Rev. xiv. 10, &c.
2. Corrupt, infernal, and destructive doctrines. — Rev. ix. 17. *Out of their mouth issued fire and* brimstone. See verse 18.

BULLS. — Wicked, violent men. — Psal. xxii. 12. *Many* bulls *have compassed me; strong* [bulls] *of Bashan have beset me round:* that is, mine enemies, who are as furious and formidable as the bulls fed in the rich pastures of Bashan, beset me on every side.

BURNING. See FIRE, 2.

BUY. To attain in preference to earthly riches. See Isa. lv. 1. Prov. xxiii. 13. Rev. iii. 18.

CALL — CALLED — CALLING.

1. That invitation which God holds out to men to come and enjoy the blessings which flow from a sincere reception of the Christian religion. Eph. i. 18. *That ye may know what is the* hope of his calling: that is, what is the nature of that hope, which those, who have been invited into the divine kingdom, may properly indulge.
2. To call to any duty; that is, to appoint, constitute, or choose. Gal. i. 15. *Who called me,* chose me, *by his grace,* viz. to be an apostle.

CANDLESTICK. See LAMP.

CEDARS.

1. Great men. — Zech. xi. 2. *The* cedar *is fallen.*
2. *Cedars of Lebanon.* — Kings, princes, and nobles of Judah. — Isa. ii. 13. *The day of the Lord shall be . . . . upon all the* cedars of Lebanon.
3. *Top of the young twigs* of cedars. — The prime nobility and able soldiery. — Ezek. xvii. 4. *He cropped off the top of the* young twigs.

CHAFF. — Unprofitable and worthless men. — Psal. i. 4. *The ungodly are . . . like the* chaff, *which the wind driveth away.* — Matt. iii. 12. *He will burn up the* chaff *with unquenchable fire.*

CHAIN. — Bondage or affliction. — Lam. iii. 7. *He hath made my* chain *heavy.*

CHILD, CHILDREN.

1. Those who have received their religious knowledge, character, education, &c. from any one; i. e. a beloved disciple. 2 Tim. i. 2. *Timothy, my dearly beloved* child.
2. Children joined with the names of cities denote their inhabitants or citizens. Matt. xxiii. 37. *O Jerusalem . . . . . how often would I have gathered thy* children. See also Luke xiii. 34. xix. 44. Gal. iv. 25.
3. Children of God; those whom he regards with parental affection, and on whom he bestows peculiar favour. John i. 12. *As many as received him, to them he gave the privilege to become the* children of God.
4. Children of God and children of the devil, in 1 John iii. 10., are those, who resemble God, and those who resemble Satan.

CIRCUMCISION. — An engagement like that of baptism, to renounce the flesh and circumcise the heart. — Deut. x. 16. Circumcise *therefore the foreskin of your heart.* — Deut. xxx. 6. *The Lord thy God shall* circumcise *thine heart.* — Rom. ii. 29. Circumcision *is that of the heart.*

CLAY in the hands of the potter. — Man in the hands of his Creator. — Isa. lxiv. 8. *Now, O* LORD, *thou art our Father;* we *are the* clay; *and thou our* potter, and we are all the work of thy hand. See also Rom. ix. 21.

CLOUDS. — Multitudes and armies. — Jer. iv. 13. *He shall come up as* clouds. — Isa. lx. 8. Who are those, *that fly as a* cloud? — Heb. xii. 1. *A* cloud *of witnesses.*

COLD. Inconstant in affections, purpose, and

conduct; destitute of fervent piety and holy zeal. Rev. iii. 15, 16.

COLUMN. See PILLAR.

CORNER-STONE. Jesus Christ, who is compared to a corner-stone in three points of view; viz.

1. As this stone lies at the foundation, and serves to give support and strength to the building, so Christ, or the doctrine of a Saviour, is called *the chief corner*-stone in Eph. ii. 20.; because this doctrine is the most important feature of the Christian religion, and is the fundamental object of all the precepts given by the apostles and other Christian teachers.
2. As the corner-stone occupies an important and conspicuous place, Jesus is compared to it in 1 Pet. ii. 6., because God has made him highly esteemed (or precious), and has advanced him to a dignity and conspicuousness above all others.
3. Since men often stumble against a projecting corner-stone, Christ is therefore so called (Psal. cxviii. 22. Matt. xxi. 42. and parallel passages), because his Gospel will be the cause of aggravated condemnation to those who wilfully reject it. (Robinson's Lexicon, p. 21.)

CROSS.

1. The doctrine of the cross, that is, of Christ crucified. *The cross of Christ, the preaching of the cross*, occur in this sense in 1 Cor. i. 17, 18. See also Gal. v. 11. vi. 12. 14. Phil. iii. 18.
2. To take up or bear one's cross, that is to be ready to undergo the severest trials, or to expose one's self to the most imminent dangers. Matt. x. 38. xvi. 24. Mark viii. 34. x. 21. Luke ix. 23. xiv. 27.

CROWN of Life, a triumphant immortality. — Rev. ii. 10. *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a* crown of life.

CUP.

1. The blessings and favours of God. — Psal. xxiii. 5. *My* cup *runneth over. The* cup *of salvation*, in Psal. cxvi. 13., is a cup of thanksgiving, or blessing the Lord for all his mercies.
2. *The Cup of blessing.* — The paschal cup was called by the Jews the *Cup of blessing*, because they sanctified it by giving thanks to God for it. To this Saint Paul alludes in 1 Cor. x. 16. when he terms the sacramental cup the *cup of blessing*.
3. Afflictions or sufferings, the effects of the wrath of God. — Isa. li. 17. *Stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the* LORD *the* cup of his fury. *Thou hast drunken the dregs of* the cup *of trembling.* See WINE, 2.

DARKNESS.

1. Sin and ignorance. — Rom. xiii. 12. *Let us cast off the works of* darkness.
2. Affliction, misery, and adversity. — Jer. xiii. 16. *Give glory to the* LORD *your God, before he cause* darkness. See Ezek. xxx. 18. xxxiv. 12.
3. Darkness of the sun, moon, and stars. General darkness and deficiency in the government. — Isa. xiii. 10. *The* stars *of heaven, and the constellations thereof, shall* not give their light: *the* sun shall be darkened *in his going forth, and the* moon *shall* not cause her light to shine. See Ezek. xxxii. 7. and Joel ii. 10. 31. iii. 15.

DAY.

1. A year, in prophetical language. — Ezek. iv. 6. *Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah* forty days; *I have appointed thee* each day *for a* year. See also Isa. xx.
3. (Bp. Lowth's version and notes.) — Rev. ii. 10. *Ye shall have tribulation* ten days.
2. An appointed time or season. — Isa. xxxiv. 8. *It is the* day *of the* LORD's vengeance. See also Isa. lxiii. 4.
3. A state of truth, hope, and knowledge. — 1 Thess. v. 5. *Ye are all children of the light, and children of the* day.

DEATH.

1. The separation of the soul from the body. — Gen. xxv. 11. *After the* death *of Abraham*, &c. This is *temporal* or the *first* death, which is the common lot of man by the divine sentence. (Gen. iii. 19.) The
2. *Second* death (beyond the grave) is the eternal separation of the whole man from the presence and glory of God; not only an extinction of all our pleasurable feelings, and of all our hopes of happiness, but an ever-during sense of this extinction, "where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." — Rev. ii. 11. *He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the* second death.
3. The state of a soul insensible of sin and corruption, and destitute of the spirit of life. — Jude 12. *Twice* dead. — Rev. iii. 1. *Thou ..... art* dead.
4. A state of mortification, death unto sin, and crucifixion with Christ. — Rom. vi. 8. *He that is* dead, *is freed from sin.* — 1 Pet. ii. 24. *Who his ownself bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being* dead to sin, should live to righteousness.

DESERT.

Desert of the Sea. — Babylon. — Isa. xxi. 1. *The burden of the* desert of the sea. The country about Babylon, and especially below it towards the sea, was a great flat morass, often overflowed by the Euphrates and Tigris.

DEW upon Herbs. — The blessing of Heaven, and the power of the resurrection. — Hos. xiv. 5. *I will be as the* dew *unto Israel.* — Isa. xxvi. 19. *Thy dead men shall live; together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust, for thy* dew *is as the* dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead.

DOG.

1. The Gentiles. — The *bad* properties of

dogs are obstinate barking, biting, insatiable gluttony, filthiness in lust, vomiting and returning to their vomit. (Compare Prov. xxvi. 11. 2 Pet. ii. 22.) Hence the Gentiles, on account of the impurity of their lives, and their being without the covenant, were called dogs by the Jews. — Matt. xv. 26. *It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to* dogs. — Psal. xxii. 16. Dogs *have compassed me, the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me.*

2. A watchman, for his vigilance to give notice of approaching danger. — Isa. lvi. 10. *His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant; they are all* dumb dogs, *they cannot bark.*

3. Impudent, shameless persons, and false teachers. — Rev. xxii. 15. *Without are* dogs. — Phil. iii. 2. *Beware of* dogs.

DOMINION.

1. Power. — Neh. ix. 28. *They had* dominion *over them.*

2. Persons over whom another has power. — Psal. cxiv. 2. *Israel was his* dominion.

3. Angels. — Col. i. 16. *By him were created* ..... dominions.

4. The universal government of Almighty God. — Dan. vii. 14. *His* dominion *is an everlasting* dominion.

DOOR.

1. Door opened in heaven. — The beginning of a new kind of government. — Rev. iv. 1. *I looked, and, behold,* a door [was] opened in heaven.

2. An open door. — The free exercise and propagation of the Gospel. — 1 Cor. xvi. 9. *A great* door *and effectual is opened unto me.* See also 2 Cor. ii. 12. Col. iv. 3. Acts xiv. 27.

DRAGON.

1. A symbol of a king that is an enemy. — In Ezek. xxix. 3. it means the king of Egypt, so also in Psal. lxxiv. 13.

2. Satan acting and ruling by his visible ministers. — Rev. xii. 9. *Behold, a great red* dragon, &c.

3. Any hurtful thing. — Psal. xci. 13. *The young lion and the* dragon *shalt thou trample under foot.*

DRUNK — DRUNKENNESS.

1. The symbol of the folly and madness of sinners, who, making no use of their reason, plunge themselves in all manner of crimes. — Isa. xxviii. 1. 3. *Woe to the* drunkards *of Ephraim* ..... *The* drunkards *of Ephraim shall be trodden under feet.*

2. That stupidity, which arises from God's judgments; when the sinner is under the consternation of his misery, as one astonished, staggering, and not knowing what to do. — Isa. xxix. 9. *They are* drunken, *but not with wine; they* stagger, *but not with strong drink.* — Isa. li. 21. *Thou afflicted and* drunken, *but not with wine.* See also Jer. xiii. 13, 14. and Lam. iii. 15.

DUST *and* ASHES. — Mortal man, under death and condemnation. — Gen. xviii. 27. *I have taken upon me to speak unto the* LORD, *which am but* dust and ashes. — Gen. iii. 19. Dust *thou art, and to* dust *shalt thou return.* See Job xlii. 6.

EAGLE.

1. A king or kingdom. — Ezek. xvii. *A great* eagle, *with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came to Lebanon:* that is, Nebuchadnezzar. The *divers colours* refer to the various nations that composed the Babylonian empire.

2. The Roman army, whose ensigns or standards were eagles. — Matt. xxiv. 28. *Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the* eagles *be gathered together.* See WINGS.

3. Eagles' Wings. — To be borne on eagles' wings signifies divine, miraculous deliverance. Who can pursue the eagle through the air, and take from him what is committed to his charge? Exod. xix. 4. Psal. xci. 4. Isa. xl. 31. Rev. xii. 14.

EARTHEN Vessel. — The body of man. — 2 Cor. iv. 7. *We have this treasure in* earthen vessels.

EARTHQUAKES. — Great revolutions or changes in the political world. — Joel ii. 10. *The* earth *shall* quake *before them.* See also Haggai ii. 21. Heb. xii. 26.

EGYPT. — A mystical name of wickedness. — Rev. xi. 8. *Their dead bodies* [shall lie] *in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and* Egypt.

ELDERS (the twenty-four). Probably such of the Patriarchs and Prophets of the old church, as saw by faith the day of redemption and rejoiced; and who are expressly termed Elders (πρεσβυτεροι) in Heb. xi. 2. — Rev. iv. 10. *The* four and twenty elders *fall down before Him that liveth for ever.* [See Dean Woodhouse on Rev. iv. 10.]

EYES admit of various interpretations, according to various circumstances.

I. As applied *to the Almighty,* they denote,

1. His knowledge and prescience. — Prov. xv. 3. *His* eye *is in every place to behold good and evil.* See Psal. xi. 4.

2. His watchful providence. — Psal. xxxiv. 15. *The* eyes *of the* LORD are *upon the righteous.*

II. As applied to Jesus Christ they signify his omnipresence. — Rev. v. 6. *In the midst of the elders stood a Lamb, having* .... *seven* eyes. [See Dean Woodhouse, in loc.]

III. As applied to *Men,* the eyes denote,

1. The understanding, which is as it were the eye of the soul. — Psal. cxix. 18. *Open thou mine* eyes.

2. A guide or counsellor. — Job xxix. 15. *I was* eyes *to the blind.*

3. The whole man. — Rev. i. 7. *Every* eye *shall see him;* that is, all men.

4. Good or evil desires and designs. — Deut. xxviii. 54. *His* eye *shall be* evil *towards his brother,* — ver. 56. *Her* eye *shall be*

evil *towards the husband of her bosom, and towards her son, and towards her daughter.* That is, they shall form cruel and evil designs against them to kill, and even to eat them. History confirms the truth of this prediction.

FACE.

1. As applied to God, it denotes his favour. — Dan. ix. 17. *Cause thy* face *to shine upon thy sanctuary.* — See Psal. xxxi. 16.
2. As applied to man.

FACES harder than a rock (Jer. v. 3.) denote unblushing, shameless persons.

FAITH (Πιστις). In consequence of not attending to the ambiguity of the word πιστις, which in our authorised version is usually translated *faith*, it has been applied by many divines, wherever it occurs, exclusively to faith in the Messiah, when the context often manifestly requires it to be taken in a different sense. *Faith* or *believing* then denotes,

1. *Our assenting to any truth, even to such truths as are known by the evidence of our senses:* thus in John xx. 29. Thomas, whom the evidence of his senses had convinced of the reality of Christ's resurrection, is said to have *believed.*
2. *A general disposition of the mind to embrace all that we know* concerning God, whether by reason or revelation: as in Heb. xi. 6. *Without* faith *it is impossible to please God;* which expression is subsequently applied to the existence of God, his goodness and bounty towards his sincere worshippers.
3. *A peculiar assent to a certain revelation;* for instance, in Rom. iv. throughout, and in other passages that treat of Abraham's faith, it is manifest that this *faith* must be referred to the peculiar promises made to Abraham that a son should be born unto him, though he himself was then about a hundred years old, and Sarah, who was ninety, was barren.
4. *An assent given to the revelation made to Moses;* as when the children of Israel are said to have *believed the Lord and his servant Moses.* (Exod. xiv. 31. compared with John v. 45, 46. and ix. 28.)
5. *An assent given to the revelation made to the prophets;* as when King Jehoshaphat says to the Jews (2 Chron. xx. 20.), "*Believe* in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; *believe* his prophets, so shall ye prosper." Compare also Isa. vii. 9.
6. *A cordial assent to the Christian revelation,* or to some of its leading and fundamental points; as in those passages where we are commanded to *believe in Christ,* or that *he is the Son of God,* or that *he rose from the dead.*
7. *An assent* to future and invisible things revealed by God, as in Heb. xi. 1. where it is defined to be the *substance of things hoped for,* and *the evidence of things not seen,* that is, the giving of a present subsistence to things future, which are fully expected, and the proving and demonstrating of things which are not seen.
8. The Gospel, as in Gal. iii. 2. where Saint Paul demands of the Galatians, whether they *received the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith:* in which passage it is evident that the *hearing of faith* denotes the hearing of the preached Gospel; and in this sense the word *faith* appears to be used in all those parts of the Epistle to the Romans, where it is opposed to the works of the law.
9. *A persuasion that what we do is well pleasing to God:* thus the meaning of Rom. xiv. 23. *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin,* is, that it is sinful in us to do any thing, which we are not fully persuaded is well pleasing to God, or at least permitted by him.
10. *Faith in miracles,* that is, a firm confidence in Christ, to which, at the first propagation of the Gospel, was annexed the performance of miracles: such was the faith which Jesus Christ frequently required of his disciples and others, that he might work certain miracles by them (compare Matt. xvii. 20. Mark xi. 22. xvi. 17. and Luke xvii. 6.); and to which Saint Paul refers in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Lastly, faith sometimes signifies,
11. *Fidelity,* or faithfulness in the discharge of duties or promises, and so the Greek word πιστις is properly rendered in Tit. ii. 10.; as it also should have been in 1 Tim. v. 12., the faith, there said to have been cast off by the younger widows, being their *fidelity* to Christ.

FALLING down, or prostrate, before another. — Submission and homage. — Isa. xlv. 14. *They shall* fall down unto thee, and make supplication unto thee. See also Gen. xxvii. 29. xxxvii. 7, 8.

FAMILY.—The Church of God. — Eph. iii. 15. *Of whom the whole* family *in heaven and earth is named.*

FAT.

1. The most excellent of every thing. — Psal. lxxxi. 16. *He should have fed them with the finest* (Heb. *fat*) *of the wheat.* — Psal. cxlvii. 14. *He filleth thee with the finest* (Heb. *fat*) *of the wheat.*
2. Riches.—Psal. xxii. 29. *All the* fat *upon earth.*—Jer. v. 28. *They are waxen* fat.

FATHER.

1. God, whose children we all are by creation and redemption. — Mal. i. 6. *If I be a* father, *where is mine honour?* — Mal. ii. 10. *Have we not all one* Father? *Hath not one God created us?* See Jer. xxxi. 9.
2. Father of any thing; that is, the author, cause, or source of it.—John viii. 44. *When he* (Satan) *speaketh a lie, ... he is the* father *of it.*—James i. 17. *The* Father *of lights;* the source of spiritual and corporeal light.
3. Example, pattern, or prototype. — John viii. 44. *Ye are of your* father, *the devil;* ye follow the example of satan, so that he

may be properly called your father, and ye his children.

FIELD. — The World. — Matt. xiii. 38.

FIRE.

1. With such adjuncts as denote that it is not put for light, it signifies destruction or torment, great sickness, war, and its dismal effects. — Isa. xlii. 25. *It hath set him on* fire. — Isa. lxvi. 15. *The* LORD *will come with* fire. See Ezek. xxii. 20—22.
2. *Burning fire.* — The wrath of God. — Ezek. xxii. 31. *I have consumed them with the* fire of my wrath.
3. Afflictions, or persecution. — Isa. xxiv. 15. *Glorify ye the* LORD *God in the* fires.
4. *Coals of fire* proceeding out of the mouth of God, or from his countenance, denote his anger. — Psal. xviii. 8. 12, 13.

FIRMAMENT. See HEAVENS.

FLESH (or MEAT).

1. The riches, goods, or possessions of any persons conquered, oppressed, or slain, as the case may be. — Psal. lxxiv. 14. *Thou breakest the heads of leviathan in pieces* (didst destroy the power of Pharaoh and his princes), [and] *gavest him* [to be] meat *to the people* inhabiting the wilderness: that is, didst enrich the Israelites with their spoils. — Isa. xvii. 4. *The fatness of his* flesh *shall be made lean.* See also Mic. iii. 2, 3. and Zech. xi. 9. 16.; in all which places the Targum explains *flesh* by riches and substance.
2. *To devour much* flesh, is to conquer and spoil many enemies of their lands and possessions. In Dan. vii. 5. this expression is used to denote the cruelty of the Medes and Persians, many of whose sovereigns were more like ferocious bears than men. Instances of their cruelty abound in almost all the historians who have written of their affairs.
3. Weak, mortal man. — Isa. xl. 6. *All* flesh *is grass.*
4. The exterior of man; viz.
   (1.) External actions, as circumcision, the choice of food, &c. in which the body is the part chiefly affected. — Rom. iv. 1. *What shall we say then, that Abraham our father hath found, as pertaining to the* flesh? i. e. so far as regards external actions. — 1 Cor. x. 18. *Behold Israel after the* flesh; i. e. as it respects the external performance of their religious rites. — Gal. iii. 3. ....*Are ye now made perfect by the* flesh? will ye turn again to mere external ceremonies?
   (2.) External appearance, condition, circumstances, character, &c. — John vi. 63. *The* flesh *profiteth nothing.* — 2 Cor. v. 16. *We know no man after the* flesh.

FLOOD. — Extreme danger. — Psal. lxix. 15. *Let not the water-*flood overflow me. See RIVER.

FOOD. See BREAD.

FOREHEAD. — A public profession or appearance before men. — Antiently, slaves were stigmatised in their forehead with their master's mark: hence to be *sealed in the* forehead (Rev. vii. 3.), and to *have a mark in the* forehead (Rev. xiii. 16, &c.), is to make a public profession of belonging to the person whose mark is said to be received.

FOUR. See NUMBERS.

FOREST of the South-field. See SOUTH-FIELD.

FORNICATION. — All those carnal impurities, which were common among the heathens, and even formed a part of their sacred rites, Rev. ii. 20. *Thou sufferest that woman Jezebel).....to seduce my servants to commit* fornication.

FORTRESSES. See TOWERS.

FOX. — A cunning, deceitful person. — Luke xiii. 32. *Go, tell that* fox. — Ezek. xiii. 4. *Thy prophets are like the* foxes *in the deserts.*

FRUIT.

1. The consequences of an action. Prov. i. 31. *They shall eat the* fruit *of their own ways.*
2. Good works. — Psal. i. 3. *He* (the pious man).....*bringeth forth his* fruit in his season. — Matt. iii. 8. *Bring forth* fruits *meet for repentance.*

FURNACE.

1. A place of great affliction. — Deut. iv. 20. *The* LORD *hath...brought you forth out of the iron* furnace, *out of Egypt.*
2. Such afflictions as God sends for the amendment and correction of men. — Jer. ix. 7. I *will* melt *them, and try them,* that is, in the furnace of affliction.

GARMENTS.

1. *White* garments were not only the emblem of purity and being in the favour of God (Psal. li. 7. Isa. i. 18.), but also, as being worn on festival days, were tokens of joy and pleasure. (Isa. lii. 1. lxi. 10.) Kings and princes likewise were arrayed in white garments of fine linen. (Gen. xli. 42. 1 Chron. xv. 27. Luke xvi. 19.) Hence, *to walk* or *be clothed in white,* signifies to be prosperous, successful, and victorious, to be holy, happy, honoured, and rewarded. — Rev. iii. 4, 5. *They shall* walk in white ..... *The same shall* be clothed in white raiment.
2. Souls. — Rev. iii. 4. *Thou hast a few names in Sardis which have not defiled their* garments. — The Hebrews considered holiness as the *garb* of the soul, and evil actions as stains or spots upon this garb.

GATES.

1. *Gates of the daughter of Sion.* The ordinances of Jehovah, by which the soul is helped forward in the way of salvation. — Psal. ix. 14. *That I may show forth all thy praise in the* gates *of the daughter of Sion.*
2. *Gates of Death.*

Imminent danger of death. — Psal. ix. 13. *Have mercy upon me, O* LORD.....*thou that deliverest me from the* gates of death.

"The Hebrew poets supposed the lower world, or region of death, to have gates. Thus it is said in Job xxxviii. 17. *Have the* gates of death *been opened unto thee? or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death?* — King Hezekiah, in his hymn of thanksgiving for his recovery, (Isa. xxxviii. 10.) sings: *I shall* go to the gates of the grave." [Burder's Oriental Literature, vol. ii. p. 11. The same image is found among the Greek and Roman poets. Ibid. p. 12. Dr. Good's Translation of Job, p. 452.]

3. Security. — (Because gates are a security to a fortress or city.) — Psal. cxlvii. 13. *He hath strengthened the* bars of thy gates. That is, God has given Jerusalem security, and put it out of danger. So, in Job xxxviii. 10., the *setting of bars and gates* against the sea, means the securing of the earth against its inroads. The decree, there alluded to, as imposed by the Almighty upon the ocean, is that wonderful law of gravitation in fluids, by which, all the parts of them exerting an equal pressure upon one another, the equilibrium of the whole is maintained.

Girdle. — The eastern people, wearing long and loose garments, were unfit for action or business of any kind, without girding their clothes about them. A girdle therefore denotes strength and activity; and to unloose it is to deprive a person of strength, to render him unfit for action. — Isa. v. 27. *Nor shall the* girdle *of their loins be* loosed. — Isa. xlv. 1. *I will* loose the loins of kings *to open before him* (Cyrus) *the two-leaved gates.*

Gold.

1. Good men bearing trouble, as gold bears the fire. — Job xxiii. 10. *When he hath tried me I shall come forth as* gold.

2. Such faith and virtue as will enable its possessor to stand a fiery trial. — Rev. iii. 18. *I counsel thee to buy of me* gold *tried in* the *fire.* — See Image.

Grapes; Fruits of righteousness. — Isa. v. 2. *He looked that it should bring forth* grapes, *and it brought forth wild grapes.*

Grass. — The common people, or mankind in general. — Isa. xl. 6, 7. *All flesh is* grass; that is, weak and impotent as grass.

Ground. — The heart of man. — Luke viii. 15. *That on the good* ground, *are they which, in an honest and good* heart, *having heard the word, keep it.*

Growth of plants.

1. Resurrection and glorification. — Hos. xiv. 7. *They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn; they shall* grow *as the vine.* — John xii. 24. *Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.* See also Isa. lxvi. 14. and 1 Cor. xv. 36—44.

2. Growth in grace. — Isa. lv. 10, 11. *For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater; — so shall my word be.*

Hail.

1. The devastations made by the inroads of enemies. — Isa. xxviii. 2. *The Lord hath a mighty and a strong one* [which] *as a* tempest of hail.....*shall cast down to the earth with the hand.* — Under this resemblance the prophet represents the utter destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, which afterwards was accomplished by Shalmaneser. Compare Isa. xxxii. 19. Ezek. xiii. 11. 13.

2. *Hail and fire.* — The calamities of war, with all their horrors. — Rev. viii. 7. *There followed* hail and fire *mingled with blood.*

Hair.

1. Grey hairs. — Decay of natural strength, and tendency to dissolution. — Hos. vii. 9. Grey hairs *are here and there upon him, and he knoweth it not.*

2. Shaving the head, the hair of the feet and of the beard, with a razor hired (the king of Assyria), in Isa. vii. 20. signifies the troubles, slaughter, and destruction that were to be brought upon the Jews by the Assyrian king and his armies.

Hand. — Power and strength.

1. *Right* hand. — Great protection and favour. — Psal. xviii. 35. *Thy* right hand *hath holden me up.*

2. Laying *the right hand* upon a person. The conveyance of blessings — strength — power, and authority. Thus Jacob conveyed blessings to the two sons of Joseph. (Gen. xlviii. 20.) The *hand* that touched the prophet Daniel (x. 10.) strengthened him: and Moses, by laying his right hand upon Joshua (Numb. xxvii. 18.), delegated a portion of his authority to him.

3. Hand of God upon a prophet. — The immediate operation of God or his Holy Spirit upon a prophet. — Ezek. viii. 1. *The* hand *of the* Lord God fell upon me. Compare 1 Kings xviii. 46. 2 Kings iii. 15.

Harvest.

1. Some destroying judgment, by which people fall as corn by the scythe. — Joel iii. 13. *Put ye in the sickle, for the* harvest *is ripe.*

2. The *end of the world.* — Matt. xiii. 39.

Head.

1. The superior part or governing principle. — Isa. i. 5. *The whole* head *is sick.* — Dan. ii. 38. *Thou art this* head *of gold.* — Isa. vii. 8, 9. *The* head (that is the sovereign) *of Damascus* is Rezin; and the head *of Samaria is Remaliah's son;* that is, Pekah king of Israel.

2. Heads of a people. — Princes or magistrates. — Isa. xxix. 10. *The prophets and your* heads (marginal rendering) *hath he covered.* — Micah iii. 1. 9. 11. *Hear, O*

heads *of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel*.....*The* heads *judge for reward.*

3. When a body politic is represented under the symbol of an animal, and is considered as one body, the *head* of it, by the rule of analogy, is its capital city. — Isa. vii. 8, 9. *The* head *of Syria is Damascus*.....*And the* head *of Ephraim* (that is, of the kingdom of Israel,) *is Samaria.*

HEAT. (Scorching.) — Trouble and persecution. — Matt. xiii. 6. 21. *When the* sun *was up, they were* scorched, and *because they had not root, they withered away*..... *When* tribulation *or* persecution *ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended.*

HEAVENS.

1. The Divine Power ruling over the world. — Dan. iv. 26....*After that thou shalt know that* the heavens *do rule.*

2. God. — Matt. xxi. 25. *The baptism of John, whence was it? From* heaven, *or of men?* &c. — Luke xv. 18. *I have sinned against* heaven, *and before thee.* See also verse 21.

3. Heaven and earth. — A political universe. — Isa. li. 16. *That I may plant the* heavens, *and lay the* foundations of the earth, *and say unto Sion, "Thou art my people."* That is, that I might make those who were but scattered persons and slaves in Egypt before, a kingdom and polity, to be governed by their own laws and magistrates. See DOOR, 1.

HELL.

1. Utter destruction, a total overthrow. — Isa. xiv. 15. Matt. xi. 23. *Thou shalt be brought down to* hell.

2. The general receptacle of the dead, the place of departed souls. — Rev. i. 18. *I have the keys of* hell *and of death.*

HELMET. — Salvation. — Eph. vi. 17. 1 Thess. v. 8.

HILLS. See MOUNTAINS.

HIRELING. A false minister who careth not for the sheep. — John x. 12, 13. *He that is an* hireling, *whose own the sheep are not...fleeth, because he is an* hireling, *and careth not for the sheep.*

HOPE.

1. The object of hope; i. e. future felicity. Rom. viii. 24. Gal. v. 5. Col. i. 5. 2 Thess. ii. 16.

2. The author or source of hope. 1 Tim. i. 1. — *Jesus Christ, our* hope. — Col. i. 27. *Christ in you, the* hope *of glory.*

3. Confidence, security. — Acts ii. 26. *My flesh shall rest in* hope.

HORN.

1. Regal power, or monarchy. — Jer. xlviii. 25. *The* horn *of Moab is cut off.* In Zech. i. 18. 21. and Dan. viii. 20—22. the *four horns* are the four great monarchies, each of which had subdued the Jews.

2. *Horns of an altar.* — The Divine protection. — Amos iii. 14. The horns of the altar *shall be cut off and fall to the ground.* That is, there shall be no more atonements made upon the altar. The asylum or sanctuary thereof shall not stand. Antiently, both among Jews and Gentiles, an altar was an asylum or sanctuary for such persons as fled to it for refuge.

3. Strength, glory, and power. — Horns (it is well known) are emblems of these qualities both in sacred and profane writers, because the strength and beauty of horned animals consist in their horns. By the *seven horns*, attributed to the Lamb, (in Rev. v. 6.) is signified that universal power which our Lord obtained, when, suffering death under the form of an innocent victim, he thereby vanquished the formidable enemy of man. *All power*, said he to his disciples immediately after this conflict, *is given to me in heaven and in earth.* (Matt. xxviii. 18.)

4. *Horn of Salvation.* — A mighty and glorious Saviour, or Deliverer. — Psal. xviii. 2. *The* LORD is...*the* horn of my salvation. See Luke i. 69.

HORSE.

1. The symbol of war and conquest. — *God hath made Judah as his goodly* horse *in the battle.* That is, He will make them conquerors over his enemies, glorious and successful.

2. More particularly of *speedy* conquest. — Joel ii. 4. *The appearance of them is as the appearance of* horses; *and as horsemen so shall they* run. — Hab. i. 8. *Their* horses *are* swifter *than leopards.* — Jer. iv. 13. *His* horses *are* swifter *than eagles.*

3. *White* being the symbol of joy, felicity, and prosperity, and *white horses*, being used by victors on their days of triumph, are the symbol of certain victory and great triumph upon that account. — Rev. vi. 2. *I saw, and behold a* white horse; *and he that sat on him .....went forth conquering and to conquer.* See also BLACK.

HOUSE.

1. The Church of God. — 1 Tim. iii. 15. *The* House of God, *which is the church of the living God.* See Heb. iii. 6.

2. The body of man. — 2 Cor. v. 1. *If our earthly* house *of* [*this*] *tabernacle* were dissolved.

HUNGER and THIRST. — The appetites of the spirit after righteousness. — Luke i. 53. *He hath filled the* hungry *with good things.* — Matt. v. 6. *Blessed are they which do* hunger and thirst after righteousness, *for they shall be filled.* — Psal. xlii. 2. *My soul* thirsteth *for God.*

IDOL — IDOLATRY. — Any thing too much, and sinfully indulged. — 1 John v. 21. *Keep yourselves from* idols. — Col. iii. 5. *Covetousness which is* idolatry.

IMAGE of gold, silver, brass, and iron. — The four great monarchies or kingdoms of the world. — Dan. ii. 31—45. Compare p. 216. of this volume.

INCENSE. — Prayer, or the devotion of the

heart in offering up prayer to God. — Psal. cxli. 2. *Let my prayer be set before thee as* incense. — Rev. v. 8. *Golden vials full of* incense, *which are the prayers of the saints.* See also Luke i. 10.

INFIRMITIES of the Body. — All the distempers and weaknesses of the mind. — Matt. viii. 17. *Himself took our* infirmities, *and bare our sicknesses.* Compare Isa. liii. 4. and xxxv. 5, 6.

ISLE — ISLAND. — Any place or country to which the Hebrews went by sea. — Gen. x. 5. *By these were the* isles of the Gentiles *divided in their lands;* that is, Europe. — In Isa. xx. 6. *This isle* means *Ethiopia,* whither the Hebrews went by sea from Ezion-geber. And in Isa. xxiii. 2. 6., *the inhabitants of the isle* are the Tyrians.

JERUSALEM.

1. The earthly Jerusalem. — A sign, earnest, and pattern, of the heavenly Jerusalem. — Rev. iii. 12. *Him that overcometh..... I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God,* [which is] *new* Jerusalem. — "The numerous prophecies, foretelling great and everlasting glory to Jerusalem, have not been fulfilled in the *literal* Jerusalem; nor can be so fulfilled, without contradicting other predictions, especially those of our Lord which have denounced its ruin. They remain, therefore, to be fulfilled in a spiritual sense; in that sense which Saint Paul points out to us, when, in opposition to *Jerusalem that now is, and is in bondage with her children,* he presents to our view *Jerusalem which is above, which is the mother of us all.* (Gal. iv. 24—26.) This is the city which *Abraham looked to; a building not made with hands, whose builder and maker is God* (Heb. xi. 10—16. xii. 22—24. xiii. 14.); even the heavenly Jerusalem." [Dean Woodhouse on Rev. iii. 12.]
2. Jerusalem *that now is* (Gal. iv. 25.); the Jewish or Mosaic dispensation.
3. Jerusalem *that is above* (Gal. iv. 26.), the celestial Jerusalem; i. e. the Christian dispensation, which will be perfected in splendour and majesty, when Christ shall descend to judge the world.

JEZEBEL. — A woman of great rank and influence at Thyatira, who seduced the Christians to intermix idolatry and heathen impurities with their religion. — Rev. ii. 20. *I have a few things against thee, because thou hast suffered that woman* Jezebel, *which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things offered unto idols.* — Instead of that woman Jezebel—την γυναικα Ιεζαβηλ— many excellent manuscripts, and almost all the antient versions, read την γυναικα σου Ιεζαβηλ, THY *wife Jezebel;* which reading asserts that this bad woman was the wife of the bishop or angel of that church; whose criminality in suffering her was, therefore, the greater. She *called herself a prophetess,* that is, set up for a teacher, and taught the Christians that fornication and eating things offered to idols were matters of indifference, and thus they were seduced from the truth. [Dean Woodhouse and Dr. A. Clarke, on Rev. ii. 20.]

KEYS.

1. Power, authority. — Rev. i. 18. *I... have the* keys *of hell and of death;* that is, power and authority over life, death, and the grave. Compare Rev. iii. 7. and Isa. xxii. 22. — *The* keys *of the kingdom of heaven,* in Matt. xvi. 19., signify the power to admit into that state, and to confer the graces and benefits thereof.
2. *The* key *of knowledge,* in Luke xi. 52., is the power or mean of attaining knowledge.

KINE of Bashan. (Amos iv. 1.) The luxurious matrons of Israel. See an illustration of this text, in Vol. II. p. 378.

KING. — God, the King of kings and origin of all authority and power. See Matt. xxii. 2. Rev. xvii. 14.

LABOURER. — The minister who serves under God in his husbandry. — Matt. ix. 37, 38. *The harvest truly is plenteous, but the* labourers *are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he will* send *forth* labourers *into his harvest.* — 1 Cor. iii. 9. *We are* labourers *together with God.*

LAMB. — The Messiah, suffering for the sins of the world. — John i. 29. *Behold the* Lamb *of God that taketh away the sin of the world.* — Rev. v. 12. *Worthy is the* Lamb *that was slain.*

LAMP.

1. Direction or *support.* — 2 Sam. xxii. 17. *That thou quench not the light* (Heb. lamp) *of Israel.*
2. A Christian church. — Rev. i. 12. *The seven golden* lamps (incorrectly rendered *candlesticks* in our version) are the seven churches of Christ (Rev. i. 20.), represented as *golden,* to show how precious they are in the sight of God.

LEAVEN. — *Corrupt doctrine and corrupt practices.* — Matt. xvi. 6. Luke xii. 1. Mark viii. 15. *Beware of the* leaven *of the Pharisees and Sadducees, which is hypocrisy.* — 1 Cor. v. 6—8. *Know ye not that a little* leaven *leaveneth the whole lump? Purge, therefore, the old* leaven, *that ye may be a new lump. ..... Let us keep the feast, not with old* leaven, *neither with the* leaven *of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened* bread *of sincerity and truth.*

LEAVES. — Words, the service of the lips, as distinguished from the fruits of good works. — Psal. i. 3. *His* leaf *also shall not wither.*

LEBANON. — Zech. xi. 1. *Open thy doors,* O Lebanon; i. e. the temple at Jerusalem, the stately buildings of which were compared to the cedars of the forest of Lebanon.

LEGION.— Any great number.—Matt. xxvi. 53. *More than twelve* legions of angels.

LEOPARD.

1. A swift, powerful, and rapacious enemy. — Dan. vii. 6. *I beheld, and lo, another like a* leopard, i. e. Alexander, falsely named the Great, whose rapid conquests are well characterised by this symbol.
2. Men of fierce, untractable, and cruel disposition. — Isa. xi. 6. *The* leopard *shall lie down with the kid.*

LIFE.

1. Immortality. — Psal. xvi. 11. *Thou wilt show me the path of* life. — Psal. xxxvi. 9. *With thee is the fountain of* life.
2. Christ the fountain of natural, spiritual, and eternal life. — John i. 4. *In him was* life. — John xi. 25. *I am the resurrection and the* life. — Col. iii. 4. *When Christ, who is our* life, *shall appear.*
3. The doctrine of the Gospel, which points out the way of life. — John vi. 63. *The words that I speak unto you, they are* life. See TREE of Life.

LIGHT.

1. Joy, comfort, and felicity. — Esther viii. 16. *The Jews had* light *and gladness, and joy and honour.* — Psal. xcvii. 11. Light *is sown for the righteous.* — Psal. cxii. 4. *Unto the upright there ariseth* light *in the darkness;* that is, in affliction.
2. That which enlightens the mind: instruction, doctrine, &c., which illuminates and fills the mind with higher and more perfect knowledge; so that men are led to adopt a new and better mode of thinking, feeling, judging, and acting, and to entertain nobler views and higher hopes. 1 Thess. v. 5. Eph. v. 8. *Children* (or *sons*) *of the* light; that is, those who have been enlightened.
3. The author of moral light, a moral teacher. —*Ye are the* light *of the world.*—John v. 35. *He was a burning and shining* light; i. e. a distinguished and most zealous teacher of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven.

LION.

1. An emblem of fortitude and strength. — Rev. v. 5. *The* Lion *of the tribe of Judah,* means Jesus Christ, who sprang from this tribe, of which a lion was the emblem.
2. The lion is seldom taken in an ill sense, except when his mouth or rapacity is in view. — Psal. xxii. 13. *They gaped upon me with their mouths as a* ravening *and a* roaring lion. See also 1 Pet. v. 8.

LOCUSTS. — Antichristian corrupters of the Gospel. — Rev. ix. 3. *There came out of the smoke* locusts *upon the earth.* Dean Woodhouse refers them to the Gnostic heretics; but most other commentators to the overwhelming forces of Mohammed.

LOINS. — *Gird up the* loins *of your mind:* hold your minds in a state of constant preparation and expectation. The metaphor is derived from the custom of the Orientals; who, when they wish to apply themselves to any business requiring exertion, are obliged to bind their long flowing garments closely around them.

MAMMON *of unrighteousness.* — Luke xvi. 9. worldly riches. Mammon was the Syrian god of riches.

MANNA.

1. The bread of life. John vi. 26—50.
2. *Hidden manna.* — The ineffable joys of immortality. — Rev. ii. 17. *To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the* hidden manna.

MEAT. See FLESH.

MOON.

1. The Church. — Song of Sol. vi. 10. *Fair as the* moon.
2. The Mosaic dispensation. — Rev. xii. 1. *The* moon *under her feet.* See SUN, 3.

MOUNTAIN.

1. High mountains and lofty hills denote kingdoms, republics, states, and cities. — Isa. ii. 12. 14. *The day of the Lord shall be .....upon all the* high mountains. In Zech. iv. 7. and Jer. li. 25. *the great mountain* and *the destroying mountain* signify the Assyrian monarchy.
2. Mountain of the Lord's House. — The kingdom of the Messiah. — Isa. ii. 2. *It shall come to pass in the last days, that the* mountain of the LORD'S House *shall be established upon the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it.* See Isa. xi. 9. and Dan. ii. 35. 45.

MYSTERY.

1. A secret, something that is hidden, not fully manifest, not published to the world, though, perhaps, communicated to a select number. In this sense it occurs in 2 Thess. ii. 7. where Saint Paul, speaking of the Antichristian spirit, says, "*The mystery of iniquity doth already work.*" The spirit of Antichrist has begun to operate, but the operation is latent and unperceived. In this sense also the same apostle applies the words, "mystery," and "mystery of Christ," in a peculiar manner to the calling of the Gentiles (Eph. iii. 3—9.); "*which in other generations was* not made known *to the sons of men, as it is now* revealed *to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs and of the same body* (namely with the Jews), *and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospel.*" Compare also Rom. xvi. 25, 26. Eph. i. 9. iii. 9. vi. 19. Col. i. 26, 27.
2. "A spiritual truth couched under an external representation or similitude, and concealed or hidden thereby, unless some explanation be given." To this import of the word our Saviour probably alluded when he said to his disciples, *To you it is given to know the* mystery *of the kingdom of God; but, to them that are without, all these things are done in parables.* (Mark iv. 11.) The secret was disclosed to the apostles, who obtained

the spiritual sense of the similitude, while the multitude amused themselves with the parable, and sought no further. In this sense, mystery is used in the following passages of the New Testament: Rev. i. 20. *The mystery*, that is, the spiritual meaning, *of the seven stars.* — *The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches; and the seven candlesticks are the seven churches.* Again, xvii. 5. *And upon her forehead a name written*, Mystery, *Babylon the Great*, that is, Babylon in a mystical sense, *the mother of idolatry and abominations;* and, in verse 7. *I will tell thee the mystery*, or *spiritual* signification, *of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her*, &c. In this sense likewise the word *mystery* is to be understood in Eph. v. 32.

3. "Some sacred thing, hidden or secret, which is naturally unknown to human reason, and is only known by the revelation of God." Thus, in 1 Tim. iii. 16. we read — *Without controversy great is the* mystery *of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.* "The mystery of godliness, or of true religion, consists in the several particulars here mentioned by the apostle — particulars, indeed, which it would *never have entered into the heart of man to conceive* (1 Cor. ii. 9.), had not God accomplished them in fact, and published them by the preaching of his Gospel; but which, being thus *manifested*, are *intelligible as facts* to the *meanest* understanding." So in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. the understanding of all mysteries denotes the understanding of all the revealed truths of the Christian religion, which in 1 Tim. iii. 9. are called the *mystery of faith*, and of which, in 1 Cor. iv. 1. the apostles are called *stewards of the mysteries of God.*

4. The word *mystery* is used in reference to things or doctrines which remain wholly or in part incomprehensible, or *above* reason, after they are revealed. Such are the doctrines of the resurrection of the dead, that all shall not die at the last day, but that all shall be changed (1 Cor. xv. 51.), the incarnation of the Son of God, the doctrine of the Trinity, &c. This is the ordinary or theological sense of the word mystery; it does not imply any thing contrary to reason, nor utterly unknown as to its being; but it signifies a matter, of whose existence we have clear evidence in the Scriptures, although the *mode* of such existence is incomprehensible, or *above* our reason. (Schleusner's and Parkhurst's Greek Lexicons to the New Testament, *voce* Μυστηριον. Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Four Gospels, vol. i. pp. 298—306. See also J. G. Pfeiffer's Instit. Herm. Sac. pp. 704—724.)

NAKED. — Destitute of the image of God; not clothed with the garment of holiness and purity. — Rev. iii. 17. *And knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and* naked.

NAMES. — The persons called by them. — Acts i. 15. *The number of the* names were about *an hundred and twenty.* — Rev. iii. 4. *Thou hast a few* names *even in Sardis.*

NATURE.

1. Birth, origin, or nativity. *Jews by* nature. Gal. ii. 15.
2. The constitution and order of God in the natural world. Rom. i. 26. xi. 21. 24.
3. The native dispositions, qualities, properties, &c. of any person or thing. 2 Pet. i. 14. *Partakers of a divine* nature. — Eph. ii. 3. *We were by* nature, i. e. according to our natural disposition, when not enlightened and renewed by the influences of the Gospel, *children of wrath.*
4. A native feeling of decorum, a native sense of propriety, by which a person is withheld from needlessly receding from the customs of his country. — 1 Cor. xi. 14. *Doth not* nature *itself* — does not your own native sense of decorum — *teach you, that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him*, viz. among the Greeks, to whom alone the apostle was writing; and consequently he does not refer to the customs of the Hebrews. (Robinson's Lexicon, *voce* Φυσις.)

NIGHT. — Intellectual darkness; adversity. — Rev. xxi. 25. *There shall be no* night *there;* that is, there shall be no more idolatry, no more intellectual darkness, no more adversity in the New Jerusalem; but all shall be peace, joy, happiness, and security.

NUMBERS.

Two; a few. — Isa. vii. 21. *A man shall nourish* two *sheep.* — 1 Kings xvii. 12. *I am gathering* two sticks.

Three or *third.* — Greatness, excellency, and perfection. — Isa. xix. 24. *In that day shall Israel be the* third *with Egypt and Assyria;* that is, as the prophet immediately explains, great, admired, beloved, and blessed.

Four. — Universality of the matters comprised therein. — Isa. xi. 12. *The* four *corners of the earth* denote all parts of the earth. — Jer. xlix. 6. *Upon Elam* (or Persia) *will I bring the* four winds *from the* four *quarters of the earth;* that is, all the winds. In Ezek. vii. 2. *the* four corners *of the land*, signify all parts of the land of Judæa.

Seven. — A large and complete, yet uncertain and indefinite number. It is of very frequent occurrence in the Apocalypse, where we read of the *seven* spirits of God, *seven* angels, *seven* thunders, *seven* seals, &c. &c. [See Dr. Woodhouse on Rev. i. 4.]

Ten. — Many, as well as that precise number. In Gen. xxxi. 7. 41. *Ten times*, are *many* times; in Lev. xxvi. 26. *ten* women are *many* women. See also Dan. i. 20. Amos vi. 9. Zech. viii. 23.

OAKS of BASHAN. — The princes and nobles of Israel and Judah. — Isa. ii. 13. *The*

day of the Lord shall be..... upon all the oaks of Bashan.

OLIVE.

1. *The wild olive;* Man in a state of nature. — Rom. xi. 17. *Thou being a* wild olive-tree, *wert graffed in amongst* them.....

2. *The cultivated olive;* the church of God. — Rom. xi. 24. *If thou wert cut out of the* olive-tree, *which is wild by nature, and wert graffed contrary to nature into a* good olive-tree.....

PALMS. — Symbols of joy after a victory, attended with antecedent sufferings. — Rev. vii. 9. *I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude ... clothed with white robes, and* palms *in their hands.*

PARADISE. — The invisible residence of the blessed. — Rev. ii. 7. *To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the* paradise *of God.* — Luke xxiii. 43. *To-day shalt thou be with me in* paradise.

PASSOVER. — Jesus Christ. — 1 Cor. v. 7. *Christ our* passover *is sacrificed for us.* On the spiritual import of this term, compare Vol. III. pp. 315—317.

PHYSICIAN. — The Saviour, curing the sins and sicknesses of the mind. — Matt. ix. 12. *They that be whole, need not a* physician; but they that are sick.

PILLAR or COLUMN.

1. The chief prop of a family, city, or state. — Gal. ii. 9. *James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be* pillars.

2. Pillar of iron. — The symbol of great firmness and duration. — Jer. i. 18. *I have made thee ..... an* iron pillar.

PLOWING and breaking up the ground. — The preparation of the heart by repentance. — Hos. x. 12. *Break up your* fallow-ground. See also Jer. iv. 3.

POISON. — Lies, error, and delusion. — Psal. cxl. 3. *Adders'* poison *is under their lips.* — Psal. lviii. 3, 4. *They go astray as soon as they are born, speaking lies. Their* poison *is like the* poison of a serpent. — Rom. iii. 13. The poison of asps *is under their lips; whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.*

POWER.

1. Dignity, privilege, prerogative. — John i. 12. *As many as received him, to them gave he* power *to become the sons of God.*

2. The emblem of power, or of honour and dignity, that is, a veil. — 1 Cor. xi. 10. *A woman ought to have* power *on her head,* that is, to be veiled, *because of the spies,* or evil-minded persons who were sent into the meetings of the Christians by their enemies, in order that they might be able to take advantage of any irregularity in their proceedings, or of any departure from established customs. The veil, worn by married women, was an emblem of subjection to the power of the husband. The marginal rendering of 1 Cor. xi. 10. is, — *a covering, in sign that she is under the power of her husband.*

POWERS. — A certain order of angels; whether *good,* as in Col. i. 16. Eph. iii. 10. 1 Pet. iii. 22.; or *evil,* as in Col. ii. 15. and Eph. vi. 12. (Parkhurst and Robinson, *voce* Ἐξουσια.)

PRINCE of the power of the air. — Eph. ii. 2. Satan. In this passage the air denotes the jurisdiction of fallen spirits.

RAIN (gentle).

1. The divine goodness. — Isa. xxvii. 3. xliv. 3.

2. Pure and heavenly doctrine. — Deut. xxxii. 2. especially the word of the Lord. Isa. lv. 10, 11.

REAPERS. — The Angels. — Matt. xiii. 39.

REGENERATION.

1. The melioration of all things, the new condition of all things in the reign of the Messiah, when the universe and all that it contains, will be restored to their state of pristine purity and splendour. — Matt. xix. 28. *In the* regeneration, *when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory.*

2. In a moral sense, renovation, that is, the change from a carnal to a Christian life. — Tit. iii. 5. (Robinson, *voce* Παλιγγενεσια.)

RICHES and TALENTS. — Gifts and graces from God. — Matt. xxv. 15. *To one he gave five* talents, &c. See also Luke xix. 13, &c.

RIVER.

1. An overflowing river. — Invasion by an army. — Isa. lix. 19. *The enemy shall come in like a* flood. — Jer. xlvi. 7, 8. *Who is this that cometh up as a* flood, *whose waters are moved as the* rivers? *Egypt riseth up like a* flood, *and his* waters *are moved like the* rivers: *and he saith, I will go up, and will cover the earth;* I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof. See also Isa. xxviii. 2. Jer. xlvii. 2. Amos ix. 5. Nahum i. 4.

2. A river being frequently the barrier or boundary of a nation or country, the drying of it up is a symbol of evil to the adjoining land; and signifies that its enemies will make an easy conquest of it when they find no water to impede their progress. Thus, Isaiah, foretelling the conquest of Cyrus and the destruction of the Babylonian monarchy, has these words: — *That saith to the deep, Be* dry; *and I will* dry up *thy* rivers. — Isa. xi. 15. *The* LORD *shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian Sea* (that part of the land of Egypt, which was inclosed among the mouths of the Nile); *and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the* river, *and shall* smite *it in the seven* streams, *and make* [men] *go over dry-shod.* See also Isa. xix. 6. and Zech. x. 11.

3. *A clear river* is the symbol of the greatest good. — Psal. xxxvi. 8. *They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of*

the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life. — Rev. xxii. 1. *He showed me a* clear river of water of life, (that is, the inexhaustible and abundant happiness of the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem,) *bright as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and the Lamb.* Its *clearness* indicates their holiness and peace; and the *brightness of its shining like crystal*, the glorious life of those who drink of it.

ROCK.

1. A defence, or place of refuge. — Isa. xvii. 10. *Thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been mindful of the* rock of thy strength. — Psal. xviii. 2. *The Lord is my* rock.
2. A quarry, figuratively the patriarch or first father of a nation; who is, as it were, the quarry whence the men of such nation must have proceeded. — Isa. li. 1. *Look unto the* rock, *whence ye are hewn*, that is, to Abraham and Sarah, whose descendants ye are.
3. An unfruitful hearer. — Luke viii. 6. *Some fell upon a* rock, *and as soon as it sprang up, it withered away.* See the interpretation of Christ himself, in verse 13.
4. Rock giving water to the Israelites. (Exod. xvii. 6. Numb. xx. 10, 11.) Christ. — 1 Cor. x. 4. *They drank of that spiritual* rock *that followed them, and that* rock *was* CHRIST.

ROD or WAND. — Power and rule. — Psal. ii. 9. *Thou shalt break them in pieces with a* rod *of iron.*

SACRIFICE.

1. The thing sacrificed; a victim. — Eph. v. 2. *A* sacrifice *to God.* See Heb. ix. 26. x. 12. and also in many other passages.
2. Whatever is exhibited or undertaken in honour of God or in reference to his will: as, (1.) Piety, devotedness. — 1 Pet. ii. 5. *Spiritual* sacrifices.
   (2.) The praises of God and works of charity to men. See Heb. xiii. 15, 16.
   (3.) Virtuous conduct, correct deportment. — Rom. xii. 1. *Present your bodies, a living* sacrifice.
   (4.) Exertions for the support of Christian ministers and of the Christian religion. — Phil. ii. 17. *If I be offered upon the* sacrifice *and service of your faith.*

SALT. — Sound doctrine, such as preserves the world from corruption. — Matt. v. 13. *Ye are the* salt *of the earth.* — Col. iv. 6. *Let your speech be alway with grace, seasoned with* salt.

SAND of the sea. — An aggregate body of innumerable individuals. — *Their widows are increased above* the sand of the seas. — Gen. xxii. 17. *I will multiply thy seed ..... as the* sand *which is* upon *the* sea-*shore.*

SCORCHING Heat. See HEAT.

SEA.

1. The Gentile world. — Isa. lx. 5. *The abundance of the* sea *shall be converted.* See also Rev. viii. 8. and Dr. Woodhouse thereon. [Apocalypse, p. 213.]
2. The great river Euphrates, Nile, &c. — Isa. xxi. 1. *The desert of the* sea, means the country of Babylon, which was watered by the Euphrates. — Jer. li. 36. *I will dry up her* sea, *and make her springs dry:* this refers to the stratagem by which Cyrus diverted the course of the river and captured Babylon. — Ezek. xxxii. 2. *Thou art as a whale in the* sea; the prophet is speaking of the king of Egypt, through which the Nile flowed. See WAVES.
3. *Sea of glass.* — Rev. iv. 6. The blood of the Redeemer, which alone cleanses man from sin. It is called a sea, in allusion to the large vessel in the temple, out of which the priests drew water to wash themselves, the sacrifices, and the instruments of which they made use, for sacrificing. — 1 Kings vii. 23. See also SAND and WAVES.

SEAL — SEALING.

1. Preservation and security. — Sol. Song iv. 12. *A fountain sealed*, is a fountain carefully preserved from the injuries of weather and beasts, that its waters may be preserved good and clean.
2. Secresy and privacy, because men usually seal up those things which they design to keep secret. Thus a *book sealed*, is one whose contents are secret, and are not to be disclosed until the removal of the seal. In Isa. xxix. 11. *a vision like unto* a book sealed, is a vision not yet understood.
3. Completion and perfection, also authority; because the putting of a seal to any decree, will, or other instrument in writing, completes the whole transaction. — Ezek. xxviii. 12. *Thou* (the king of Tyre) sealest *up the sum full of wisdom and perfect in beauty;* that is, thou lookest upon thyself as having arrived at the highest pitch of wisdom and glory. See Neh. ix. 8. Esther viii. 8.
4. Restraint or hinderance. — Job xxxvii. 7. *He* sealeth up the hand of every man; that is, the Almighty restrains their power. — Job ix. 7. *Which* sealeth *up the stars;* that is, restrains their influences.
5. Exclusive property in a thing. — Anciently, it was the custom to seal goods purchased; each person having his peculiar mark, which ascertained the property to be his own. Hence, the *seal of God* is *His mark*, by which he knoweth them that are His. (2 Tim. ii. 19.) Under the law of Moses, circumcision is represented to be the *seal* which separated the people of God from the heathen who did not call upon his name. (Rom. iv. 11.) And in this sense the sacrament of baptism succeeding to circumcision, was called by the fathers of the church the seal of God: but in the Gospel, this divine seal is more accurately described to be the Holy Spirit of God. They who have this spirit are marked as his. (2 Cor.

i. 22. Eph. i. 13. iv. 30.) Our Lord Jesus Christ is represented as eminently possessing this mark. (John vi. 27.) Generally, all who name the name of Christ and depart from iniquity, are said to be thus divinely sealed. (2 Tim. ii. 19.) By the *seal of the living God*, mentioned in Rev. vii. 2., is signified that impression of the Holy Spirit upon the heart of man, which preserves in it the principles of pure faith, producing the fruits of piety and virtue. This is the *seal* which marks the *real* Christian as the property of the Almighty. In Rev. vii. 3, 4. the *sealed* mark is said to be impressed *upon the foreheads of the servants of God*, either because on this conspicuous part of the person distinguishing ornaments were worn by the eastern nations; or because slaves antiently were marked upon *their foreheads*, as the property of their masters. [Dean Woodhouse on Rev. vii. 2, 3.]

SEED. — *The Word of God.* — Luke viii. 11.

SERPENT. — Satan, the enemy of souls. — Rev. xii. 9. *That old* serpent, *called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.* — 2 Cor. xi. 3. *The* serpent *beguiled Eve through his subtilty.*

SEVEN. See NUMBERS.

SHADOW. — Defence, protection. In the sultry eastern countries this metaphor is highly expressive of support and protection. — Numb. xiv. 9. *Their defence* (Heb. צלם TSILAM, *shadow*) *is departed from them.* Compare also Psal. xci. 1. cxxi. 5. Isa. xxx. 2. xxxii. 2. and li. 16. The Arabs and Persians employ the same word to denote the same thing, using these expressions: — "*May the* SHADOW *of thy prosperity be extended.*" — "*May the* SHADOW *of thy prosperity be spread over the heads of thy well-wishers.*" — "May thy protection never be removed from thy head; may God extend thy SHADOW externally." [Dr. A. Clarke on Numb. xvi. 9.]

SHEEP — SHEPHERD.

1. *Sheep under a Shepherd.* — The people under a king. — Zech. xiii. 7. *Smite the* shepherd, *and the* sheep *shall be scattered.*

2. The disciples of Christ, who is their SHEPHERD; the church of Christ, consisting of all *true* believers in Him their Shepherd. — John x. 11—14. *I am the good* shepherd; *the good* shepherd *giveth his life for the* sheep. *I* ..... *know my* sheep. — 1 Pet. ii. 25. *Ye* ..... *are now returned unto the* Shepherd *and Bishop of your souls.*

SHIELD.

1. A defence. — Psal. xviii. 2. *The* LORD *is my* buckler, or shield. See Psal. xxxiii. 20.

2. Faith, by which we are enabled to resist the fiery darts of the wicked. Eph. vi. 16.

SHIPS of Tarshish; merchants, men enriched by commerce, and abounding in all the elegancies and luxuries of life, particularly the merchants of Tyre and Sidon. — Isa. ii. 12—16. *The day of the* LORD *of Hosts shall be* ..... *upon all the* ships of Tarshish. — Isa. xxiii. 1. *Howl, O ye* ships of Tarshish.

SHOES. — The preparation of the Gospel of peace. — Eph. vi. 15.

SILENCE.

1. Bringing to silence, or putting to silence. — Utter destruction. — Isa. xv. 1. *As if Moab is laid waste and* brought to silence. — Jer. viii. 14. *The* LORD *our God hath* put us to silence.

2. A symbol of praying. — Luke i. 9, 10.

SIT — SITTING.

1. Reigning, ruling, and judging. — In Judg. v. 10. *Ye that* sit *in judgment*, are the magistrates or judges. The sitting on a throne, which occurs so very frequently in the Scriptures, invariably means to reign.

2. With other adjuncts, sitting has a different signification: as,

(1.) To *sit upon the earth or dust*, (Isa. iii. 26. xlvii. 1. Lam. ii. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 16.) or *on a dunghill*, signifies to be in extreme misery.

(2.) To *sit in darkness* (Psal. cvii. 10. Isa. xlii. 7.) is to be in prison and slavery.

(3.) To *sit as a widow* (Isa. xlvii. 8.) is to mourn as a widow.

SLAVE. — One who has no property in himself, but is bought by another. Such are all mankind, whom Christ has redeemed from the slavery of sin. — 1 Cor. vi. 20. *Ye are* bought *with a price.* See Deut. vii. 8. Isa. lxi. 1.

SLEEP. — Death. — Dan. xii. 2. *Many that* sleep *in the dust of the earth shall* awake.

SODOM and GOMORRAH. — Any apostate city or people; or the wicked world at large. — Isa. i. 10. *Hear the word of the* LORD, *ye rulers of* Sodom; give ear unto *the law of our God, ye* people of Gomorrah. See Rev. xi. 8.

SOLDIER. — A Christian who is at war with the world, the flesh, and the devil. — 2 Tim. ii. 3. *Endure hardness as a good* soldier *of Jesus Christ.*

SORES, or ULCERS, symbolically denote *sins*; because, according to the Hebrew idiom and notions, to *heal* signifies to *pardon sins*; and to *pardon a sin* is equivalent to healing. — 2 Chron. xxx. 20. The pious monarch, Hezekiah, having prayed that God would excuse and pardon those who had eaten the passover without being sufficiently purified, *the* LORD *hearkened to Hezekiah, and* healed *the people.* — Isa. liii. 5. *By his stripes we are* healed. In Isa. i. 6. *Wounds, bruises,* and *sores,* are sins; *the binding up of them* signifies repentance; and the *healing up*, remission or forgiveness.

SOUTH. — Judæa. — Ezek. xx. 46. Set thy face toward *the* south, *and drop* [*thy word*] *towards the* south. — Judæa lay to the south of Chaldæa, where the prophet Ezekiel stood.

SOUTH FIELD. — Ezek. xx. 46. *Prophesy*

against the forest of the South field; that is, against Jerusalem, in which there were good and bad men, as there are trees in a forest.

Sower. — A preacher of the word. — Matt. xiii. 3. *A* sower *went forth to sow.* See verse 39.

Speaking. See Voice, 2.

Star.

1. A ruler or conqueror. — Numb. xxiv. 17. *There shall come a* star *out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and shall destroy all the children of Sheth.* — See an exposition of this prophecy in the note to p. 17. of this volume.
2. The rulers of the church. — Rev. i. 20. *The seven* stars *are the angels of the seven churches.*
3. Glorified saints. — 1 Cor. xv. 41. *One* star *differeth from another* star *in glory.*
4. *Wandering stars.* — Jude 13. Wicked apostates, that go from light into outer darkness.

Stone.

1. *Head Stone of the Corner.* — Jesus Christ. See Corner Stone.
2. *Stone of stumbling,* (1 Pet. ii. 7.) spoken of Jesus Christ; who is termed a stone of stumbling, that is, an occasion of ruin to the Jews, since they took offence at his person and character, and thereby brought destruction and misery upon themselves.
3. *Stones.* — Believers, who are built upon the true foundation, the Lord Jesus Christ. — 1 Pet. ii. 5. *Ye also as* lively (or living) stones *are built up a spiritual house.*
4. *Heart of stone.* — A hard, stubborn, and unbelieving heart. — Ezek. xxxii. 26. *I will take away the* stony heart.
5. *Stone.* — An idol of stone. Habak. ii. 19. *Woe unto him that saith unto the wood, "Awake!" — and to the dumb* stone, "Arise!" *and it shall teach.*
6. *White stone.* — A full pardon and acquittal. — Rev. ii. 17. *I will give him a* white stone. See an explanation of the custom alluded to, in Vol. III. p. 120.
7. *Precious stones* (1 Cor. iii. 12.), the doctrines of the Christian religion, or the mode of teaching them.

Sun.

1. The Lord God. — Psal. lxxxiv. 11. *The Lord God is* a Sun.
2. Sun *of Righteousness.* — Jesus Christ. — Mal. iv. 2. *The* Sun of Righteousness shall arise *with healing in his wings.*

Among the various hieroglyphics discovered by Dr. Richardson in the ruins of the antient temple of Tentyra or Dendera, in Upper Egypt, is one which may illustrate this expression of the prophet. — "Immediately over the centre of the door-way," says he, "is the beautiful Egyptian ornament, usually called the globe, with serpent and wings, emblematic of the glorious sun, poised in the airy firmament of heaven, supported and directed in his course by the eternal wisdom of the Deity. The sublime phraseology of Scripture, *The Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing in his wings,* could not be more accurately or more emphatically represented to the human eye, than by this elegant device." [Dr. Richardson's Travels along the Mediterranean, &c. vol. i. p. 187.]

3. Sun and Moon. — *The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood.* (Joel ii. 31. Acts ii. 20.) A figurative representation of a total eclipse, in which the sun is entirely darkened, and the moon assumes a bloody hue: it signifies the fall of the civil and ecclesiastical state in Judæa.

Swine. — Wicked and unclean people. — Matt. vii. 6. *Neither cast ye your pearls before* swine.

Sword.

1. Death and destruction. See Ezek. xxi. — This symbol occurs so repeatedly in the Scriptures, and is, besides, so well known as to render more examples unnecessary.
2. Sword of the Spirit. — *The word of God.* Eph. vi. 17. Heb. iv. 12. Rev. i. 16.

Tabernacle. — The body of man. — 2 Cor. v. 1. *We know that if our earthly house of* [this] tabernacle *were* dissolved. — 2 Pet. i. 13, 14. *I must shortly put off this* tabernacle.

Talents. See Riches.

Tares. — The children of the wicked one. — Matt. xiii. 38.

Tarshish. See Ships.

Teeth. — The symbols of cruelty or of a devouring enemy. — Prov. xxx. 14. *There is a generation whose* teeth *are as swords; and their* jaw-teeth *as knives to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men.* See also Deut. xxxii. 24. Psal. lvi. 6. lviii. 6.

Ten. See Numbers.

Thirst. See Hunger.

Thorns.

1. The cares, riches, and pleasures of life. — Luke viii. 14. *That which fell among* thorns, *are they, which, when they have heard the word, go forth, and are choked with cares, and riches, and pleasures of life.*
2. Thorns and briers; wicked, perverse, and untractable persons. — Ezek. ii. 6. *Son of man, be not afraid of them...though* briers *and* thorns *be with thee.*

Three or Third. See Numbers.

Threshing. — Destruction. — Jer. li. 33. *Babylon is like a* threshing-*floor: it is time to* thresh *her;* that is, to subdue and destroy her power. See Isa. xli. 15. Amos i. 3. Micah iv. 13. Hab. iii. 12.

Throne. — Kingdom, government. — Gen. xli. 40. *Only in the* throne *will I be greater than thou.* In 2 Sam. iii. 10. kingdom and throne are synonymous. *To translate the* kingdom *from the house of Saul — and to set up the* throne *of David* over Israel. The *setting of the* throne in 2 Sam. vii. 12,

13. 16. signifies the settling or establishment of the government in peace: and the *enlargement* of the throne, in 1 Kings i. 37. compared with 47., implies a great accession of power and dominions.

THUNDER. — The voice of God. — Psal. xxix. 3. *The* voice *of the* LORD *is upon the waters; the God of glory* thundereth. In Rev. x. 4. the *seven thunders* may mean either a particular prophecy, or perhaps seven distinct prophecies, uttered by seven voices, loud as thunder.

TOWERS and Fortresses; defenders and protectors, whether by counsel or by strength, in peace or in war.—Isa. ii. 12. 15. *The day of the Lord of Hosts shall be.....upon every* high tower, *and every* fenced wall (or fortress).

TRAVAILING with child.

1. A state of anguish and misery. — Jer. iv. 31. I have heard *a voice as of a* woman in travail, *the anguish as of her that bringeth* forth her first child, the voice of the daughter of Zion. — Jer. xiii. 21. *Shall not sorrows overtake thee as* a woman in travail? See also Isa. xxvi. 17, 18. lxvi. 7. Jer. xxx. 6, 7.
2. The sorrow of tribulation or persecution. — Mark xiii. 8. *These are the beginnings of sorrows*, literally, *the pains of a woman in travail.* See 1 Thess. v. 3.

TREAD under, or trample upon. — To overcome and bring under subjection. — Psal. lx. 12. *Through God we shall do valiantly; for it is he that shall* tread down *our enemies.* See Isa. x. 6. xiv. 25.

TREE of Life. — Immortality. — Rev. ii. 7. *To him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the* tree of life. See a description of it in Rev. xxii. 2—14., and an excellent sermon of Bishop Horne's, Works, vol. iv. Sermon iii. on the Tree of Life.

TREES.

1. Men in general, fruitful and unfruitful. — Psal. i. 3. *He* (the good man) *shall be like a* tree, *planted by rivers of water.* — Matt. iii. 10. *Every* tree *which bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire.*
2. *A great tree.* — A king or monarch. See Dan. iv. 20—23.
3. The nobles of a kingdom. — Isa. x. 18, 19. It *shall consume the glory of his forest*, and of his fruitful field both soul and body .....*And the rest of the* trees *of his forest shall be few.* [See CEDARS, OAKS.] As trees denote great men and princes, so boughs, branches, or sprouts, denote their offspring. Thus, in Isa. xi. 1. Jesus Christ, in respect of his human nature, is styled *a* rod *of the* stem *of Jesse*, and a branch out of his roots; that is, a prince arising from the family of David.

VEIL of the Temple. — The body of Christ opening the kingdom of heaven by his death, when the veil of the temple was rent. — Matt. xxvii. 51. *The* veil of the temple *was rent in twain.* — Heb. x. 20. *By a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us through the* veil, *that is to say, his flesh.*

VINE.

1. The Jewish church. — Psal. lxxx. 8. *Thou broughtest a* vine *out of Egypt.* See also verse 14. Jer. ii. 21. Ezek. xix. 10. Hos. x. 1.
2. Christ the head of the church. — John xv. 1. *I am the true* vine.

VINEYARD. — The church of Israel. — Isa. v. 1—7. *The* vineyard *of the* LORD *of Hosts is the house of Israel.*

VIPER. — One who injures his benefactors. Matt. iii. 7. xii. 34. *O generation of* vipers, that is, descendants of an ungrateful race.

VOICE.

1. Voice of the bridegroom. —The festivity of a wedding, and the expressions of joy which are uttered on such occasions. — Jer. vii. 34. *Then will I cause to cease from the cities of Judah, and from the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the* voice of the bridegroom, *and the* voice of the bride. The same expression also occurs in Jer. xvi. 9. xxv. 10. xxxiii. 11. and John iii. 29.
2. Speaking with a faint voice, denotes the being in a weak and low condition. — Isa. xxix. 4. *Thou shalt be brought down, and shalt speak out of the ground; and thy* speech shall be low *out of the dust.*
3. Voice of the Lord. See THUNDER.

WALKING among, or in the midst.—Watchfulness and protection. — Lev. xxvi. 12. *I will* walk among you, *and will be your God.*

WALL. — Stability and safety.— Zech. ii. 5. *I will be unto her a* wall of fire *round about;* that is, I will defend her from all enemies without, by my angels, as so many flames of fire surrounding her.

WAND. See ROD.

WANDERING Stars. See STARS.

WASHING with water. — Purification from sin and guilt. — Psal. li. 2. 7. Wash *me throughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.* Wash *me, and I shall be whiter than snow.*

WATER.

1. The purifying grace of the Holy Spirit. — John iii. 5. — *Except a man be born* of water and of the Spirit, *he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* See also Psal. li. 2.
2. Living water.—The word of the Gospel. — John iv. 10. *He would have given thee* living water.

WATERS.

1. Troubles and afflictions. — Psal. lxix. 1. *Save me, O God: for* the waters *are come in unto my soul.*
2. A great multitude of people. — Isa. viii. 7. *The* LORD *bringeth up upon them* the

waters of the *river, strong and many*, i. e. army of the king of Assyria; whose overwhelming force is compared to the waters of the great, rapid, and impetuous river Euphrates. See Rev. xvii. 15.

3. The blessings of the Gospel: — Isa. lv. 1. *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the* waters.

WAVES of the Sea. — Numerous armies of the heathens marching against the people of God. — Psal. lxv. 7. *Which stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their* waves. See also Psal. lxxxix. 9. and xciii. 3, 4.— Jude 13. *Raging* waves *of the sea.*

WEEK. — Seven years. — Dan. ix. 24. *Seventy* weeks *are determined upon thy people*; that is, *seventy weeks of years* or *four hundred and ninety years.*

WHEAT. — Good seed, the children of the kingdom. Matt. xiii. 38.

WHITE. See GARMENTS, 1.; HORSE, 3.; STONE, 5.

WILDERNESS.

1. All manner of desolation.—Isa. xxvii. 10. *The defenced city shall be desolate, and the habitation forsaken and left like a* wilderness. — Jer. xxii. 6. *Surely I will make thee a* wilderness [*and*] *cities* [*which*] *are not inhabited.* See also Hos. ii. 3.

2. This world, through which all real Christians pass, and undergo all the trials of the Hebrews in their way to the heavenly Canaan. — 1 Cor. x. 5, 6. *They were overthrown in the* wilderness. *Now these things were our examples.* — Isa. xli. 18. *I will make the* wilderness *a pool of water.*

WIND.

1. *Violent wind.* — Destruction. — Jer. li. 1. *I will raise up against Babylon.....a* destroying wind. — Jer. iv. 11, 12. *A dry* wind *of the high places in the wilderness...even a* full wind *from those places shall come unto me.*

2. *The four winds.* — General destruction. — Jer. xlix. 36. *Upon Elam will I bring the* four winds, *from the four quarters of heaven.* See also Dan. vii. 2. viii. 8. Rev. vii. 1. See AIR.

WINE.

1. Wine, when mentioned together with corn and oil (as it very frequently is), denotes all kinds of temporal good things. — Hos. ii. 8. *I gave her* corn, and wine, and oil. See Joel ii. 19. Psal. iv. 7.

2. As the choicest heavenly blessings are frequently represented in the Scriptures by the salutary effects of *wine*: so, from the noxious and intoxicating qualities of that liquor — (which antiently was mixed with bitter and stupefying ingredients, and given to malefactors who were about to suffer death,) — is borrowed a most tremendous image of the wrath and indignation of Almighty God. — Psal. lxxv. 8. *In the hand of the* LORD *there is a cup, and the* wine *is red*; it is full of mixture, &c. — Psal. lx. 3. *Thou hast made us to drink the* wine *of astonishment.* See Jer. xxv. 15. Rev. xiv. 10. xvi. 19.

WINE-PRESS. — Treading the wine-press, from their custom of pressing grapes, signifies destruction attended with great slaughter. — Lament. i. 15. *The* LORD *hath* trodden *under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me; he hath called an assembly against me, to* crush *my young men: the* LORD *hath* trodden *the virgin, the daughter of Judah, as in a* wine-press. See Isa. lxiii. 3.

WINGS.

1. Protection. — Psal. xvii. 8. *Hide me under the shadow of* thy wings. See Psal. xxxvi. 7. and xci. 4.

2. Wings, when used to fly upwards, are emblems of exaltation.— Isa. xl. 31. *They shall mount up with* wings *as eagles*; that is, they shall be highly exalted.

WOLF. — A thief, or religious impostor; a devourer of the church. — Luke x. 3. *I send you forth as lambs among* wolves. — John x. 12. *He that is a hireling....seeth the* wolf *coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the* wolf *scattereth them.*

WOMAN.

1. A city, a state, or body politic, or the inhabitants thereof. — The *daughter* of Tyre in Psal. xlv. 12., of Babylon in Psal. cxxxvii. 8., and of Jerusalem in 2 Kings xix. 21., signifies the inhabitants of those cities, respectively. The *daughter of Jerusalem*, when virtuous, is honoured with the high appellation of the espoused of God in Isa. liv. 1. 5., and Jer. xxxi. 4. When wicked and idolatrous, she is styled the harlot, the adulteress. See ADULTERESS.

2. The true church of Christ. — Rev. xii. 1. *A woman* clothed with the sun.

WRITE. — To publish or notify. This was the first intention of writing; and, in the earliest ages, no writings were made but upon pillars or monuments, merely to notify things. — Jer. xxii. 30. Write *this man childless*; that is, publish it, and let all men know that he shall have no child to succeed him upon the throne. For it appears from 1 Chron. iii. 17, 18. and Matt. i. 12., that Jeconiah (of whom the prophet is speaking) *had* children; but being born probably after he was carried to Babylon, where he lived many years a captive, none of them ever succeeded to the royal authority. See 2 Kings xxv. 27.

YOKE.

1. Oppressive bondage. — Deut. xxviii. 48. *He shall put a* yoke of iron upon thy neck, until he shall have destroyed thee. See Jer. xxviii. 14. In Gal. v. 1. the *yoke of bondage* means the burdensome ceremonies of the Mosaic law, from which the Christian law of liberty has delivered us.

2. Punishment for sin. — Lam. i. 14. *The* yoke *of my transgressions is bound by his* hand.

3. Those useful restraints, which arise from a sense of the duty which we owe to God, and the obedience we ought to pay to his laws.—Lam. iii. 27. It is *good for a man to bear the* yoke *in his youth.*

4. The doctrines and precepts of Jesus Christ, and the temper, dispositions, and duties which flow from them. — Matt. xi. 29, 30. *Take my* yoke *upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my* yoke *is easy, and my burden is light.* — Quesnel's remark upon the last sentence is not more beautiful than devout. "How easy and sweet is it, to serve Christ even in bearing his cross! How hard and painful is the slavery of the world, of sin, and of our own passions, even with all their false pleasures! That satisfaction, peace, and comfort, which grace gives here below, and that which hope encourages us to expect in heaven, make a Christian full amends for all his pains in subduing his passions, and in opposing the world.... A *yoke*, which Christ takes together with us, — can *that* be uneasy? A *burden*, which He bears in us by His Spirit, — can *that* be heavy? Come, then, taste and know by experience how sweet the Lord is, and how worthy *His* yoke is to be chosen and loved!"

II.

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OF THE

PRINCIPAL TEXTS OF SCRIPTURE

WHICH

ARE PARTICULARLY ILLUSTRATED OR EXPLAINED.

*** *Such Texts as are cited merely by way of proof or illustration, or in the Historical, Biographical, and in the Geographical Index, and also in the Index of the Symbolical Language of Scripture, are here designedly omitted, that this Index may not be unnecessarily enlarged.*

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